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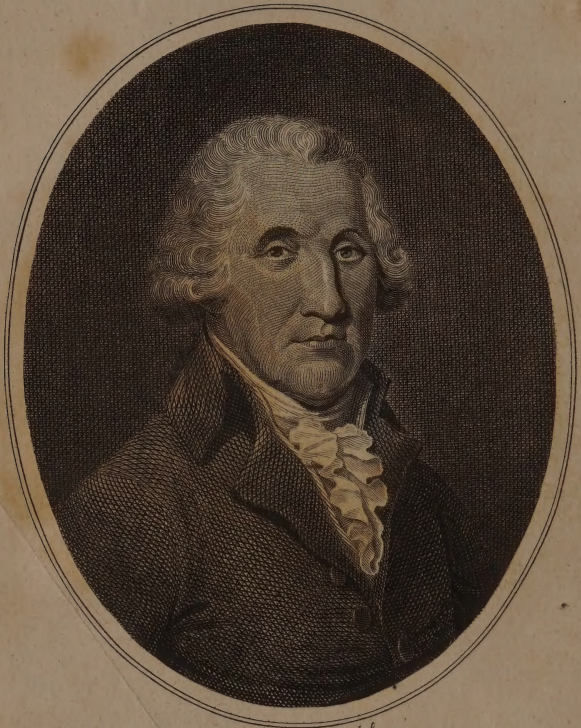












*W. Grainger sculp<sup>t</sup>*

GEO. WASHINGTON.



AN  
HISTORICAL  
GEOGRAPHICAL, COMMERCIAL,  
AND  
PHILOSOPHICAL  
VIEW  
OF THE  
AMERICAN UNITED STATES,  
AND OF THE  
EUROPEAN SETTLEMENTS  
IN  
AMERICA AND THE WEST-INDIES.  
BY  
W. WINTERBOTHAM.

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IN FOUR VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

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# P R E F A C E.

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**N**O event ever proved so interesting, to mankind in general and to the inhabitants of Europe in particular, as the discovery of the new world, and the passage to India by the cape of Good Hope: it at once gave rise to a revolution in the commerce and in the power of nations, as well as in the manners, industry and government of almost the whole world. At this period new connections were formed by the inhabitants of the most distant regions, for the supply of wants they had never before experienced. The productions of climates situated under the equator were consumed in countries bordering on the pole; the industry of the north was transplanted to the south; and the inhabitants of the west were clothed with the manufactures of the east; in short, a general intercourse of opinions, laws and customs, diseases and remedies, virtues and vices, were established amongst men.

In Europe, in particular, every thing has been changed in consequence of its commerce and connection with the American continent; but the changes which took place prior to the late revolution, (which established the liberties of the United States, and transformed the dependent colonies of Britain into an independent commonwealth, or rather a society of commonwealths) only served to increase the misery of mankind, adding to the power of despotism, and rivetting faster the shackles of oppression; the commerce of Spain, in particular, with the new world, has been supported by a system of rapine,



murder and oppression ; a system that has spread desolation and distress not only in America, but in Europe and Africa. She has, however, benefitted but little by it, for her strength, commerce and industry, have evidently declined in proportion to the influx of the gold of the new continent. With Great-Britain, for a considerable period, things appeared somewhat different ; till the epoch of the revolution her commerce with America increased her national strength, and added to her own industry and wealth, while it desolated and ravaged the coast of Africa.

From the period of the revolution, the influence of America on Europe has been of a different kind : the glorious struggle which the United States sustained, and the inquiries to which that eventful period gave rise, did much to raise mankind from that state of abject slavery and degradation, to which despotism, aided by superstition, had sunk them : from that period the rights of man began to be understood, and the principles of civil and religious liberty have been canvassed with a freedom before unknown, and their influence has extended itself from the palace to the cottage : in short, the revolution in the late British American colonies bids fair ultimately not only to occasion the emancipation of the other European colonies on that continent, but to accomplish a complete revolution in all the old governments of Europe.

We have already seen a patriot king, aided by a hero who fought for the cause of freedom under Washington, struggling to render his people free and happy ; and we have witnessed a perjured despot expiating his crimes on the scaffold, at the command of a people roused to a sense of their injuries and rights, by men who had assisted in establishing the liberties of America. — In reflecting on those scenes as individuals, we can only lament the want of success which has attended the former, and regret the crimes of ambitious and unprincipled individuals, which have certainly tarnished, but not destroyed, the glory  
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of the revolution, which has attended the latter. The storm will, however, ere long pass away, and returning peace will leave the other nations of Europe at liberty to contemplate, without prejudice, not only their own situation, but the resources of France drawn forth into action under the influence of an energetic government, founded on the will of the people, and administered at an expense far less than what the pensioned minions of its former corrupt court alone devoured. Whenever that period arrives, and arrive it will, it needs not a spirit of inspiration to assert, that the other nations of Europe must submit to a thorough reformation, or be content to behold their commerce, agriculture, and population decline.

In the mean time the United States are profiting by the convulsed situation of Europe, and increasing, in a degree hitherto unparalleled in the history of nations, in population and opulence. Their power, commerce and agriculture, are rapidly on the increase, and the wisdom of the federal government has hitherto been such as to render the prospect of a settlement under its fostering influence truly inviting to the merchant, the manufacturer, the mechanic, and the industrious labourer: nor have these alone found the United States advantageous; the persecuted in France or England have there found an asylum, where their lives, property and liberty are secure; where they may almost say, the wicked cease from troubling, and the weary are at rest. Nor can any doubt be entertained, but in a short period the man of science, as well as the contemplative and experimental philosopher, will find the shores of Columbia equally propitious to their wishes. Education is sending forth its illuminating rays, and its influence on the rising generation will aid the Americans in all their other pursuits.

The inhabitants of Europe are not insensible of these favourable circumstances. The charms of civil and religious liberty, the advantages of an extensive and fertile, but uncultivated

vated country, of an increasing commerce, unshackled and unencumbered by heavy and impolitic duties and imposts, have already invited numbers to leave its bosom—numbers, which the iron hand of persecution and the awful prospects of intestine division or abject slavery, will continue to increase.

The attention of Europe in general, and of Great-Britain in particular, being thus drawn to the new world, the Editor, at the instigation of some particular friends, undertook the task, which he hopes he has in some degree accomplished in the following volumes, of affording his countrymen an opportunity of becoming better acquainted with its settlement by Europeans—the events that led to the establishment and independence of the United States—the nature of their government—their present situation and advantages, together with their future prospects in commerce, manufactures and agriculture. This formed the principal design of the work; but he farther wished with this to connect a general view of the situation of the remaining European possessions in America and the West-India islands; this has been therefore attempted, and nearly a volume is dedicated alone to this subject. Connected with the above, one object has been constantly kept in view, namely, to afford the emigrator to America a summary of general information, that may in some measure serve as a directory to him in the choice of a residence, as well as in his after pursuits. This suggested the propriety of adopting the plan which Mr. Morse had laid down in his *American Geography*; and this must plead in excuse for the miscellaneous matter introduced in the third volume, at the close of the history of the States.

How far the Editor has succeeded in the accomplishment of this object is not for him to determine; he can only say, he has spared no pains, nor neglected any opportunity, which his situation permitted him to embrace to obtain information; and he has to express his obligations for the obliging communications,



tions of many, whose names the peculiarity of his own situation will not for obvious reasons permit him to mention, but for whose friendship he shall ever retain the most lively sentiments of esteem and gratitude. The Editor's thanks are likewise particularly due to several gentlemen of the Society of Quakers, for the documents which have enabled him, with thorough conviction, to wipe off the odium which Mr. Chalmers, in his *Annals*, and the authors of the *Modern Universal History*, followed by Mr. Morfe, had thrown on the character of William Penn and the first settlers of Pennsylvania,\* and on whose authority they were by him inserted.

With respect to the printed authorities which the Editor has followed, he has not only borrowed their ideas, but, where he had not the vanity to conceive himself capable of correcting it, he has adopted their language, so that in a long narrative he has often no other claim to merit than what arises from selection and a few connecting sentences: as, however, by this method it has often become difficult for an author to know his own, the Editor at once begs leave to say, he has availed himself of the labours and abilities of the *Abbé Raynal*, *Franklin*, *Robertson*, *Clavigero*, *Jefferson*, *Belknap*, *Adams*, *Catesby*, *Buffon*, *Gordon*, *Ramsay*, *Bartram*, *Cox*, *Rush*, *Mitchel*, *Cutler*, *Imlay*, *Filson*, *Barlow*, *Brissot*, *Morfe*, *Edwards*, and a number of others of less import, together with the transactions of the English and American philosophical societies, American Museum, &c.

\* The Editor has particularly to request, that those who have taken this Work in Numbers, will, in justice to himself, as well as to the character of William Penn, destroy the half-sheet, signature P p vol. ii. page 289 to 296 inclusive, and substitute the half-sheet of the same signature, given in the last Number, in its stead—the same is requested respecting the Constitution of Pennsylvania and the other cancels marked.

The Editor has now only to deprecate the severity of criticism. It was impossible, in selecting from such a variety of authors, to secure uniformity of language without immense trouble; and from his situation, which rendered an easy communication with the Printer not only often difficult, but in many cases impracticable, several typographical errors will, no doubt, occur to the reader, as well as some others of a literary kind. —As these, however, do not affect facts, he has not added an errata, but left the whole to the candour and good sense of the reader, to whom he wishes, with sincerity, as much pleasure in the perusal, as himself has experienced in collecting and arranging the materials.

State Side of Newgate,

Jan. 21st, 1795.

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## DISCOVERY OF AMERICA.

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IT is believed by many, that the ancients had some imperfect notion of a new world; and several ancient authors are quoted in confirmation of this opinion. In a book ascribed to the philosopher Aristotle, we are told that the Carthaginians discovered an island far beyond the pillars of Hercules, large, fertile, and finely watered with navigable rivers, but uninhabited. This island was distant a few days sailing from the Continent; its beauty induced the discoverers to settle there; but the policy of Carthage dislodged the colony, and laid a strict prohibition on all the subjects of the state not to attempt any future establishment. This account is also confirmed by an historian of no mean credit, who relates, that the Tyrians would have settled a colony on the new-discovered island, but were opposed by the Carthaginians for state reasons. Seneca, and other authors are also quoted in support of this belief. But however this may be, nobody ever believed the existence of this continent so firmly as to go in quest of it; at least, there are no accounts well supported that America received any part of its first inhabitants from Europe prior to the 15th century. The Welsh fondly imagine that their country contributed, in 1170, to people the New World, by the adventure of Madoc, son of Owen Gwynedd, who, on the death of his father, sailed there, and colonized part of the country. All that is advanced in proof is, a quotation from one of the British Poets, which proves no more than that he had distinguished himself by sea and land. It is pretended that he made two voyages; that sailing West, he left Ireland so far to the North, that he came to a land unknown, where he saw many strange things; that he returned home, and, making a report of the fruitfulness of the new-discovered country, prevailed on numbers of the Welsh of each sex to accompany him on a second voyage, from which he never returned. The favourers of this opinion assert, that several Welsh words, such as *gwrando*, "to hearken or listen;" the isle of *Creaso*, or "welcome;" Cape Breton, from the name of Britain; *gwynndwr*, or, "the white water;" and *pengwin*, or, "the bird with

“a white head;” are to be found in the American language. But likeness of sound in a few words will not be deemed sufficient to establish the fact; especially if the meaning has been evidently perverted: for example, the whole penguin tribe have unfortunately not only black heads, but are not inhabitants of the Northern hemisphere; the name was also bestowed on them by the Dutch, a *pinguedine*, from their excessive fatness: but the inventor of this, thinking to do honour to his country, inconsiderately caught at a word of European origin, and unheard of in the New World. It may be added, that the Welsh were never a naval people; that the age in which Madoc lived was peculiarly ignorant in navigation; and the most which they could have attempted must have been a mere coasting voyage\*.

The Norwegians put in for a share of the glory, on grounds rather better than the Welsh. By their settlements in Iceland and in Greenland, they had arrived within so small a distance of the New World, that there is at least a possibility of its having been touched at by a people so versed in maritime affairs, and so adventurous, as the ancient Normans were. The proofs are much more numerous than those produced by the British Historians; for the discovery is mentioned in several of the Islandic manuscripts. The period was about the year 1002, when it was visited by one Biorn; and the discovery pursued to greater effect by Leif, the son of Eric, the discoverer of Greenland. It does not appear that they reached farther than Labrador; on which coast they met with the Esquimaux, on whom they bestowed the name of *Skrælingues*, or dwarfish people, from their small stature. They were armed with bows and arrows, and had leathern canoes, such as they have at present. All this is probable; nor should the tale of the German, called *Tuckil*, one of the crew, invalidate the account. He was one day missing; but soon returned, leaping and singing with all the extravagant marks of joy a *bon vivant* could show, on discovering the inebriating fruit of his country, the grape: Torfæus even says, that he returned in a state of intoxication. To convince his commander, he brought several bunches, who from that circumstance named that country *Vinland*. It is not to be denied, that North America produces the true vine; but it is found in far lower latitudes than our ad-

\* If the reader, however, wishes to examine this curious question still farther, he will meet with all that can be said upon the subject; in WILLIAMS's *Enquiry into the truth of the tradition, concerning the Discovery of America by Prince Madog*. 8vo.—See also IMRAY's *Account of Kentucky*, page 377, 2d Edit.



venturers could reach in the time employed in their voyages, which was comprehended in a very small space. There appears no reason to doubt of the discovery; but as the land was never colonized, nor any advantages made of it, it may fairly be conjectured, that they reached no farther than the barren country of Labrador. In short, it is from a much later period that we must date the real discovery of America\*.

Towards the close of the 14th century, the navigation of Europe was scarcely extended beyond the limits of the Mediterranean. The mariner's compass had been invented and in common use for more than a century; yet with the help of this sure guide, prompted by the most ardent spirit of discovery, and encouraged by the patronage of princes, the mariners of those days rarely ventured from the sight of land. They acquired great applause by sailing along the coast of Africa and discovering some of the neighbouring islands; and after pushing their researches with the greatest industry and perseverance for more than half a century, the Portuguese, who were the most fortunate and enterprising, extended their discoveries Southward no farther than the equator.

The rich commodities of the East, had for several ages been brought into Europe by the way of the Red Sea and the Mediterranean; and it had now become the object of the Portuguese to find a passage to India, by sailing round the Southern extremity of Africa and then taking an Eastern course. This great object engaged the general attention of mankind, and drew into the Portuguese service adventurers from every maritime nation in Europe. Every year added to their experience in navigation, and seemed to promise a reward to their industry. The prospect, however, of arriving at the Indies was extremely distant; fifty years perseverance in the same track, had brought them only to the equator, and it was probable that as many more would elapse before they could accomplish their purpose, had not COLUMBUS, by an uncommon exertion of genius, formed a design no less astonishing to the age in which he lived, than beneficial to posterity.

Among the foreigners whom the fame of the discoveries made by the Portuguese had allured into their service, was Christopher Colon or Columbus, a subject of the republic of Genoa. Neither the time nor

\* In the 2d Vol. of the Transactions of the Philosophical Society at Philadelphia, Mr. OTTO, in a *Memoir on the Discovery of America*, strenuously contends, that one BEHEM, a German, discovered the American Continent prior to its being discovered by Columbus. For the ingenious arguments in support of this opinion, the reader is referred to the *Memoir*.

place of his birth are known with certainty; but he was descended of an honourable family, though reduced to indigence by various misfortunes. His ancestors having betaken themselves for subsistence to a sea-faring life, Columbus discovered, in his early youth, the peculiar character and talents which mark out a man for that profession. His parents, instead of thwarting this original propensity of his mind, seem to have encouraged and confirmed it, by the education which they gave him. After acquiring some knowledge of the Latin tongue, the only language in which science was taught at that time, he was instructed in geometry, cosmography, astronomy, and the art of drawing. To these he applied with such ardour and predilection, on account of their connection with navigation, his favourite object, that he advanced with rapid proficiency in the study of them. Thus qualified, in the year 1461, he went to sea at the age of fourteen, and began his career on that element which conducted him to so much glory. His early voyages were to those ports in the Mediterranean which his countrymen the Genese frequented. This being a sphere too narrow for his active mind, he made an excursion to the northern seas, in 1467, and visited the coasts of Iceland, to which the English and other nations had begun to resort on account of its fishery. As navigation, in every direction, was now become enterprising, he proceeded beyond that island, the Thule of the ancients, and advanced several degrees within the polar circle. Having satisfied his curiosity by a voyage which tended more to enlarge his knowledge of naval affairs, than to improve his fortune, he entered into the service of a famous sea-captain, of his own name and family. This man commanded a small squadron, fitted out at his own expence, and by cruising sometimes against the Mahometans, sometimes against the Venetians, the rivals of his country in trade, had acquired both wealth and reputation. With him Columbus continued for several years, no less distinguished for his courage, than for his experience as a sailor. At length, in an obstinate engagement, off the coast of Portugal, with some Venetian Caravels, returning richly laden from the Low Countries, the vessel on board which he served took fire, together with one of the enemy's ships, to which it was fast grappled. In this dreadful extremity his intrepidity and presence of mind did not forsake him. He threw himself into the sea, laid hold of a floating oar, and by the support of it, and his dexterity in swimming, he reached the shore, though above two leagues distant, and saved a life reserved for great undertakings.

As soon as he recovered strength for the journey, he repaired to Lisbon, where many of his countrymen were settled. They soon con-

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ceived such a favourable opinion of his merit, as well as talents, that they warmly solicited him to remain in that kingdom, where his naval skill and experience could not fail of rendering him conspicuous. To every adventurer, animated either with curiosity to visit new countries, or with ambition to distinguish himself, the Portuguese service was at that time extremely inviting. Columbus listened with a favourable ear to the advice of his friends, and having gained the esteem of a Portuguese lady, whom he married, fixed his residence in Lisbon. This alliance, instead of detaching him from a sea-faring life, contributed to enlarge the sphere of his naval knowledge, and to excite a desire of extending it still farther. His wife was a daughter of Bartholomew Perestrello, one of the captains employed by prince Henry in his early navigations, and who, under his protection, had discovered and planted the islands of Porto Santo and Madeira. Columbus got possession of the journals and charts of this experienced navigator, and from them he learned the course which the Portuguese had held in making their discoveries, as well as the various circumstances which guided or encouraged them in their attempts. The study of these soothed and inflamed his favourite passion; and while he contemplated the maps, and read the descriptions of the new countries which Perestrello had seen, his impatience to visit them became irresistible. In order to indulge it, he made a voyage to Madeira, and continued during several years to trade with that island, with the Canaries, the Azores, the settlements in Guinea, and all the other places which the Portuguese had discovered on the continent of Africa.

By the experience which Columbus acquired, during such a variety of voyages, to almost every part of the globe with which, at that time, any intercourse was carried on by sea, he was now become one of the most skilful navigators in Europe. But, not satisfied with that praise, his ambition aimed at something more. The successful progress of the Portuguese navigators had awakened a spirit of curiosity and emulation, which set every man of science upon examining all the circumstances that led to the discoveries which they had made, or that afforded a prospect of succeeding in any new and bolder undertaking. The mind of Columbus, naturally inquisitive, capable of deep reflection, and turned to speculations of this kind, was so often employed in revolving the principles upon which the Portuguese had founded their schemes of discovery, and the mode in which they had carried them on, that he gradually began to form an idea of improving upon their plan, and of accomplishing discoveries which hitherto they had attempted in vain.

To find out a passage by sea to the East Indies, was the great object in view at that period. From the time that the Portuguese doubled Cape de Verd,



Verd, this was the point at which they aimed in all their navigations, and, in comparison with it, all their discoveries in Africa appeared inconsiderable. The fertility and riches of India had been known for many ages; its spices and other valuable commodities were in high request throughout Europe, and the vast wealth of the Venetians arising from their having engrossed this trade, had raised the envy of all nations. But how intent soever the Portuguese were upon discovering a new route to those desirable regions, they searched for it only by steering towards the south, in hopes of arriving at India, by turning to the east, after they had sailed round the farther extremity of Africa. This course was still unknown, and, even if discovered, was of such immense length, that a voyage from Europe to India must have appeared, at that period, an undertaking extremely arduous, and of very uncertain issue. More than half a century had been employed in advancing from Cape Non to the equator; a much longer space of time might elapse before the more extensive navigation from that to India could be accomplished. These reflections upon the uncertainty, the danger and tediousness of the course which the Portuguese were pursuing, naturally led Columbus to consider whether a shorter and more direct passage to the East Indies might not be found out. After revolving long and seriously every circumstance suggested by his superior knowledge in the theory as well as practice of navigation, after comparing attentively the observations of modern pilots with the hints and conjectures of ancient authors, he at last concluded, that by sailing directly towards the west, across the Atlantic ocean, new countries, which probably formed a part of the great continent of India, must infallibly be discovered.

Principles and arguments of various kinds, and derived from different sources, induced him to adopt this opinion, seemingly as chimerical as it was new and extraordinary. The spherical figure of the earth was known, and its magnitude ascertained with some degree of accuracy. From this it was evident, that the continents of Europe, Asia, and Africa, as far as they were known at that time, formed but a small portion of the terraqueous globe. It was suitable to our ideas concerning the wisdom and beneficence of the Author of Nature, to believe that the vast space, still unexplored, was not covered entirely by a waste unprofitable ocean, but occupied by countries fit for the habitation of man. It appeared likewise extremely probable, that the continent, on this side of the globe, was balanced by a proportional quantity of land in the other hemisphere. These conclusions concerning the existence of another continent, drawn from the figure and structure of the globe, were confirmed by the observations and conjectures of modern navigators. A

Portuguese pilot, having stretched farther to the west than was usual at that time, took up a piece of timber artificially carved, floating upon the sea; and as it was driven towards him by a westerly wind, he concluded that it came from some unknown land, situated in that quarter. Columbus's brother-in-law had found, to the west of the Madeira isles, a piece of timber fashioned in the same manner, and brought by the same wind; and had seen likewise canes of an enormous size floating upon the waves, which resembled those described by Ptolemy, as productions peculiar to the East Indies. After a course of westerly winds, trees, torn up by the roots, were often driven upon the coasts of the Azores, and at one time the dead bodies of two men, with singular features, resembling neither the inhabitants of Europe nor of Africa, were cast ashore there.

As the force of this united evidence, arising from theoretical principles and practical observations, led Columbus to expect the discovery of new countries in the Western Ocean, other reasons induced him to believe that these must be connected with the continent of India. Though the ancients had hardly ever penetrated into India farther than the banks of the Ganges, yet some Greek authors had ventured to describe the provinces beyond that river. As men are prone, and at liberty, to magnify what is remote or unknown, they represented them as regions of an immense extent. Ctesias affirmed that India was as large as all the rest of Asia. Onesicritus, whom Pliny the naturalist follows, contended that it was equal to a third part of the inhabitable earth. Nearchus asserted, that it would take four months to march in a straight line from one extremity of India to the other. The journal of Marco Polo, who had proceeded towards the East far beyond the limits to which any European had ever advanced, seemed to confirm these exaggerated accounts of the ancients. By his magnificent descriptions of the kingdoms of *Cathay* and *Cipango*, and of many other countries, the names of which were unknown in Europe, India appeared to be a region of vast extent. From these accounts, which, however defective, were the most accurate that the people of Europe had received at that period, with respect to the remote parts of the East, Columbus drew a just conclusion. He contended, that, in proportion as the continent of India stretched out towards the East, it must, in consequence of the spherical figure of the earth, approach nearer to the islands which had lately been discovered to the west of Africa; that the distance from the one to the other was probably not very considerable; and that the most direct, as well as shortest course, to the remote regions of the East, was to be found by sailing due west. This notion concerning the vicinity of India to the western

western parts of our continent, was countenanced by some eminent writers among the ancients, the sanction of whose authority was necessary, in that age, to procure a favourable reception to any tenet. Aristotle thought it probable that the Columns of Hercules, or Straits of Gibraltar, were not far removed from the East Indies, and that there might be a communication by sea between them. Seneca, in terms still more explicit, affirms, that, with a fair wind, one might sail from Spain to India in a few days. The famous Atlantic island described by Plato, and supposed by many to be a real country, beyond which an unknown continent was situated, is represented by him as lying at no great distance from Spain. After weighing all these particulars, Columbus, in whose character the modesty and diffidence of true genius was united with the ardent enthusiasm of a projector, did not rest with such absolute assurance either upon his own arguments, or upon the authority of the ancients, as not to consult such of his contemporaries as were capable of comprehending the nature of the evidence which he produced in support of his opinion. As early as the year one thousand four hundred and seventy-four, he communicated his ideas concerning the probability of discovering new countries, by sailing westwards, to Paul, a physician of Florence, eminent for his knowledge of cosmography, and who, from the learning as well as candour which he discovers in his reply, appears to have been well intitled to the confidence which Columbus placed in him. He warmly approved of the plan, suggested several facts in confirmation of it, and encouraged Columbus to persevere in an undertaking so laudable, and which must redound so much to the honour of his country, and the benefit of Europe.

To a mind less capable of forming and of executing great designs than that of Columbus, all those reasonings, and observations, and authorities, would have served only as the foundation of some plausible and fruitless theory, which might have furnished matter for ingenious discourse, or fanciful conjecture. But with his sanguine and enterprising temper, speculation led directly to action. Fully satisfied himself with respect to the truth of his system, he was impatient to bring it to the test of experiment, and to set out upon a voyage of discovery. The first step towards this was to secure the patronage of some of the considerable powers in Europe, capable of undertaking such an enterprise. As long absence had not extinguished the affection which he bore to his native country, he wished that it should reap the fruits of his labours and invention. With this view, he laid his scheme before the senate of Genoa, and making his country the first tender of his service, offered to sail under the banners of the republic, in quest of the new regions which



he expected to discover. But Columbus had resided for so many years in foreign parts, that his countrymen were unacquainted with his abilities and character; and, though a maritime people, were so little accustomed to distant voyages, that they could form no just idea of the principles on which he founded his hopes of success. They inconsiderately rejected his proposal, as the dream of a chimerical projector, and lost for ever the opportunity of restoring their commonwealth to its ancient splendour.

Having performed what was due to his country, Columbus was so little discouraged by the repulse which he had received, that, instead of relinquishing his undertaking, he pursued it with fresh ardour. He made his next overture to John II. king of Portugal, in whose dominions he had been long established, and whom he considered, on that account, as having the second claim to his service. Here every circumstance seemed to promise him a more favourable reception. He applied to a monarch of an enterprising genius, no incompetent judge in naval affairs; and proud of patronising every attempt to discover new countries. His subjects were the most experienced navigators in Europe, and the least apt to be intimidated either by the novelty or boldness of any maritime expedition. In Portugal, the professional skill of Columbus, as well as his personal good qualities, were thoroughly known; and as the former rendered it probable that his scheme was not altogether visionary, the latter exempted him from the suspicion of any sinister intention in proposing it. Accordingly, the king listened to him in the most gracious manner, and referred the consideration of his plan to Diego Ortiz, bishop of Ceuta, and two Jewish physicians, eminent cosmographers, whom he was accustomed to consult in matters of this kind. As in Genoa, ignorance had opposed and disappointed Columbus; in Lisbon, he had to combat with prejudice, an enemy no less formidable. The persons, according to whose decision his scheme was to be adopted or rejected, had been the chief directors of the Portuguese navigations, and had advised to search for a passage to India, by steering a course directly opposite to that which Columbus recommended as shorter and more certain. They could not, therefore, approve of his proposal, without submitting to the double mortification, of condemning their own theory, and of acknowledging his superior sagacity. After teasing him with captious questions, and starting innumerable objections, with a view of betraying him into such a particular explanation of his system, as might draw from him a full discovery of its nature, they deferred passing a final judgement with respect to it. In the mean time, they conspired to rob him of the honour and advantages

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which he expected from the success of his scheme, advising the king to dispatch a vessel, secretly, in order to attempt the proposed discovery, by following exactly the course which Columbus seemed to point out. John, forgetting on this occasion the sentiments becoming a monarch, meanly adopted this perfidious counsel. But the pilot, chosen to execute Columbus's plan, had neither the genius, nor the fortitude of its author. Contrary winds arose, no sight of approaching land appeared, his courage failed, and he returned to Lisbon, execrating the project as equally extravagant and dangerous.

Upon discovering this dishonourable transaction, Columbus felt the indignation natural to an ingenuous mind, and in the warmth of his resentment determined to break off all intercourse with a nation capable of such flagrant treachery. He instantly quitted the kingdom, and landed in Spain towards the close of the year one thousand four hundred and eighty-four. As he was now at liberty to court the protection of any patron, whom he could engage to approve of his plan, and to carry it into execution, he resolved to propose it in person to Ferdinand and Isabella, who at that time governed the united kingdoms of Castile and Arragon. But as he had already experienced the uncertain issue of applications to kings and ministers, he took the precaution of sending into England his brother Bartholomew, to whom he had fully communicated his ideas, in order that he might negotiate, at the same time, with Henry VII. who was reputed one of the most sagacious as well as opulent princes in Europe.

It was not without reason that Columbus entertained doubts and fears with respect to the reception of his proposals in the Spanish court. Spain was, at that juncture, engaged in a dangerous war with Granada, the last of the Moorish kingdoms in that country. The wary and suspicious temper of Ferdinand was not formed to relish bold or uncommon designs. Isabella, though more generous and enterprising, was under the influence of her husband in all her actions. The Spaniards had hitherto made no efforts to extend navigation beyond its ancient limits, and had beheld the amazing progress of discovery among their neighbours the Portuguese, without one attempt to imitate or to rival them. The war with the Infidels afforded an ample field to the national activity and love of glory. Under circumstances so unfavourable, it was impossible for Columbus to make rapid progress with a nation, naturally slow and dilatory in forming all its resolutions. His character, however, was admirably adapted to that of the people, whose confidence and protection he solicited. He was grave, though courteous in his deportment; circumspect in his words and actions; irreproachable in his morals; and  
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exemplary in his attention to all the duties and functions of religion. By qualities so respectable, he not only gained many private friends, but acquired such general esteem, that, notwithstanding the plainness of his appearance, suitable to the mediocrity of his fortune, he was not considered as a mere adventurer, to whom indigence had suggested a visionary project, but was received as a person to whose propositions serious attention was due.

Ferdinand and Isabella, though fully occupied by their operations against the Moors, paid so much regard to Columbus, as to remit the consideration of his plan to the queen's confessor, Ferdinand de Talavera. He consulted such of his countrymen as were supposed best qualified to decide with respect to a subject of this kind. But true science had, hitherto, made so little progress in Spain, that the pretended philosophers, selected to judge in a matter of such moment, did not comprehend the first principles upon which Columbus founded his conjectures and hopes. Some of them, from mistaken notions concerning the dimensions of the globe, contended that a voyage to those remote parts of the east, which Columbus expected to discover, could not be performed in less than three years. Others concluded, that either he would find the ocean to be of infinite extent, according to the opinion of some ancient philosophers; or, if he should persist in steering towards the west beyond a certain point, that the convex figure of the globe would prevent his return, and that he must inevitably perish, in the vain attempt to open a communication between the two opposite hemispheres, which nature had for ever disjoined. Even without deigning to enter into any particular discussion, many rejected the scheme in general, upon the credit of a maxim, under which the ignorant and unenterprising shelter themselves in every age, "That it is presumptuous in any person, to suppose that he alone possesses knowledge superior to all the rest of mankind united." They maintained, that if there were really any such countries as Columbus pretended, they could not have remained so long concealed, nor would the wisdom and sagacity of former ages have left the glory of this invention to an obscure Genoese pilot.

It required all Columbus's patience and address to negotiate with men capable of advancing such strange propositions. He had to contend not only with the obstinacy of ignorance, but with what is still more intracetable, the pride of false knowledge. After innumerable conferences, and wasting five years in fruitless endeavours to inform and to satisfy judges so little capable of deciding with propriety, Talavera, at last, made such an unfavourable report to Ferdinand and Isabella, as induced them to acquaint Columbus, that until the war with the Moors should be



brought to a period, it would be imprudent to engage in any new and expensive enterprize.

Whatever care was taken to soften the harshness of this declaration, Columbus considered it as a final rejection of his proposals. But happily for mankind, the superiority of genius, which is capable of forming great and uncommon designs, is usually accompanied with an ardent enthusiasm, which can neither be cooled by delays, nor damped by disappointment. Columbus was of this sanguine temper. Though he felt deeply the cruel blow given to his hopes, and retired immediately from a court, where he had been amused so long with vain expectations, his confidence in the justness of his own system did not diminish, and his impatience to demonstrate the truth of it by an actual experiment became greater than ever. Having courted the protection of sovereign states without success, he applied, next, to persons of inferior rank, and addressed successively the dukes of Medina Sidonia, and Medina Celi, who, though subjects, were possessed of power and opulence more than equal to the enterprize which he projected. His negotiations with them proved as fruitless, as those in which he had been hitherto engaged; for these noblemen were either as little convinced by Columbus's arguments as their superiors, or they were afraid of alarming the jealousy, and offending the pride of Ferdinand, by countenancing a scheme which he had rejected.

Amid the painful sensations occasioned by such a succession of disappointments, Columbus had to sustain the additional distress, of having received no accounts from his brother, whom he had sent to the court of England. In his voyage to that country, Bartholomew had been so unfortunate as to fall into the hands of pirates, who having stripped him of every thing, detained him a prisoner for several years. At length, he made his escape, and arrived in London, but in such extreme indigence, that he was obliged to employ himself, during a considerable time, in drawing and selling maps, in order to pick up as much money as would purchase a decent dress, in which he might venture to appear at court. He then laid before the king the proposals, with which he had been entrusted by his brother, and, notwithstanding Henry's excessive caution and parsimony, which rendered him averse to new or expensive undertakings, he received Columbus's overtures, with more approbation, than any monarch to whom they had hitherto been presented.

Meanwhile, Columbus being unacquainted with his brother's fate, and having now no prospect of encouragement in Spain, resolved to visit the court of England in person, in hopes of meeting with a more favourable reception there. He had already made preparations for this purpose,



purpose, and taken measures for the disposal of his children during his absence, when Juan Perez, the guardian of the monastery of Rabida, near Palos, in which they had been educated, earnestly solicited him to defer his journey for a short time. Perez was a man of considerable learning, and of some credit with Queen Isabella, to whom he was known personally. He was warmly attached to Columbus, with whose abilities as well as integrity he had many opportunities of being acquainted. Prompted by curiosity or by friendship, he entered upon an accurate examination of his system, in conjunction with a physician settled in the neighbourhood, who was a considerable proficient in mathematical knowledge. This investigation satisfied them so thoroughly, with respect to the solidity of the principles on which Columbus founded his opinion, and the probability of success in executing the plan which he proposed, that Perez, in order to prevent his country from being deprived of the glory and benefit, which must accrue to the patrons of such a grand enterprise, ventured to write to Isabella, conjuring her to consider the matter anew, with the attention which it merited.

Moved by the representations of a person whom she respected, Isabella desired Perez to repair immediately to the village of Santa Fé, in which, on account of the siege of Granada, the court resided at that time, that she might confer with him upon this important subject. The first effect of their interview was a gracious invitation of Columbus back to court, accompanied with the present of a small sum to equip him for the journey. As there was now a certain prospect, that the war with the Moors would speedily be brought to an happy issue by the reduction of Granada, which would leave the nation at liberty to engage in new undertakings; this, as well as the mark of royal favour, with which Columbus had been lately honoured, encouraged his friends to appear with greater confidence than formerly in support of his scheme. The chief of these, Alonso de Quintanilla, comptroller of the finances in Castile, and Luis de Santangel, receiver of the ecclesiastical revenues in Arragon, whose meritorious zeal in promoting this great design entitles their names to an honourable place in history, introduced Columbus to many persons of high rank, and interested them warmly in his behalf.

But it was not an easy matter to inspire Ferdinand with favourable sentiments. He still regarded Columbus's project as extravagant and chimerical; and in order to render the efforts of his partizans ineffectual, he had the address to employ in this new negociation with him, some of the persons who had formerly pronounced his scheme to be impracticable. To their astonishment, Columbus appeared before them with the same confident hopes of success as formerly, and insisted upon  
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the same high recompence. He proposed that a small fleet should be fitted out, under his command, to attempt the discovery, and demanded to be appointed hereditary admiral and viceroy of all the seas and lands which he should discover; and to have the tenth of the profits arising from them, settled irrevocably upon himself and his descendants. At the same time, he offered to advance the eighth part of the sum necessary for accomplishing his design, on condition that he should be entitled to a proportional share of benefit from the adventure. If the enterprise should totally miscarry, he made no stipulation for any reward or emolument whatever. Instead of viewing this conduct as the clearest evidence of his full persuasion with respect to the truth of his own system, or being struck with that magnanimity which, after so many delays and repulses, would stoop to nothing inferior to its original claims, the persons with whom Columbus treated, began meanly to calculate the expence of the expedition, and the value of the reward which he demanded. The expence, moderate as it was, they represented to be too great for Spain, in the present exhausted state of its finances. They contended, that the honours and emoluments claimed by Columbus, were exorbitant, even if he should perform the utmost of what he had promised; and if all his sanguine hopes should prove illusive, such vast concessions to an adventurer would be deemed not only inconsiderate, but ridiculous. In this imposing garb of caution and prudence, their opinion appeared so plausible, and was so warmly supported by Ferdinand, that Isabella declined giving any countenance to Columbus, and abruptly broke off the negotiation with him which she had begun.

This was more mortifying to Columbus than all the disappointments which he had hitherto met with. The invitation to court from Isabella, like an unexpected ray of light, had opened such prospects of success, as encouraged him to hope that his labours were at an end; but now darkness and uncertainty returned, and his mind, firm as it was, could hardly support the shock of such an unforeseen reverse. He withdrew in deep anguish from court, with an intention of prosecuting his voyage to England, as his last resource.

About that time Granada surrendered, and Ferdinand and Isabella, in triumphal pomp, took possession of a city, the reduction of which extirpated a foreign power from the heart of their dominions, and rendered them masters of all the provinces, extending from the bottom of the Pyrenees to the frontiers of Portugal. As the flow of spirits which accompanies success elevates the mind, and renders it enterprising, Quintanilla and Santangel, the vigilant and discerning patrons of Columbus, took advantage of this favourable situation, in order to make one effort

more in behalf of their friend. They addressed themselves to Isabella, and, after expressing some surprise, that she, who had always been the munificent patroness of generous undertakings, should hesitate so long to countenance the most splendid scheme that had ever been proposed to any monarch; they represented to her, that Columbus was a man of a sound understanding and virtuous character, well qualified, by his experience in navigation, as well as his knowledge of geometry, to form just ideas with respect to the structure of the globe and the situation of its various regions; that, by offering to risk his own life and fortune in the execution of his scheme, he gave the most satisfying evidence both of his integrity and hope of success; that the sum requisite for equipping such an armament as he demanded was inconsiderable, and the advantages which might accrue from his undertaking were immense; that he demanded no recompence for his invention and labour, but what was to arise from the countries which he should discover; that, as it was worthy of her magnanimity to make this noble attempt to extend the sphere of human knowledge, and to open an intercourse with regions hitherto unknown, so it would afford the highest satisfaction to her piety and zeal, after re-establishing the Christian faith in those provinces of Spain from which it had been long banished, to discover a new world, to which she might communicate the light and blessings of divine truth; that if now she did not decide instantly, the opportunity would be irretrievably lost; that Columbus was on his way to foreign countries, where some prince, more fortunate or adventurous, would close with his proposals, and Spain would for ever bewail the fatal timidity which had excluded her from the glory and advantages that she had once in her power to have enjoyed.

These forcible arguments, urged by persons of such authority, and at a juncture so well chosen, produced the desired effect. They dispelled all Isabella's doubts and fears; she ordered Columbus to be instantly recalled, declared her resolution of employing him on his own terms, and regretting the low state of her finances, generously offered to pledge her own jewels, in order to raise as much money as might be needed in making preparations for the voyage. Santangel, in a transport of gratitude, kissed the queen's hand, and in order to save her from having recourse to such a mortifying expedient for procuring money, engaged to advance immediately the sum that was requisite.

Columbus had proceeded some leagues on his journey, when the messenger from Isabella overtook him. Upon receiving an account of the unexpected revolution in his favour, he returned directly to Santo Fe, though some remainder of diffidence still mingled itself with his joy.

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But the cordial reception which he met with from Isabella, together with the near prospect of setting out upon that voyage which had so long been the object of his thoughts and wishes, soon effaced the remembrance of all that he had suffered in Spain, during eight tedious years of solicitation and suspense. The negotiation now went forward with facility and dispatch, and a treaty of capitulation with Columbus was signed on the seventeenth of April, one thousand four hundred and ninety-two. The chief articles of it were, 1. Ferdinand and Isabella, as sovereigns of the ocean, constituted Columbus their high admiral in all the seas, islands, and continents which should be discovered by his industry; and stipulated, that he and his heirs for ever should enjoy this office, with the same powers and prerogatives which belonged to the high admiral of Castile, within the limits of his jurisdiction. 2. They appointed Columbus their viceroy in all the islands and continents which he should discover; but if, for the better administration of affairs, it should hereafter be necessary to establish a separate governor in any of those countries, they authorised Columbus to name three persons, of whom they would chuse one for that office; and the dignity of viceroy, with all its immunities, was likewise to be hereditary in the family of Columbus. 3. They granted to Columbus and his heirs for ever the tenth of the free profits accruing from the productions and commerce of the countries which he should discover. 4. They declared, that if any controversy or law-suit shall arise with respect to any mercantile transaction in the countries which should be discovered, it should be determined by the sole authority of Columbus, or of judges to be appointed by him. 5. They permitted Columbus to advance one-eighth part of what should be expended in preparing for the expedition, and in carrying on commerce with the countries which he should discover, and intitled him, in return, to an eighth part of the profit.

Though the name of Ferdinand appears conjoined with that of Isabella in this transaction, his distrust of Columbus was still so violent that he refused to take any part in the enterprise as king of Arragon. As the whole expence of the expedition was to be defrayed by the crown of Castile, Isabella reserved for her subjects of that kingdom an exclusive right to all the benefits which might redound from its success.

As soon as the treaty was signed, Isabella, by her attention and activity in forwarding the preparations for the voyage, endeavoured to make some reparation to Columbus for the time which he had lost in fruitless solicitation. By the twelfth of May, all that depended upon her was adjusted; and Columbus waited on the king and queen, in order to receive their final instructions. Every thing respecting the destination

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and conduct of the voyage, they committed implicitly to the disposal of his prudence. But, that they might avoid giving any just cause of offence to the king of Portugal, they strictly enjoined him not to approach near to the Portuguese settlements on the coast of Guinea, or in any of the other countries to which the Portuguese claimed right as discoverers. Isabella had ordered the ships, of which Columbus was to take the command, to be fitted out in the port of Palos, a small maritime town in the province of Andalusia. As the guardian Juan Perez, to whom Columbus has already been so much indebted, resided in the neighbourhood of this place, he, by the influence of that good ecclesiastic, as well as by his own connection with the inhabitants, not only raised among them what he wanted of the sum that he was bound by treaty to advance, but engaged several of them to accompany him in the voyage. The chief of these associates were three brothers of the name of Pinzon, of considerable wealth, and of great experience in naval affairs, who were willing to hazard their lives and fortunes in the expedition.

But, after all the efforts of Isabella and Columbus, the armament was not suitable, either to the dignity of the nation by which it was equipped, or to the importance of the service for which it was destined. It consisted of three vessels. The largest, a ship of no considerable burden, was commanded by Columbus, as admiral, who gave it the name of *Santa Maria*, out of respect for the Blessed Virgin, whom he honoured with singular devotion. Of the second, called the *Pinta*, Martin Pinzon was captain, and his brother Francis pilot. The third, named the *Nigna*, was under the command of Vincent Yanez Pinzon. These two were light vessels, hardly superior in burden or force to large boats. This squadron, if it merits that name, was victualled for twelve months, and had on board ninety men, mostly sailors, together with a few adventurers who followed the fortune of Columbus, and some gentlemen of Isabella's court, whom she appointed to accompany him. Though the expence of the undertaking was one of the circumstances which chiefly alarmed the court of Spain, and retarded so long the negotiation with Columbus, the sum employed in fitting out this squadron did not exceed four thousand pounds.

As the art of ship-building in the fifteenth century was extremely rude, and the bulk of vessels was accommodated to the short and easy voyages along the coast which they were accustomed to perform, it is a proof of the courage as well as enterprising genius of Columbus, that he ventured, with a fleet so unfit for a distant navigation, to explore unknown seas, where he had no chart to guide him, no knowledge of the tides and currents, and no experience of the dangers to which he might

be exposed. His eagerness to accomplish the great design which had so long engrossed his thoughts, made him overlook or disregard every circumstance that would have intimidated a mind less adventurous. He pushed forward the preparations with such ardour, and was seconded so effectually by the persons to whom Isabella committed the superintendence of this business, that every thing was soon in readiness for the voyage. But as Columbus was deeply impressed with sentiments of religion, he would not set out upon an expedition so arduous, and of which one great object was to extend the knowledge of the Christian faith, without imploring publicly the guidance and protection of Heaven. With this view, he, together with all the persons under his command, marched in solemn procession to the monastery of Rabida. After confessing their sins, and obtaining absolution, they received the holy sacrament from the hands of the guardian, who joined his prayers to theirs for the success of an enterprise which he had so zealously patronized.

Next morning, being Friday the third day of August, in the year one thousand four hundred and ninety-two, Columbus set sail, a little before sun-rise, in presence of a vast crowd of spectators, who sent up their supplications to Heaven for the prosperous issue of the voyage, which they wished, rather than expected. Columbus steered directly for the Canary Islands, and arrived there, August 13, 1492, without any occurrence that would have deserved notice on any other occasion. But, in a voyage of such expectation and importance, every circumstance was the object of attention. The rudder of the *Pinta* broke loose, the day after she left the harbour, and that accident alarmed the crew, no less superstitious than unskilful, as a certain omen of the unfortunate destiny of the expedition. Even in the short run to the Canaries, the ships were found to be so crazy and ill appointed, as to be very improper for a navigation which was expected to be both long and dangerous. Columbus resisted them, however, to the best of his power, and having supplied himself with fresh provisions he took his departure from Gomera, one of the most westerly of the Canary islands, on the sixth day of September.

Here the voyage of discovery may properly be said to begin; for Columbus holding his course due west, left immediately the usual track of navigation, and stretched into unfrequented and unknown seas. The first day, as it was very calm, he made but little way; but on the second, he lost sight of the Canaries; and many of the sailors, dejected already and dismayed, when they contemplated the boldness of the undertaking, began to beat their breasts, and to shed tears, as if they were never more to behold land. Columbus comforted them with assurances of success, and the prospect of vast wealth, in those opulent regions whither he was conducting them. This early discovery of the spirit of his followers

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taught Columbus, that he must prepare to struggle, not only with the unavoidable difficulties which might be expected from the nature of his undertaking, but with such as were likely to arise from the ignorance and timidity of the people under his command; and he perceived that the art of governing the minds of men would be no less requisite for accomplishing the discoveries which he had in view, than naval skill and undaunted courage. Happily for himself, and for the country by which he was employed, he joined to the ardent temper and inventive genius of a projector, virtues of another species, which are rarely united with them. He possessed a thorough knowledge of mankind, an insinuating address, a patient perseverance in executing any plan, the perfect government of his passions, and the talent of acquiring an ascendant over those of other men. All these qualities, which formed him for command, were accompanied with that superior knowledge of his profession, which begets confidence in times of difficulty and danger. To unskilful Spanish sailors, accustomed only to coasting voyages in the Mediterranean, the maritime science of Columbus, the fruit of thirty years experience, improved by an acquaintance with all the inventions of the Portuguese, appeared immense. As soon as they put to sea, he regulated every thing by his sole authority; he superintended the execution of every order; and allowing himself only a few hours for sleep, he was at all other times upon deck. As his course lay through seas which had not formerly been visited, the sounding-line, or instruments for observation, were continually in his hands. After the example of the Portuguese discoverers, he attended to the motion of tides and currents, watched the flight of birds, the appearance of fishes, of sea-weeds, and of every thing that floated on the waves, and entered every occurrence, with a minute exactness, in the journal which he kept. As the length of the voyage could not fail of alarming sailors habituated only to short excursions, Columbus endeavoured to conceal from them the real progress which they made. With this view, though they run eighteen leagues on the second day after they left Gomera; he gave out that they had advanced only fifteen, and he uniformly employed the same artifice of reckoning short during the whole voyage. By the fourteenth of September, the fleet was above two hundred leagues to the west of the Canary Isles, at a greater distance from land than any Spaniard had been before that time. There they were struck with an appearance no less astonishing than new. They observed that the magnetic needle, in their compasses, did not point exactly to the polar star, but varied towards the west; and as they proceeded, this variation increased. This appearance, which is now familiar, though it still remains one of the mysteries of nature, into the

cause of which the sagacity of man hath not been able to penetrate, filled the companions of Columbus with terror. They were now in a boundless unknown ocean, far from the usual course of navigation; nature itself seemed to be altered, and the only guide which they had left was about to fail them. Columbus, with no less quickness than ingenuity, invented a reason for this appearance, which, though it did not satisfy himself, seemed so plausible to them, that it dispelled their fears, or silenced their murmurs.

He still continued to steer due west, nearly in the same latitude with the Canary islands. In this course he came within the sphere of the trade wind, which blows invariably from east to west, between the tropics and a few degrees beyond them. He advanced before this steady gale with such uniform rapidity, that it was seldom necessary to shift a sail. When about four hundred leagues to the west of the Canaries, he found the sea so covered with weeds, that it resembled a meadow of vast extent; and in some places they were so thick, as to retard the motion of the vessels. This strange appearance occasioned new alarm and disquiet. The sailors imagined that they were now arrived at the utmost boundary of the navigable ocean; that these floating weeds would obstruct their farther progress, and concealed dangerous rocks, or some large tract of land, which had sunk, they knew not how, in that place. Columbus endeavoured to persuade them, that what had alarmed, ought rather to have encouraged them, and was to be considered as a sign of approaching land. At the same time, a brisk gale arose, and carried them forward. Several birds were seen hovering about the ship\*, and directed their flight towards the west. The desponding crew resumed some degree of spirit, and began to entertain fresh hopes.

\* As the Portuguese, in making their discoveries, did not depart far from the coast of Africa, they concluded that birds, whose flight they observed with great attention, did not venture to any considerable distance from land. In the infancy of navigation, it was not known, that birds often stretch their flight to an immense distance from any shore. In sailing towards the West-Indian islands, birds are often seen at the distance of two hundred leagues from the nearest coast. Sloane's Nat. Hist. of Jamaica, vol. i. p. 30. Catesby saw an owl at sea, when the ship was six hundred leagues distant from land. Nat. Hist. of Carolina, pref. p. 7. Hist. Naturelle de M. Buffon, tom. xvi. p. 32. From which it appears, that this indication of land, on which Columbus seems to have relied with some confidence, was extremely uncertain. This observation is confirmed by Captain Cook, the most extensive and experienced navigator of any age or nation. "No one yet knows (says he) to what distance any of the oceanic birds go to sea; for my own part, I do not believe that there is one in the whole tribe that can be relied on in pointing out the vicinity of land." Voyage towards the South Pole, vol. i.



Upon the first of October they were, according to the admiral's reckoning, seven hundred and seventy leagues to the west of the Canaries; but lest his men should be intimidated by the prodigious length of navigation, he gave out that they had proceeded only five hundred and eighty-four leagues; and, fortunately for Columbus, neither his own pilot, nor those of the other ships, had skill sufficient to correct this error, and discover the deceit. They had now been above three weeks at sea; they had proceeded far beyond what former navigators had attempted or deemed possible; all their prognostics of discovery, drawn from the flight of birds and other circumstances, had proved fallacious; the appearances of land, with which their own credulity or the artifice of their commander had from time to time flattered and amused them, had been altogether illusive, and their prospect of success seemed now to be as distant as ever. These reflections occurred often to men, who had no other object or occupation, than to reason and discourse concerning the intention and circumstances of their expedition. They made impression, at first, upon the ignorant and timid, and extending, by degrees, to such as were better informed or more resolute, the contagion spread at length from ship to ship. From secret whispers or murmurings, they proceeded to open cabals and public complaints. They taxed their sovereign with inconsiderate credulity, in paying such regard to the vain promises and rash conjectures of an indigent foreigner, as to hazard the lives of so many of her own subjects, in prosecuting a chimerical scheme. They affirmed that they had fully performed their duty, by venturing so far in an unknown and hopeless course, and could incur no blame, for refusing to follow, any longer, a desperate adventurer to certain destruction. They contended, that it was necessary to think of returning to Spain, while their crazy vessels were still in a condition to keep the sea, but expressed their fears that the attempt would prove vain, as the wind, which had hitherto been so favourable to their course, must render it impossible to sail in the opposite direction. All agreed that Columbus should be compelled by force to adopt a measure on which their common safety depended. Some of the more audacious proposed, as the most expeditious and certain method for getting rid at once of his remonstrances, to throw him into the sea, being persuaded, that, upon their return to Spain, the death of an unsuccessful projector would excite little concern, and be inquired into with no curiosity.

Columbus was fully sensible of his perilous situation. He had observed, with great uneasiness, the fatal operation of ignorance and of fear in producing disaffection among his crew, and saw that it was now ready

to burst out into open mutiny. He retained, however, perfect presence of mind. He affected to seem ignorant of their machinations. Notwithstanding the agitation and solicitude of his own mind, he appeared with a cheerful countenance, like a man satisfied with the progress which he had made, and confident of success. Sometimes he employed all the arts of insinuation to soothe his men. Sometimes he endeavoured to work upon their ambition or avarice, by magnificent descriptions of the fame and wealth which they were about to acquire. On other occasions, he assumed a tone of authority, and threatened them with vengeance from their sovereign, if, by their dastardly behaviour, they should defeat this noble effort to promote the glory of God, and to exalt the Spanish name above that of every other nation. Even with seditious sailors, the words of a man whom they had been accustomed to reverence, were weighty and persuasive, and not only restrained them from those violent excesses, which they meditated, but prevailed with them to accompany their admiral for some time longer.

As they proceeded, the indications of approaching land seemed to be more certain, and excited hope in proportion. The birds began to appear in flocks, making towards the south-west. Columbus, in imitation of the Portuguese navigators, who had been guided, in several of their discoveries, by the motion of birds, altered his course from due west towards that quarter whither they pointed their flight. But, after holding on for several days in this new direction, without any better success than formerly, having seen no object, during thirty days, but the sea and the sky, the hopes of his companions subsided faster than they had risen; their fears revived with additional force; impatience, rage, and despair, appeared in every countenance. All sense of subordination was lost: the officers, who had hitherto concurred with Columbus in opinion, and supported his authority, now took part with the private men; they assembled tumultuously on the deck, expostulated with their commander, mingled threats with their expostulations, and required him instantly to tack about and to return to Europe. Columbus perceived that it would be of no avail to have recourse to any of his former arts, which having been tried so often, had lost their effect; and that it was impossible to rekindle any zeal for the success of the expedition among men, in whose breasts fear had extinguished every generous sentiment. He saw that it was no less vain to think of employing either gentle or severe measures, to quell a mutiny so general and so violent. It was necessary, on all these accounts, to soothe passions which he could no longer command, and to give way to a torrent too impetuous to be checked. He prom-  
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mised solemnly to his men that he would comply with their request, provided they would accompany him, and obey his commands for three days longer, and if, during that time, land were not discovered, he would then abandon the enterprize, and direct his course towards Spain.

Enraged as the sailors were, and impatient to turn their faces again towards their native country, this proposition did not appear to them unreasonable. Nor did Columbus hazard much in confining himself to a term so short. The presages of discovering land were now so numerous and promising, that he deemed them infallible. For some days the sounding line reached the bottom, and the soil which it brought up indicated land to be at no great distance. The flocks of birds increased, and were composed not only of sea fowl, but of such land birds as could not be supposed to fly far from the shore. The crew of the *Pinta* observed a cane floating, which seemed to have been newly cut, and likewise a piece of timber artificially carved. The sailors aboard the *Nigna* took up the branch of a tree with red berries, perfectly fresh. The clouds around the setting sun assumed a new appearance; the air was more mild and warm, and, during night, the wind became unequal and variable. From all these symptoms, Columbus was so confident of being near land, that on the evening of the eleventh of October, after public prayers for success, he ordered the sails to be furled, and the ships to lie to, keeping strict watch, lest they should be driven ashore in the night. During this interval of suspense and expectation, no man shut his eyes, all kept upon deck, gazing intently towards that quarter where they expected to discover the land, which had been so long the object of their wishes.

About two hours before midnight, Columbus standing on the fore-castle, observed a light at a distance, and privately pointed it out to Pedro Gutierrez, a page of the queen's wardrobe. Gutierrez perceived it, and calling to Salcedo, comptroller of the fleet, all three saw it in motion, as if it were carried from place to place. A little after midnight, the joyful sound of *land, land*, was heard from the *Pinta*, which kept always ahead of the other ships. But, having been so often deceived by fallacious appearances, every man was now become slow of belief, and waited, in all the anguish of uncertainty and impatience, for the return of day. As soon as morning dawned, Friday, October 12, all doubts and fears were dispelled. From every ship an island was seen about two leagues to the north, whose flat and verdant fields, well stored with wood, and watered with many rivulets, presented the aspect of a delightful country. The crew of the *Pinta* instantly began the *Te Deum*, as a hymn of thanksgiving to God, and were joined by those  
of

of the other ships, with tears of joy and transports of congratulation. This office of gratitude to Heaven was followed by an act of justice to their commander. They threw themselves at the feet of Columbus, with feelings of self-condemnation mingled with reverence. They implored him to pardon their ignorance, incredulity, and insolence, which had created him so much unnecessary disquiet, and had so often obstructed the prosecution of his well-concerted plan; and passing, in the warmth of their admiration, from one extreme to another, they now pronounced the man, whom they had so lately reviled and threatened, to be a person inspired by Heaven with sagacity and fortitude more than human, in order to accomplish a design, so far beyond the ideas and conception of all former ages.

As soon as the sun arose, all their boats were manned and armed. They rowed towards the island with their colours displayed, with warlike music, and other martial pomp. As they approached the coast, they saw it covered with a multitude of people, whom the novelty of the spectacle had drawn together, whose attitudes and gestures expressed wonder and astonishment at the strange objects which presented themselves to their view. Columbus was the first European who set foot in the New World which he had discovered. He landed in a rich dress, and with a naked sword in his hand. His men followed, and kneeling down, they all kissed the ground which they had so long desired to see. They next erected a crucifix, and prostrating themselves before it, returned thanks to God for conducting their voyage to such an happy issue. They then took solemn possession of the country for the crown of Castile and Leon, with all the formalities which the Portuguese were accustomed to observe in acts of this kind, in their new discoveries.

The Spaniards, while thus employed, were surrounded by many of the natives, who gazed, in silent admiration, upon actions which they could not comprehend, and of which they did not foresee the consequences. The dress of the Spaniards, the whiteness of their skins, their beards, their arms, appeared strange and surprising. The vast machines in which they had traversed the ocean, that seemed to move upon the waters with wings, and uttered a dreadful sound resembling thunder, accompanied with lightning and smoke, struck them with such terror, that they began to respect their new guests as a superior order of beings, and concluded that they were children of the Sun, who had descended to visit the earth.

The Europeans were hardly less amazed at the scene now before them. Every herb, and shrub, and tree, was different from those which



flourished in Europe. The soil seemed to be rich, but bore few marks of cultivation. The climate, even to Spaniards, felt warm, though extremely delightful. The inhabitants appeared in the simple innocence of nature, entirely naked. Their black hair, long and uncurled, floated upon their shoulders, or was bound in tresses around their heads. They had no beards, and every part of their bodies was perfectly smooth. Their complexion was of a dusky copper colour, their features singular, rather than disagreeable, their aspect gentle and timid. Though not tall, they were well shaped, and active. Their faces, and several parts of their body, were fantastically painted with glaring colours. They were shy at first through fear, but soon became familiar with the Spaniards, and with transports of joy received from them hawks-bells, glass beads, or other baubles, in return for which they gave such provisions as they had, and some cotton yarn, the only commodity of value that they could produce. Towards evening, Columbus returned to his ships, accompanied by many of the islanders in their boats, which they called *canoes*, and though rudely formed out of the trunk of a single tree, they rowed them with surprising dexterity. Thus, in the first interview between the inhabitants of the old and new worlds, every thing was conducted amicably, and to their mutual satisfaction. The former, enlightened and ambitious, formed already vast ideas with respect to the advantages which they might derive from the regions that began to open to their view. The latter, simple and undiscerning, had no foresight of the calamities and desolation which were approaching their country.

Columbus, who now assumed the title and authority of admiral and viceroy, called the island which he had discovered *San Salvador*. It is better known by the name of *Guanabani*, which the natives gave to it, and is one of that large cluster of islands called the Lucaya or Bahama isles. It is situated above three thousand miles to the west of Gomera, from which the squadron took its departure, and only four degrees to the south of it; so little had Columbus deviated from the westerly course, which he had chosen as the most proper.

Columbus employed the next day in visiting the coasts of the island; and from the universal poverty of the inhabitants, he perceived that this was not the rich country for which he sought. But, conformably to his theory concerning the discovery of those regions of Asia which stretched towards the east, he concluded that San Salvador was one of the isles which geographers described as situated in the great ocean adjacent to India. Having observed that most of the people whom he had seen wore small plates of gold, by way of ornament, in their nos-

trils, he eagerly inquired where they got that precious metal. They pointed towards the south, and made him comprehend by signs, that gold abounded in countries situated in that quarter. Thither he immediately determined to direct his course, in full confidence of finding there those opulent regions which had been the object of his voyage, and would be a recompence for all his toils and dangers. He took along with him seven of the natives of San Salvador, that, by acquiring the Spanish language, they might serve as guides and interpreters; and those innocent people considered it as a mark of distinction when they were selected to accompany him.

He saw several islands, and touched at three of the largest, on which he bestowed the names of St. Mary of the Conception, Fernandina, and Isabella. But as their soil, productions, and inhabitants, nearly resembled those of San Salvador, he made no stay in any of them. He inquired every where for gold, and the signs that were uniformly made by way of answer, confirmed him in the opinion that it was brought from the south. He followed that course, and soon discovered a country which appeared very extensive, not perfectly level, like those which he had already visited, but so diversified with rising grounds, hills, rivers, woods, and plains, that he was uncertain whether it might prove an island, or part of the continent. The natives of San Salvador, whom he had on board, called it *Cuba*; Columbus gave it the name of Joanna. He entered the mouth of a large river with his squadron, and all the inhabitants fled to the mountains as he approached the shore. But as he resolved to careen his ships in that place, he sent some Spaniards, together with one of the people of San Salvador, to view the interior parts of the country. They, having advanced above sixty miles from the shore, reported upon their return, that the soil was richer and more cultivated than any they had hitherto discovered; that, besides many scattered cottages, they had found one village, containing above a thousand inhabitants; that the people, though naked, seemed to be more intelligent than those of San Salvador, but had treated them with the same respectful attention, kissing their feet, and honouring them as sacred beings allied to Heaven; that they had given them to eat a certain root, the taste of which resembled roasted chestnuts, and likewise a singular species of corn called *maize*, which, either when roasted whole or ground into meal, was abundantly palatable; that there seemed to be no four-footed animals in the country, but a species of dogs, which could not bark, and a creature resembling a rabbit, but of a much smaller size; that they had observed some ornaments of gold among the people, but of no great value.

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These messengers had prevailed with some of the natives to accompany them, who informed Columbus, that the gold of which they made their ornaments was found in *Cubanacan*. By this word they meant the middle or inland part of Cuba; but Columbus, being ignorant of their language, as well as unaccustomed to their pronunciation, and his thoughts running continually upon his own theory concerning the discovery of the East Indies, he was led, by the resemblance of sound, to suppose that they spoke of the Great Khan, and imagined that the opulent kingdom of *Cathay*, described by Marco Polo, was not very remote. This induced him to employ some time in viewing the country. He visited almost every harbour, from Porto del Principe, on the north coast of Cuba, to the eastern extremity of the island; but though delighted with the beauty of the scenes, which every where presented themselves, and amazed at the luxuriant fertility of the soil, both which, from their novelty, made a more lively impression upon his imagination\*, he did not find gold in such quantity as was sufficient to satisfy either the avarice of his followers, or the expectations of the court to which he was to return. The people of the country, as much astonished at his eagerness in quest of gold, as the Europeans were at their ignorance and simplicity, pointed towards the east, where an island which they called Hayti was situated, in which that metal was more abundant than among them. Columbus ordered his squadron to bend its course thither; but Martin Alonso Pinzon, impatient to be the first who should take possession of the treasures which this country was supposed to contain, quitted his companions, regardless of all the admiral's signals to slacken sail until they should come up with him.

Columbus, retarded by contrary winds, did not reach Hayti till the sixth of December. He called the port where he first touched St.

\* In a letter of the admiral's to Ferdinand and Isabella, he describes one of the harbours in Cuba, with all the enthusiastic admiration of a discoverer.—“ I discovered a river which a galley might easily enter; the beauty of it induced me to sound, and I found from five to eight fathoms of water. Having proceeded a considerable way up the river, every thing invited me to settle there. The beauty of the river, the clearness of the water, through which I could see the sandy bottom, the multitude of palm-trees of different kinds, the tallest and finest I had seen, and an infinite number of other large and flourishing trees, the birds, and the verdure of the plains, are so wonderfully beautiful, that this country excels all others as far as the day surpasses the night in brightness and splendour, so that I often said, that it would be in vain for me to attempt to give your highnesses a full account of it, for neither my tongue nor my pen could come up to the truth, and indeed I am so much amazed at the sight of such beauty, that I know not how to describe it.” *Life of Columb. c. 30.*

Nicholas, and the island itself Espagnola, in honour of the kingdom by which he was employed; and it is the only country, of those he had yet discovered, which has retained the name that he gave it. As he could neither meet with the *Pinta*, nor have any intercourse with the inhabitants, who fled in great consternation towards the woods, he soon quitted St. Nicholas, and sailing along the northern coast of the island, he entered another harbour, which he called the Conception. Here he was more fortunate; his people overtook a woman who was flying from them, and after treating her with great gentleness, dismissed her with a present of such toys as they knew were most valued in those regions. The description which she gave to her countrymen of the humanity and wonderful qualities of the strangers; their admiration of the trinkets, which she shewed with exultation; and their eagerness to participate of the same favours; removed all their fears, and induced many of them to repair to the harbour. The strange objects which they beheld, and the baubles, which Columbus bestowed upon them, amply gratified their curiosity and their wishes. They nearly resembled the people of Guanahani and Cuba. They were naked like them, ignorant, and simple; and seemed to be equally unacquainted with all the arts which appear most necessary in polished societies; but they were gentle, credulous, and timid, to a degree which rendered it easy to acquire the ascendancy over them, especially as their excessive admiration led them into the same error with the people of the other islands, in believing the Spaniards to be more than mortals, and descended immediately from Heaven. They possessed gold in greater abundance than their neighbours, which they readily exchanged for bells, beads, or pins; and in this unequal traffic both parties were highly pleased, each considering themselves as gainers by the transaction. Here Columbus was visited by a prince or *cazique* of the country. He appeared with all the pomp known among a simple people, being carried in a sort of palanquin upon the shoulders of four men, and attended by many of his subjects, who served him with great respect. His deportment was grave and stately, very reserved towards his own people, but with Columbus and the Spaniards extremely courteous. He gave the admiral some thin plates of gold, and a girdle of curious workmanship, receiving in return presents of small value, but highly acceptable to him.

Columbus, still intent on discovering the mines which yielded gold, continued to interrogate all the natives with whom he had any intercourse concerning their situation. They concurred in pointing out a mountainous country, which they called *Cibao*, at some distance from the sea, and farther towards the east. Struck with this sound, which  
appeared



appeared to him the same with *Cipango*, the name by which Marco Polo, and other travellers to the east, distinguished the islands of Japan, he no longer doubted with respect to the vicinity of the countries which he had discovered to the remote parts of Asia; and, in full expectation of reaching soon those regions which had been the object of his voyage, he directed his course towards the east. He put into a commodious harbour, which he called St. Thomas, and found that district to be under the government of a powerful cazique, named *Guacanahari*, who, as he afterwards learned, was one of the five sovereigns among whom the whole island was divided. He immediately sent messengers to Columbus, who, in his name, delivered to him the present of a mask curiously fashioned, with the ears, nose, and mouth of beaten gold, and invited him to the place of his residence, near the harbour now called Cape Francois, some leagues towards the east. Columbus dispatched some of his officers to visit this prince, who, as he behaved himself with greater dignity, seemed to claim more attention. They returned, with such favourable accounts both of the country and of the people, as made Columbus impatient for that interview with *Guacanahari* to which he had been invited.

He failed for this purpose from St. Thomas, on the twenty-fourth of December with a fair wind, and the sea perfectly calm; and as, amidst the multiplicity of his occupations, he had not shut his eyes for two days, he retired at midnight in order to take some repose, having committed the helm to the pilot, with strict injunctions not to quit it for a moment. The pilot, dreading no danger, carelessly left the helm to an unexperienced cabin boy, and the ship, carried away by a current, was dashed against a rock. The violence of the shock awakened Columbus. He ran up to the deck. There, all was confusion and despair. He alone retained presence of mind. He ordered some of the sailors to take a boat, and carry out an anchor astern; but, instead of obeying, they made off towards the *Nigna*, which was about half a league distant. He then commanded the masts to be cut down, in order to lighten the ship; but all his endeavours were too late; the vessel opened near the keel, and filled so fast with water that its loss was inevitable. The smoothness of the sea, and the timely assistance of boats from the *Nigna*, enabled the crew to save their lives. As soon as the islanders heard of this disaster, they crowded to the shore, with their prince *Guacanahari* at their head. Instead of taking advantage of the distress in which they beheld the Spaniards, to attempt any thing to their detriment, they lamented their misfortune with tears of sincere condolence. Not satisfied with this unavailing expression of their sympathy

sympathy, they put to sea a number of canoes, and, under the direction of the Spaniards, assisted in saving whatever could be got out of the wreck; and by the united labour of so many hands, almost every thing of value was carried ashore. As fast as the goods were landed, Guacanahari in person took charge of them. By his orders they were all deposited in one place, and armed centinels were posted, who kept the multitude at a distance, in order to prevent them not only from embezzling, but from inspecting too curiously what belonged to their guests. Next morning this prince visited Columbus, who was now on board the *Nigna*, and endeavoured to console him for his loss, by offering all that he possessed to repair it\*.

The condition of Columbus was such, that he stood in need of consolation. He had hitherto procured no intelligence of the *Pinta*, and no longer doubted but that his treacherous associate had set sail for Europe. in order to have the merit of carrying the first tidings of the extraordinary discoveries which had been made, and to pre-occupy so far the ear of their sovereign, as to rob him of the glory and reward to which he was justly entitled. There remained but one vessel, and that the smallest and most crazy of the squadron, to traverse such a vast ocean, and carry

\* The account which Columbus gives of the humanity and orderly behaviour of the natives on this occasion is very striking. "The king (says he, in a letter to Ferdinand and Isabella) having been informed of our misfortune, expressed great grief for our loss, and immediately sent aboard all the people in the place in many large canoes; we soon unloaded the ship of every thing that was upon deck, as the king gave us great assistance: he himself, with his brothers and relations, took all possible care that every thing should be properly done both aboard and on shore. And, from time to time, he sent some of his relations weeping, to beg of me not to be dejected, for he would give me all that he had. I can assure your highnesses, that so much care would not have been taken in securing our effects in any part of Spain, as all our property was put together in one place near his palace, until the houses which he wanted to prepare for the custody of it, were emptied. He immediately placed a guard of armed men, who watched during the whole night, and those on shore lamented as if they had been much interested in our loss. The people are so affectionate, so tractable, and so peaceable, that I swear to your highnesses, that there is not a better race of men, nor a better country in the world. They love their neighbour as themselves; their conversation is the sweetest and mildest in the world, cheerful, and always accompanied with a smile. And although it is true that they go naked, yet your highnesses may be assured that they have many very commendable customs; the king is served with great state, and his behaviour is so decent, that it is pleasant to see him, as it is likewise to observe the wonderful memory which these people have, and their desire of knowing every thing, which leads them to inquire into its causes and effects." *Life of Columbus*, c. 32. It is probable that the Spaniards were indebted for this officious attention, to the opinion which the Indians entertained of them as a superior order of beings,

so many men back to Europe. Each of those circumstances was alarming, and filled the mind of Columbus with the utmost solicitude. The desire of overtaking Pinzon, and of effacing the unfavourable impressions which his misrepresentations might make in Spain, made it necessary to return thither without delay. The difficulty of taking such a number of persons aboard the *Nigna*, confirmed him in an opinion, which the fertility of the country, and the gentle temper of the people, had already induced him to form. He resolved to leave a part of his crew in the island, that, by residing there, they might learn the language of the natives, study their disposition, examine the nature of the country, search for mines, prepare for the commodious settlement of the colony, with which he purposed to return, and thus secure and facilitate the acquisition of those advantages which he expected from his discoveries. When he mentioned this to his men, all approved of the design; and from impatience under the fatigue of a long voyage, from the levity natural to sailors, or from the hopes of amassing wealth in a country which afforded such promising specimens of its riches, many offered voluntarily to be among the number of those who should remain.

Nothing was now wanting towards the execution of this scheme, but to obtain the consent of Guacanahari; and his unsuspecting simplicity soon presented to the admiral a favourable opportunity of proposing it. Columbus having, in the best manner he could, by broken words and signs, expressed some curiosity to know the cause which had moved the islanders to fly with such precipitation upon the approach of his ships, the cazique informed him that the country was much infested by the incursions of certain people, whom he called *Carribeans*, who inhabited several islands to the south-east. These he described as a fierce and warlike race of men, who delighted in blood, and devoured the flesh of the prisoners who were so unhappy as to fall into their hands; and as the Spaniards, at their first appearance, were supposed to be Carribeans, whom the natives, however numerous, durst not face in battle, they had recourse to their usual method of securing their safety, by flying into the thickest and most impenetrable woods. Guacanahari, while speaking of those dreadful invaders, discovered such symptoms of terror, as well as such consciousness of the inability of his own people to resist them, as led Columbus to conclude that he would not be alarmed at the proposition of any scheme which afforded him the prospect of an additional security against their attacks. He instantly offered him the assistance of the Spaniards to repel his enemies; he engaged to take him and his people under the protection of the powerful monarch whom he served, and offered to leave in the island such a number of his men as should be sufficient, not

only to defend the inhabitants from future incursions, but to avenge their past wrongs.

The credulous prince closed eagerly with the proposal, and thought himself already safe under the patronage of beings sprung from Heaven, and superior in power to mortal men. The ground was marked out for a small fort, which Columbus called *Navidad*, because he had landed there on Christmas day. A deep ditch was drawn around it. The ramparts were fortified with pallisades, and the great guns, saved out of the admiral's ship, were planted upon them. In ten days the work was finished; that simple race of men labouring with inconsiderate assiduity in erecting this first monument of their own servitude. During this time Columbus, by his caresses and liberality, laboured to increase the high opinion which the natives entertained of the Spaniards. But while he endeavoured to inspire them with confidence in their disposition to do good, he wished likewise to give them some striking idea of their power to punish and destroy such as were the objects of their indignation. With this view, in presence of a vast assembly, he drew up his men in order of battle, and made an ostentatious but innocent display of the sharpness of the Spanish swords, of the force of their spears, and the operation of their cross-bows. These rude people, strangers to the use of iron, and unacquainted with any hostile weapons, but arrows of reeds pointed with the bones of fishes, wooden swords, and javelins hardened in the fire, wondered and trembled. Before this surprise or fear had time to abate, he ordered the great guns to be fired. The sudden explosion struck them with such terror, that they fell flat to the ground, covering their faces with their hands; and when they beheld the astonishing effect of the bullets among the trees, towards which the cannon had been pointed, they concluded that it was impossible to resist men, who had the command of such destructive instruments, and who came armed with thunder and lightning against their enemies.

After giving such impressions both of the beneficence and power of the Spaniards, as might have rendered it easy to preserve an ascendant over the minds of the natives, Columbus appointed thirty-eight of his people to remain in the island. He entrusted the command of these to Diego de Arada, a gentleman of Cordova, investing him with the same powers which he himself had received from Ferdinand and Isabella; and furnished him with every thing requisite for the subsistence or defence of this infant colony. He strictly enjoined them to maintain concord among themselves, to yield an unreserved obedience to their commander, to avoid giving offence to the natives by any violence or exaction, to cultivate the friendship of Guacanahari, but not to put themselves in his power



power by straggling in small parties, or marching too far from the fort. He promised to revisit them soon, with such a reinforcement of strength as might enable them to take full possession of the country, and to reap all the fruits of their discoveries. In the mean time, he engaged to mention their names to the king and queen, and to place their merit and services in the most advantageous light.

Having thus taken every precaution for the security of the Colony, he left Navidad on the fourth of January, one thousand four hundred and ninety-three, and steering towards the east, discovered, and gave names to most of the harbours on the northern coast of the island. On the sixth, he descried the Pinta, and soon came up with her, after a separation of more than six weeks. Pinzon endeavoured to justify his conduct, by pretending that he had been driven from his course by stress of weather, and prevented from returning by contrary winds. The admiral, though he still suspected his perfidious intentions, and knew well what he urged in his own defence to be frivolous as well as false, was so sensible that this was not a proper time for venturing upon any high strain of authority, and felt such satisfaction in this junction with his consort, which delivered him from many disquieting apprehensions, that lame as Pinzon's apology was, he admitted of it without difficulty, and restored him to favour. During his absence from the admiral, Pinzon had visited several harbours in the island, had acquired some gold by trafficking with the natives, but had made no discovery of any importance.

From the condition of his ships, as well as the temper of his men, Columbus now found it necessary to hasten his return to Europe. The former, having suffered much during a voyage of such an unusual length, were extremely leaky. The latter expressed the utmost impatience to revisit their native country, from which they had been so long absent, and where they had things so wonderful and un-heard of to relate. Accordingly, on the sixteenth of January, he directed his course towards the north-east, and soon lost sight of land. He had on board some of the natives, whom he had taken from the different islands which he discovered; and besides the gold, which was the chief object of research, he had collected specimens of all the productions which were likely to become subjects of commerce in the several countries, as well as many unknown birds, and other natural curiosities, which might attract the attention of the learned, or excite the wonder of the people. The voyage was prosperous to the fourteenth of February, and he had advanced near five hundred leagues across the Atlantic Ocean, when the wind began to rise, and continued to blow with increasing rage, which terminated

nated in a furious hurricane. Every expedient that the naval skill and experience of Columbus could devise was employed, in order to save the ships. But it was impossible to withstand the violence of the storm, and as they were still far from any land, destruction seemed inevitable. The sailors had recourse to prayers to Almighty God, to the invocation of saints, to vows and charms, to every thing that religion dictates, or superstition suggests, to the affrighted mind of man. No prospect of deliverance appearing, they abandoned themselves to despair, and expected every moment to be swallowed up in the waves. Besides the passions which naturally agitate and alarm the human mind in such awful situations, when certain death, in one of his most terrible forms, is before it, Columbus had to endure feelings of distress peculiar to himself. He dreaded that all knowledge of the amazing discoveries which he had made was now to perish; mankind were to be deprived of every benefit that might have been derived from the happy success of his schemes, and his own name would descend to posterity as that of a rash deluded adventurer, instead of being transmitted with the honour due to the author and conductor of the most noble enterprise that had ever been undertaken. These reflections extinguished all sense of his own personal danger. Less affected with the loss of life, than solicitous to preserve the memory of what he had attempted and achieved, he retired to his cabin, and wrote, upon parchment, a short account of the voyage which he had made, of the course which he had taken, of the situation and riches of the countries which he had discovered, and of the colony that he had left there. Having wrapt up this in an oiled cloth, which he inclosed in a cake of wax, he put it into a cask carefully stopped up, and threw it into the sea, in hopes that some fortunate accident might preserve a deposit of so much importance to the world\*.

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\* Every monument of such a man as Columbus is valuable. A letter which he wrote to Ferdinand and Isabella, describing what passed on this occasion, exhibits a most striking picture of his intrepidity, his humanity, his prudence, his public spirit, and courtly address. "I would have been less concerned for this misfortune, had I alone been in danger, both because my life is a debt that I owe to the Supreme Creator, and because I have at other times been exposed to the most imminent hazard. But what gave me infinite grief and vexation was, that after it had pleased our Lord to give me faith to undertake this enterprise, in which I had now been so successful, that my opponents would have been convinced, and the glory of your highnesses, and the extent of your territory increased by me; it should please the Divine Majesty to stop all by my death. All this would have been more tolerable, had it not been attended with the loss of those men whom I had carried with me, upon promise of the greatest prosperity, who seeing themselves in such distress, cursed not only their coming along with me, but that fear and awe of me,

me,

At length Providence interposed, to save a life reserved for other services. The wind abated, the sea became calm, and on the evening of the fifteenth, Columbus and his companions discovered land; and though uncertain what it was, they made towards it. They soon knew it to be St. Mary, one of the Azores or western isles, subject to the crown of Portugal. There, after a violent contest with the governor, in which Columbus displayed no less spirit than prudence, he obtained a supply of fresh provisions, and whatever else he needed. One circumstance, however, greatly disquieted him. The *Pinta*, of which he had lost sight on the first day of the hurricane, did not appear; he dreaded for some time that she had foundered at sea, and that all her crew had perished: afterwards, his former suspicions recurred, and he became apprehensive that Pinzon had born away for Spain, that he might reach it before him, and, by giving the first account of his discoveries, might obtain some share of his fame.

In order to prevent this, he left the Azores on the twenty-fourth of February, as soon as the weather would permit. At no great distance from the coast of Spain, when near the end of his voyage, and seem-

me, which prevented them from returning as they had often resolved to have done. But besides all this, my sorrow was greatly increased, by recollecting that I had left my two sons at school at Cordova, destitute of friends, in a foreign country, when it could not in all probability be known that I had done such services as might induce your highnesses to remember them. And though I comforted myself with the faith that our Lord would not permit that, which tended so much to the glory of his church, and which I had brought about with so much trouble, to remain imperfect, yet I considered, that on account of my sins, it was his will to deprive me of that glory, which I might have attained in this world. While in this confused state, I thought on the good fortune which accompanies your highnesses, and imagined, that although I should perish, and the vessel be lost, it was possible that you might somehow come to the knowledge of my voyage, and the success with which it was attended. For that reason I wrote upon parchment with the brevity which the situation required, that I had discovered the lands which I promised, in how many days I had done it, and what course I had followed. I mentioned the goodness of the country, the character of the inhabitants, and that your highnesses subjects were left in possession of all that I had discovered. Having sealed this writing, I addressed it to your highnesses, and promised a thousand ducats to any person who should deliver it sealed, so that if any foreigners found it, the promised reward might prevail on them not to give the information to another. I then caused a great cask to be brought to me, and wrapping up the parchment in an oiled cloth, and afterwards in a cake of wax, I put it into the cask, and having stoped it well, I cast it into the sea. All the men believed that it was some act of devotion. Imagining that this might never chance to be taken up, as the ships approached nearer to Spain, I made another packet like the first, and placed it at the top of the poop, so that if the ship sunk, the cask remaining above water might be committed to the guidance of fortune."



ingly beyond the reach of any disaster, another storm arose, little inferior to the former in violence; and after driving before it during two days and two nights, he was forced to take shelter in the river Tagus. Upon application to the king of Portugal, on the fourth of March, one thousand four hundred and ninety-three, he was allowed to come up to Lisbon; and, notwithstanding the envy which it was natural for the Portuguese to feel, when they beheld another nation entering upon that province of discovery which they had hitherto deemed peculiarly their own, and in its first essay, not only rivalling but eclipsing their fame, Columbus was received with all the marks of distinction due to a man who had performed things so extraordinary and unexpected. The king admitted him into his presence, treated him with the highest respect, and listened to the account which he gave of his voyage with admiration mingled with regret. While Columbus, on his part, enjoyed the satisfaction of describing the importance of his discoveries, and of being now able to prove the solidity of his schemes to those very persons, who with an ignorance disgraceful to themselves, and fatal to their country, had lately rejected them as the projects of a visionary or designing adventurer.

Columbus was so impatient to return to Spain, that he remained only five days in Lisbon. On the fifteenth of March he arrived in the port of Palos, seven months and eleven days from the time when he set out thence upon his voyage. As soon as his ship was discovered approaching the port, all the inhabitants of Palos ran eagerly to the shore, in order to welcome their relations and fellow-citizens, and to hear tidings of their voyage. When the prosperous issue of it was known, when they beheld the strange people, the unknown animals, and singular productions brought from the countries which had been discovered, the effusion of joy was general and unbounded. The bells were rung, the cannon fired; Columbus was received at landing with royal honours, and all the people, in solemn procession, accompanied him and his crew to the church, where they returned thanks to Heaven, which had so wonderfully conducted and crowned with success, a voyage of greater length and of more importance, than had been attempted in any former age. On the evening of the same day, he had the satisfaction of seeing the *Pinta*, which the violence of the tempest had driven far to the north, enter the harbour.

The first care of Columbus was to inform the king and queen, who were then at Barcelona, of his arrival and success. Ferdinand and Isabella, no less astonished than delighted with this unexpected event, de-

fired



fired Columbus, in terms the most respectful and flattering, to repair immediately to court, that from his own mouth they might receive a full detail of his extraordinary services and discoveries. During his journey to Barcelona, the people crowded from the adjacent country, following him every where with admiration and applause. His entrance into the city was conducted, by order of Ferdinand and Isabella, with pomp suitable to the great event, which added such distinguished lustre to their reign. The people whom he brought along with him from the countries which he had discovered, marched first, and by their singular complexion, the wild peculiarity of their features, and uncouth finery, appeared like men of another species. Next to them were carried the ornaments of gold, fashioned by the rude art of the natives, the grains of gold found in the mountains, and dust of the same metal gathered in the rivers. After these, appeared the various commodities of the new discovered countries, together with their curious productions. Columbus himself closed the procession, and attracted the eyes of all the spectators, who gazed with admiration on the extraordinary man, whose superior sagacity and fortitude had conducted their countrymen, by a route concealed from past ages, to the knowledge of a new world. Ferdinand and Isabella received him clad in their royal robes, and seated upon a throne, under a magnificent canopy. When he approached they stood up, and raising him as he kneeled to kiss their hands, commanded him to take his seat upon a chair prepared for him, and to give a circumstantial account of his voyage. He delivered it with a gravity and composure no less suitable to the disposition of the Spanish nation, than to the dignity of the audience in which he spoke, and with that modest simplicity which characterises men of superior minds; who, satisfied with having performed great actions, court not vain applause by an ostentatious display of their exploits. When he had finished his narration, the king and queen, kneeling down, offered up solemn thanks to Almighty God for the discovery of those new regions, from which they expected so many advantages to flow in upon the kingdoms subject to their government. Every mark of honour that gratitude or admiration could suggest was conferred upon Columbus. Letters patent were issued, confirming to him and to his heirs all the privileges contained in the capitulation concluded at Santa Fé; his family was ennobled; the king and queen, and, after their example, the courtiers, treated him, on every occasion, with all the ceremonious respect paid to persons of the highest rank. But what pleased him most, as it gratified his active mind, bent continually upon great objects, was, an order to equip, without delay, an armament of such force, as might enable him not only

to take possession of the countries which he had already discovered, but to go in search of those more opulent regions, which he still confidently expected to find.

While preparations were making for this expedition, the fame of Columbus's successful voyage spread over Europe, and excited general attention. The multitude, struck with amazement when they heard that a new world had been found, could hardly believe an event so much above their conception. Men of science, capable of comprehending the nature, and of discerning the effects, of this great discovery, received the account of it with admiration and joy. They spoke of his voyage with rapture, and congratulated one another upon their felicity, in having lived in the period when, by this extraordinary event, the boundaries of human knowledge were so much extended, and such a new field of inquiry and observation opened, as would lead mankind to a perfect acquaintance with the structure and productions of the habitable globe. Various opinions and conjectures were formed concerning the new-found countries, and what division of the earth they belonged to. Columbus adhered tenaciously to his original opinion, that they should be reckoned a part of those vast regions in Asia, comprehended under the general name of India. This sentiment was confirmed by the observations which he made concerning the productions of the countries he had discovered. Gold was known to abound in India, and he had met with such promising samples of it in the islands which he visited, as led him to believe that rich mines of it might be found. Cotton, another production of the East Indies, was common there. The pimento of the islands he imagined to be a species of the East-Indian pepper. He mistook a root, somewhat resembling rhubarb, for that valuable drug, which was then supposed to be a plant peculiar to the East Indies. The birds brought home by him were adorned with the same rich plumage which distinguishes those of India. The alligator of the one country appeared to be the same with the crocodile of the other. After weighing all these circumstances, not only the Spaniards, but the other nations of Europe, seem to have adopted the opinion of Columbus. The countries which he had discovered were considered as a part of India. In consequence of this notion, the name of Indies is given to them by Ferdinand and Isabella, in a ratification of their former agreement, which was granted to Columbus upon his return. Even after the error which gave rise to this opinion was detected, and the true position of the New World was ascertained, the name has remained, and the appellation of *West Indies* is given by all the people of Europe to the country, and that of *Indians* to its inhabitants.

The name by which Columbus distinguished the countries which he had discovered was so inviting, the specimens of their riches and fertility, which he produced, were so considerable, and the reports of his companions, delivered frequently with the exaggeration natural to travellers, so favourable, as to excite a wonderful spirit of enterprise among the Spaniards. Though little accustomed to naval expeditions, they were impatient to set out upon the voyage. Volunteers of every rank solicited to be employed. Allured by the inviting prospects which opened to their ambition and avarice, neither the length nor danger of the navigation intimidated them. Cautious as Ferdinand was, and averse to every thing new and adventurous, he seems to have caught the same spirit with his subjects. Under its influence, preparations for a second expedition were carried on with a rapidity unusual in Spain, and to an extent that would be deemed not inconsiderable in the present age. The fleet consisted of seventeen ships, some of which were of good burden. It had on board fifteen hundred persons, among whom were many of noble families, who had served in honourable stations. The greater part of these being destined to remain in the country, were furnished with every thing requisite for conquest or settlement, with all kinds of European domestic animals, with such seeds and plants as were most likely to thrive in the climate of the West Indies, with utensils and instruments of every sort, and with such artificers as might be most useful in an infant colony.

But, formidable and well provided as this fleet was, Ferdinand and Isabella did not rest their title to the possession of the newly-discovered countries upon its operations alone. The example of the Portuguese, as well as the superstition of the age, made it necessary to obtain from the Roman pontiff a grant of those territories which they wished to occupy. The Pope, as the vicar and representative of Jesus Christ, was supposed to have a right of dominion over all the kingdoms of the earth. Alexander VI. a pontiff infamous for every crime which disgraces humanity, filled the papal throne at that time. As he was born Ferdinand's subject, and very solicitous to secure the protection of Spain, in order to facilitate the execution of his ambitious schemes in favour of his own family, he was extremely willing to gratify the Spanish monarchs. By an act of liberality which cost him nothing, and that served to establish the jurisdiction and pretensions of the papal see, he granted in full right to Ferdinand and Isabella all the countries inhabited by Infidels, which they had discovered, or should discover; and, in virtue of that power which he derived from Jesus Christ, he conferred on the crown of Castile vast regions, to the possession of which he himself was so far  
from



from having any title, that he was unacquainted with their situation, and ignorant even of their existence. As it was necessary to prevent this grant from interfering with that formerly made to the crown of Portugal, he appointed that a line, supposed to be drawn from pole to pole, a hundred leagues to the westward of the Azores, should serve as the limit between them; and, in the plenitude of his power, bestowed all to the east of this imaginary line upon the Portuguese, and all to the west of it upon the Spaniards. Zeal for propagating the Christian faith was the consideration employed by Ferdinand in soliciting this bull, and is mentioned by Alexander as his chief motive for issuing it. In order to manifest some concern for this laudable object, several friars, under the direction of Father Boyl, a Catalonian monk of great reputation, as apostolical vicar, were appointed to accompany Columbus, and to devote themselves to the instruction of the natives. The Indians whom Columbus had brought along with him, having received some tincture of Christian knowledge, were baptized with much solemnity, the king himself, the prince his son, and the chief persons of his court, standing as their godfathers. Those first fruits of the New World have not been followed by such an increase as pious men wished, and had reason to expect.

Ferdinand and Isabella having thus acquired a title, which was then deemed completely valid, to extend their discoveries, and to establish their dominion over such a considerable portion of the globe, nothing now retarded the departure of the fleet. Columbus was extremely impatient to revisit the colony which he had left, and to pursue that career of glory upon which he had entered. He set sail from the bay of Cadiz on the twenty-fifth of September, and touching again at the island of Gomera, he steered farther towards the south than in his former voyage. By holding this course, he enjoyed more steadily the benefit of the regular winds, which reign within the tropics, and was carried towards a large cluster of islands, situated considerably to the east of those which he had already discovered. On the twenty-sixth day, Nov. 2, after his departure from Gomera, he made land. It was one of the Caribbee or Leeward islands, to which he gave the name of Deseada, on account of the impatience of his crew to discover some part of the New World. After this he visited successively Dominica, Marigalante, Antigua, San Juan de Puerto Rico, and several other islands, scattered in his way as he advanced towards the north-west. All these he found to be inhabited by that fierce race of people whom Guacanahari had painted in such frightful colours. His descriptions appeared not to have been exaggerated. The Spaniards never at-



tempted to land without meeting with such a reception, as discovered the martial and daring spirit of the natives; and in their habitations were found relics of those horrid feasts which they had made upon the bodies of their enemies taken in war.

But as Columbus was eager to know the state of the colony which he had planted, and to supply it with the necessaries of which he supposed it to be in want, he made no stay in any of those islands, and proceeded directly to Hispaniola. When he arrived off Navidad, the station in which he had left the thirty-eight men under the command of Arada, he was astonished that none of them appeared, and expected every moment to see them running with transports of joy to welcome their countrymen. Full of solicitude about their safety, and foreboding in his mind what had befallen them, he rowed instantly to land. All the natives from whom he might have received information had fled. But the fort which he had built was entirely demolished, and the tattered garments, the broken arms and utensils scattered about it, left no room to doubt concerning the unhappy fate of the garrison. While the Spaniards were shedding tears over those sad memorials of their fellow-citizens, a brother of the cazique Guacanahari arrived. From him Columbus received a particular detail of what had happened after his departure from the island. The familiar intercourse of the Indians with the Spaniards tended gradually to diminish the superstitious veneration with which their first appearance had inspired that simple people. By their own indiscretion and ill conduct, the Spaniards speedily effaced those favourable impressions, and soon convinced the natives, that they had all the wants, and weaknesses, and passions of men. As soon as the powerful restraint which the presence and authority of Columbus imposed was withdrawn, the garrison threw off all regard for the officer whom he had invested with command. Regardless of the prudent instructions which he had given them, every man became independent, and gratified his desires without controul. The gold, the women, the provisions of the natives, were all the prey of those licentious oppressors. They roamed in small parties over the island, extending their rapacity and insolence to every corner of it. Gentle and timid as the people were, those unprovoked injuries at length exhausted their patience, and roused their courage. The cazique of Cibao, whose country the Spaniards chiefly infested on account of the gold which it contained, surprised and cut off several of them, while they straggled in as perfect security as if their conduct had been altogether inoffensive. He then assembled his subjects, and surrounding the fort, set it on fire. Some of the Spaniards were killed in defending it, the rest perished in attempting

to make their escape by crossing an arm of the sea. Guacanahari, whom all their exactions had not alienated from the Spaniards, took arms in their behalf, and, in endeavouring to protect them, had received a wound, by which he was still confined.

Though this account was far from removing the suspicions which the Spaniards entertained with respect to the fidelity of Guacanahari, Columbus perceived so clearly that this was not a proper juncture for inquiring into his conduct with scrupulous accuracy, that he rejected the advice of several of his officers, who urged him to seize the person of that prince, and to revenge the death of their countrymen by attacking his subjects. He represented to them the necessity of securing the friendship of some potentate of the country, in order to facilitate the settlement which they intended, and the danger of driving the natives to unite in some desperate attempt against them, by such an ill-timed and unavailing exercise of rigour. Instead of wasting his time in punishing past wrongs, he took precaution for preventing any future injury. With this view, he made choice of a situation more healthy and commodious than that of Navidad. He traced out the plan of a town in a large plain near a spacious bay, and obliging every person to put his hand to a work on which their common safety depended, the houses and ramparts were soon so far advanced by their united labour, as to afford them shelter and security. This rising city, the first that the Europeans founded in the New World, he named Isabella, in honour of his patroness the queen of Castile.

In carrying on this necessary work, Columbus had not only to sustain all the hardships, and to encounter all the difficulties, to which infant colonies are exposed when they settle in an uncultivated country, but he had to contend with what was more insuperable, the laziness, the impatience, and mutinous disposition of his followers. By the enervating influence of a hot climate, the natural inactivity of the Spaniards seemed to increase. Many of them were gentlemen, unaccustomed to the fatigue of bodily labour, and all had engaged in the enterprise with the sanguine hopes excited by the splendid and exaggerated descriptions of their countrymen who returned from the first voyage, or by the mistaken opinion of Columbus, that the country which he had discovered, was either the Cipango of Marco Polo, or the Ophir, from which Solomon imported those precious commodities which suddenly diffused such extraordinary riches through his kingdom. But when, instead of that golden harvest which they had expected to reap without toil or pains, the Spaniards saw their prospect of wealth was remote as well as uncertain, and that it could not be attained but by the slow and persevering

fevering efforts of industry, the disappointment of those chimerical hopes occasioned such dejection of mind as bordered on despair, and led to general discontent. In vain did Columbus endeavour to revive their spirits by pointing out the fertility of the soil, and exhibiting the specimens of gold daily brought in from different parts of the island. They had not patience to wait for the gradual returns which the former might yield, and the latter they despised as scanty and inconsiderable. The spirit of disaffection spread, and a conspiracy was formed, which might have been fatal to Columbus and the colony. Happily he discovered it, and seizing the ring-leaders, punished some of them, sent others prisoners into Spain whither he dispatched twelve of the ships which had served as transports, with an earnest request for a reinforcement of men and a large supply of provisions.

Meanwhile, in order to banish that idleness which, by allowing his people leisure to brood over their disappointment, nourished the spirit of discontent, Columbus planned several expeditions into the interior part of the country. He sent a detachment, under the command of Alonso de Ojeda, a vigilant and enterprising officer, to visit the district of Cibao, which was said to yield the greatest quantity of gold, and followed him in person with the main body of his troops. In this expedition, March 12, 1494, he displayed all the pomp of military magnificence that he could exhibit, in order to strike the imagination of the natives. He marched with colours flying, with martial music, and with a small body of cavalry that paraded sometimes in the front and sometimes in the rear. As these were the first horses which appeared in the New World, they were objects of terror no less than of admiration to the Indians, who having no tame animals themselves, were unacquainted with that vast accession of power, which man hath acquired by subjecting them to his dominion. They supposed them to be rational creatures. They imagined that the horse and the rider formed one animal, with whose speed they were astonished, and whose impetuosity and strength they considered as irresistible. But while Columbus endeavoured to inspire the natives with a dread of his power, he did not neglect the arts of gaining their love and confidence. He adhered scrupulously to the principles of integrity and justice in all his transactions with them, and treated them, on every occasion, not only with humanity, but with indulgence. The district of Cibao answered the description given of it by the natives. It was mountainous and uncultivated, but in every river, and brook, gold was gathered either in dust or in grains, some of which were of considerable size. The Indians had never opened any mines in search of gold. To penetrate into the

bowels of the earth, and to refine the rude ore, were operations too complicated and laborious for their talents and industry, and they had no such high value for gold as to put their ingenuity and invention upon the stretch in order to obtain it. The small quantity of that precious metal which they possessed, was either picked up in the beds of the rivers, or washed from the mountains by the heavy rains that fall within the tropics. But, from those indications, the Spaniards could no longer doubt that the country contained rich treasures in its bowels, of which they hoped soon to be masters. In order to secure the command of this valuable province, Columbus erected a small fort, to which he gave the name of St. Thomas, by way of ridicule upon some of his incredulous followers, who would not believe that the country produced gold, until they saw it with their own eyes, and touched it with their hands.

The account of those promising appearances of wealth in the country of Cibao came very seasonably to comfort the desponding colony, which was affected with distresses of various kinds. The stock of provisions which had been brought from Europe was mostly consumed; what remained was so much corrupted by the heat and moisture of the climate, as to be almost unfit for use; the natives cultivated so small a portion of ground, and with so little skill, that it hardly yielded what was sufficient for their own subsistence; the Spaniards at Isabella had hitherto neither time nor leisure to clear the soil, so as to reap any considerable fruits of their own industry. On all these accounts, they became afraid of perishing with hunger, and were reduced already to a scanty allowance. At the same time, the diseases predominant in the torrid zone, and which rage chiefly in those uncultivated countries, where the hand of industry has not opened the woods, drained the marches, and confined the rivers within a certain channel, began to spread among them. Alarmed at the violence and unusual symptoms of those maladies, they exclaimed against Columbus and his companions in the former voyage, who, by their splendid but deceitful descriptions of Hispaniola, had allured them to quit Spain for a barbarous uncultivated land, where they must either be cut off by famine, or die of unknown distempers. Several of the officers and persons of note, instead of checking, joined in those seditious complaints. Father Boyl, the apostolical vicar, was one of the most turbulent and outrageous. It required all the authority and address of Columbus to re-establish subordination and tranquillity in the colony. Threats and promises were alternately employed for this purpose; but nothing contributed more to soothe the malcontents than the prospect of finding, in the mines of Cibao, such a rich store of treasure



as would be a recompence for all their sufferings, and efface the memory of former disappointments.

When, by his unwearied endeavours, concord and order were so far restored, that he could venture to leave the island, Columbus resolved to pursue his discoveries, that he might be able to ascertain whether those new countries with which he had opened a communication were connected with any region of the earth already known, or whether they were to be considered as a separate portion of the globe hitherto unvisited. He appointed his brother Don Diego, with the assistance of a council of officers, to govern the island in his absence; and gave the command of a body of soldiers to Don Pedro Margarita, with which he was to visit the different parts of the island, and endeavour to establish the authority of the Spaniards among the inhabitants. Having left them very particular instructions with respect to their conduct, he weighed anchor on the twenty-fourth of April, with one ship and two small barks under his command. During a tedious voyage of full five months, he had a trial of almost all the numerous hardships to which persons of his profession are exposed, without making any discovery of importance, except the island of Jamaica. As he ranged along the southern coast of Cuba, he was entangled in a labyrinth formed by an incredible number of small islands, to which he gave the name of the Queen's Garden. In this unknown course, among rocks and shelves, he was retarded by contrary winds, assailed with furious storms, and alarmed with the terrible thunder and lightning which is often almost incessant between the tropics. At length his provisions fell short; his crew, exhausted with fatigue, as well as hunger, murmured and threatened, and were ready to proceed to the most desperate extremities against him. Beset with danger in such various forms, he was obliged to keep continual watch, to observe every occurrence with his own eyes, to issue every order, and to superintend the execution of it. On no occasion, was the extent of his skill and experience as a navigator so much tried. To these the squadron owed its safety. But this unremitted fatigue of body, and intense application of mind, overpowering his constitution, though naturally vigorous and robust, brought on a feverish disorder, which terminated in a lethargy, that deprived him of sense and memory and had almost proved fatal to his life,

But, on his return Sept. 27, to Hispaniola, the sudden emotion of joy which he felt upon meeting with his brother Bartholomew at Isabella, occasioned such a flow of spirits as contributed greatly to his recovery. It was now thirteen years since the two brothers, whom similarity of talents united in close friendship, had separated from each other,

other, and during that long period there had been no intercourse between them. Bartholomew, after finishing his negociation in the court of England, had set out for Spain by the way of France. At Paris he received an account of the extraordinary discoveries which his brother had made in his first voyage, and that he was then preparing to embark on a second expedition. Though this naturally induced him to pursue his journey with the utmost dispatch, the admiral had failed for Hispaniola before he reached Spain. Ferdinand and Isabella received him with the respect due to the nearest kinsman of a person whose merit and services rendered him so conspicuous; and as they knew what consolation his presence would afford to his brother, they persuaded him to take the command of three ships, which they had appointed to carry provisions to the colony of Isabella.

He could not have arrived at any juncture when Columbus stood more in need of a friend capable of assisting him with his counsels, or of dividing with him the cares and burden of government. For although the provisions now brought from Europe, afforded a temporary relief to the Spaniards from the calamities of famine, the supply was not in such quantity as to support them long, and the island did not hitherto yield what was sufficient for their sustenance. They were threatened with another danger, still more formidable than the return of scarcity, and which demanded more immediate attention. No sooner did Columbus leave the island on his voyage of discovery, than the soldiers under Margarita, as if they had been set free from discipline and subordination, scorned all restraint. Instead of conforming to the prudent instructions of Columbus, they dispersed in straggling parties over the island, lived at discretion upon the natives, wasted their provisions, seized their women, and treated that inoffensive race with all the insolence of military oppression.

As long as the Indians had any prospect that their sufferings might come to a period by the voluntary departure of the invaders, they submitted in silence, and dissimulated their sorrow; but they now perceived that the yoke would be as permanent as it was intolerable. The Spaniards had built a town, and surrounded it with ramparts. They had erected forts in different places. They had enclosed and sown several fields. It was apparent that they came not to visit the country, but to settle in it. Though the number of those strangers was inconsiderable, the state of cultivation among this rude people was so imperfect, and in such exact proportion to their own consumption, that it was with difficulty they could afford subsistence to their new guests. Their own mode of life was so indolent and inactive, the warmth of the climate so enervating, the constitution of their bodies naturally so feeble, and so unac-

customed

customed to the laborious exertions of industry, that they were satisfied with a proportion of food amazingly small. A handful of maize, or a little of the insipid bread made of a cassada-root, was sufficient to support men, whose strength and spirits were not exhausted by any vigorous efforts either of body or mind. The Spaniards, though the most abstemious of all the European nations, appeared to them excessively voracious. One Spaniard consumed as much as several Indians. This keenness of appetite surprized them so much, and seemed to them to be so insatiable, that they supposed the Spaniards had left their own country, because it did not produce as much as was requisite to gratify their immoderate desire of food, and had come among them in quest of nourishment. Self-preservation prompted them to wish for the departure of guests who wasted so fast their slender stock of provisions. The injuries which they suffered, added to their impatience for this event. They had long expected that the Spaniards would retire of their own accord. They now perceived that, in order to avert the destruction with which they were threatened, either by the slow consumption of famine, or by the violence of their oppressors, it was necessary to assume courage, to attack those formidable invaders with united force, and drive them from the settlements of which they had violently taken possession.

Such were the sentiments which universally prevailed among the Indians, when Columbus returned to Isabella. Inflamed by the unprovoked outrages of the Spaniards, with a degree of rage of which their gentle natures, formed to suffer and submit, seemed highly susceptible, they waited only for a signal from their leaders to fall upon the colony. Some of the caziques had already surprized and cut off several stragglers. The dread of this impending danger united the Spaniards, and re-established the authority of Columbus, as they saw no prospect of safety but in committing themselves to his prudent guidance. It was now necessary to have recourse to arms, the employing of which against the Indians, Columbus had hitherto avoided with the greatest solicitude. Unequal as the conflict may seem, between the naked inhabitants of the New World, armed with clubs, sticks hardened in the fire, wooden swords, and arrows pointed with bones or flints; and troops accustomed to the discipline, and provided with the instruments of destruction known in the European art of war, the situation of the Spaniards was far from being exempt from danger. The vast superiority of the natives in number, compensated many defects. An handful of men was about to encounter a whole nation. One adverse event, or even any adverse delay in determining the fate of the war, might prove fatal



fatal to the Spaniards. Conscious that success depended on the vigour and rapidity of his operations, Columbus instantly assembled his forces. They were reduced to a very small number. Diseases, engendered by the warmth and humidity of the country, or occasioned by their own licentiousness, had raged among them with much violence; experience had not yet taught them the art either of curing these, or the precautions requisite for guarding them; two-thirds of the original adventurers were dead, and many of those who survived were incapable of service. The body which took the field on March 24, 1495, consisted only of two hundred foot, twenty horse, and twenty large dogs; and how strange soever it may seem, to mention the last as composing part of a military force, they were not perhaps the least formidable and destructive of the whole, when employed against naked and timid Indians. All the caciques of the island, Guacanahari excepted, who retained an inviolable attachment to the Spaniards, were in arms to oppose Columbus, with forces amounting, if we may believe the Spanish historians, to a hundred thousand men. Instead of attempting to draw the Spaniards into the fastnesses of the woods and mountains, they were so imprudent as to take their station in the Vega Real, the most open plain in the country. Columbus did not allow them time to perceive their error, or to alter their position. He attacked them during the night, when undisciplined troops are least capable of acting with union and concert, and obtained an easy and bloodless victory. The consternation with which the Indians were filled by the noise and havoc made by the fire-arms, by the impetuous force of the cavalry, and the first onset of the dogs, was so great, that they threw down their weapons, and fled without attempting resistance. Many were slain; more were taken prisoners, and reduced to servitude; and so thoroughly were the rest intimidated, that from that moment they abandoned themselves to despair, relinquishing all thoughts of contending with aggressors whom they deemed invincible.

Columbus employed several months in marching through the island, and in subjecting it to the Spanish government, without meeting with any opposition. He imposed a tribute upon all the inhabitants above the age of fourteen. Each person who lived in those districts where gold was found, was obliged to pay quarterly as much gold dust as filled a hawk's bell; from those in other parts of the country, twenty-five pounds of cotton were demanded. This was the first regular taxation of the Indians, and served as a precedent for exactions still more intolerable. Such an imposition was extremely contrary to those maxims which Columbus had hitherto inculcated with respect to the mode of treating them.



them. But intrigues were carrying on in the court of Spain at this juncture, in order to undermine his power and discredit his operations, which constrained him to depart from his own system of administration. Several unfavourable accounts of his conduct, as well as of the countries discovered by him, had been transmitted to Spain. Margaritta and Father Boyl were now at court; and in order to justify their own conduct, or to gratify their resentment, watched with malevolent attention for every opportunity of spreading insinuations to his detriment. Many of the courtiers viewed his growing reputation and power with envious eyes. Fonseca, archdeacon of Seville, who was intrusted with the chief direction of Indian affairs, had conceived such an unfavourable opinion of Columbus, for some reason which the contemporary writers have not mentioned, that he listened with partiality to every invective against him. It was not easy for an unfriended stranger, unpractised in courtly arts, to counteract the machinations of so many enemies. Columbus saw that there was but one method of supporting his own credit, and of silencing all his adversaries. He must produce such a quantity of gold as would not only justify what he had reported with respect to the richness of the country, but encourage Ferdinand and Isabella to persevere in prosecuting his plans. The necessity of obtaining it, forced him not only to impose this heavy tax upon the Indians, but to exact payment of it with extreme rigour; and may be pleaded in excuse for his deviating on this occasion from the mildness and humanity with which he uniformly treated that unhappy people.

The labour, attention, and foresight which the Indians were obliged to employ in procuring the tribute demanded of them, appeared the most intolerable of all evils, to men accustomed to pass their days in a careless, improvident indolence. They were incapable of such a regular and persevering exertion of industry, and felt it such a grievous restraint upon their liberty, that they had recourse to an expedient for obtaining deliverance from this yoke, which demonstrates the excess of their impatience and despair. They formed a scheme of starving those oppressors whom they durst not attempt to expel; and from the opinion which they entertained with respect to the voracious appetite of the Spaniards, they concluded the execution of it to be very practicable. With this view they suspended all the operations of agriculture; they sowed no maize, they pulled up the roots of the manioc or cassada which were planted, and retiring to the most inaccessible parts of the mountains, left the uncultivated plains to their enemies. This desperate resolution produced in some degree the effects which they expected. The Spaniards were reduced to extreme want; but they received such

seasonable supplies of provisions from Europe, and found so many resources in their own ingenuity and industry, that they suffered no great loss of men. The wretched Indians were the victims of their own ill-concerted policy. A great multitude of people, shut up in the mountainous part of the country, without any food but the spontaneous productions of the earth, soon felt the utmost distresses of famine. This brought on contagious diseases; and, in the course of a few months, more than a third part of the inhabitants of the island perished, after experiencing misery in all its various forms.

But while Columbus was establishing the foundations of the Spanish grandeur in the New World, his enemies laboured with unwearied assiduity to deprive him of the glory and rewards, which by his services and sufferings he was intitled to enjoy. The hardships unavoidable in a new settlement, the calamities occasioned by an unhealthy climate, the disasters attending a voyage in unknown seas, were all represented as the effects of his restless and inconsiderate ambition. His prudent attention to preserve discipline and subordination was denominated excess of rigour; the punishments which he inflicted upon the mutinous and disorderly were imputed to cruelty. These accusations gained such credit in a jealous court, that a commissioner was appointed to repair to Hispaniola, and to inspect into the conduct of Columbus. By the recommendation of his enemies, Aguado, a groom of the bed-chamber, was the person to whom this important trust was committed. But in this choice they seem to have been more influenced by the obsequious attachment of the man to their interest, than by his capacity for the station. Puffed up with such sudden elevation, Aguado displayed, in the exercise of this office, all the frivolous self-importance, and acted with all the disgusting insolence, which are natural to little minds, when raised to unexpected dignity, or employed in functions to which they are not equal. By listening with eagerness to every accusation against Columbus, and encouraging not only the malcontent Spaniards, but even the Indians, to produce their grievances, real or imaginary, he fomented the spirit of dissention in the island, without establishing any regulation of public utility, or that tended to redress the many wrongs, with the odium of which he wished to load the admiral's administration. As Columbus felt sensibly how humiliating his situation must be, if he should remain in that country while such a partial inspector observed his motions, and controuled his jurisdiction, he took the resolution of returning to Spain, in order to lay a full account of all his transactions, particularly with respect to the points in dispute between him and his adversaries, before Ferdinand and Isabella, from whose justice and discernment

government he expected an equal and a favourable decision. He committed the administration of affairs, during his absence, in one thousand four hundred and ninety-six, to Don Bartholomew his brother, with the title of Adelantado, or Lieutenant Governor. By a choice less fortunate, and which proved the source of many calamities to the colony, he appointed Francis Roldan chief justice, with very extensive powers.

In returning to Europe, Columbus held a course different from that which he had taken in his former voyage. He steered almost due east from Hispaniola, in the parallel of twenty-two-degrees of latitude; as experience had not yet discovered the more certain and expeditious method of stretching to the north, in order to fall in with the south-west winds. By this ill-advised choice, which, in the infancy of navigation between the New and Old Worlds, can hardly be imputed to the admiral as a defect in naval skill, he was exposed to infinite fatigue and danger, in a perpetual struggle with the trade-winds, which blow without variation from the east between the tropics. Notwithstanding the almost insuperable difficulties of such a navigation, he persisted in his course with his usual patience and firmness, but made so little way, that he was three months without seeing land. At length his provisions began to fail, the crew was reduced to the scanty allowance of six ounces of bread a-day for each person. The admiral fared no better than the meanest sailor. But, even in this extreme distress, he retained the humanity which distinguishes his character, and refused to comply with the earnest solicitations of his crew, some of whom proposed to feed upon the Indian prisoners whom they were carrying over, and others insisted to throw them over-board, in order to lessen the consumption of their small stock. He represented that they were human beings, reduced by a common calamity to the same condition with themselves, and intitled to share an equal fate. His authority and remonstrances dissipated those wild ideas suggested by despair. Nor had they time to recur, as they came soon within sight of the coast of Spain, when all their fears and sufferings ended.

Columbus appeared at court with the modest but determined confidence of a man conscious not only of integrity, but of having performed great services. Ferdinand and Isabella, ashamed of their own facility in lending too favourable an ear to frivolous or ill-founded accusations, received him with such distinguished marks of respect, as covered his enemies with shame. Their censures and calumnies were no more heard of at that juncture. The gold, the pearls, the cotton, and other commodities of value which Columbus produced, seemed fully to refute what the mal-contents had propagated with respect to the poverty of the

country. By reducing the Indians to obedience, and imposing a regular tax upon them, he had secured to Spain a large accession of new subjects, and the establishment of a revenue that promised to be considerable. By the mines which he had found out and examined, a source of wealth still more copious was opened. Great and unexpected as those advantages were, Columbus represented them only as preludes to future acquisitions, and as the earnest of more important discoveries, which he still meditated, and to which those he had already made would conduct him with ease and certainty.

The attentive consideration of all these circumstances made such impression, not only upon Isabella, who was flattered with the idea of being the patroness of all Columbus's enterprises, but even upon Ferdinand, who having originally expressed his disapprobation of his schemes, was still apt to doubt of their success, that they resolved to supply the colony in Hispaniola with every thing which could render it a permanent establishment, and to furnish Columbus with such a fleet, that he might proceed to search for those new countries, of whose existence he seemed to be confident. The measures most proper for accomplishing both these designs were concerted with Columbus. Discovery had been the sole object of the first voyage to the New World; and though, in the second, settlement had been proposed, the precautions taken for that purpose had either been insufficient, or were rendered ineffectual by the mutinous spirit of the Spaniards, and the unforeseen calamities arising from various causes. Now a plan was to be formed of a regular colony, that might serve as a model to all future establishments. Every particular was considered with attention, and the whole arranged with a scrupulous accuracy. The precise number of adventurers who should be permitted to embark was fixed. They were to be of different ranks and professions; and the proportion of each was established, according to their usefulness and the wants of the colony. A suitable number of women was to be chosen to accompany these new settlers. As it was the first object to raise provisions in a country where scarcity of food had been the occasion of so much distress, a considerable body of husbandmen was to be carried over. As the Spaniards had then no conception of deriving any benefit from those productions of the New World which have since yielded such large returns of wealth to Europe, but had formed magnificent ideas, and entertained sanguine hopes with respect to the riches contained in the mines which had been discovered, a band of workmen, skilled in the various arts employed in digging and refining the precious metals, was provided. All these emigrants were to receive pay and subsistence for some years, at the public expence.

Thus



Thus far the regulations were prudent, and well adapted to the end in view. But as it was foreseen that few would engage voluntarily to settle in a country, whose noxious climate had been fatal to so many of their countrymen, Columbus proposed to transport to Hispaniola such malefactors as had been convicted of crimes, which, though capital, were of a less atrocious nature; and that for the future a certain proportion of the offenders usually sent to the galleys, should be condemned to labour in the mines which were to be opened. This advice, given without due reflection, was as inconsiderately adopted. The prisons of Spain were drained, in order to collect members for the intended colony; and the judges empowered to try criminals, were instructed to recruit it by their future sentences. It is not, however, with such materials, that the foundations of a society, destined to be permanent, should be laid. Industry, sobriety, patience, and mutual confidence are indispensably requisite in an infant settlement, where purity of morals must contribute more towards establishing order, than the operation or authority of laws. But when such a mixture of what is corrupt is admitted into the original constitution of the political body, the vices of those unsound and incurable members will probably infect the whole, and must certainly be productive of violent and unhappy effects. This the Spaniards fatally experienced; and the other European nations having successively imitated the practice of Spain in this particular, pernicious consequences have followed in their settlements, which can be imputed to no other cause.

Though Columbus obtained, with great facility and dispatch, the royal approbation of every measure and regulation that he proposed, his endeavours to carry them into execution were so long retarded, as must have tired out the patience of any man, less accustomed to encounter and to surmount difficulties. Those delays were occasioned partly by that tedious formality and spirit of procrastination, with which the Spaniards conduct business; and partly by the exhausted state of the treasury, which was drained by the expence of celebrating the marriage of Ferdinand and Isabella's only son with Margaret of Austria, and that of Joanna, their second daughter, with Philip archduke of Austria; but must be chiefly imputed to the malicious arts of Columbus's enemies. Astonished at the reception which he met with upon his return, and overawed by his presence, they gave way, for some time, to a tide of favour too strong for them to oppose. Their enmity, however, was too inveterate to remain long inactive. They resumed their operations, and by the assistance of Fonseca, the minister for Indian affairs, who was now promoted to the bishopric of Bajados, they threw in so many obstacles

stacles to protract the preparations for Columbus's expedition, that a year elapsed before he could procure two ships to carry over a part of the supplies destined for the colony, and almost two years were spent before the small squadron was equipped of which he himself was to take the command.

This squadron consisted of six ships only, of no great burden, and but indifferently provided for a long or dangerous navigation. This voyage which he now meditated was in a course different from any he had undertaken. As he was fully persuaded that the fertile regions of India lay to the south-west of those countries which he had discovered, he proposed, as the most certain method of finding out these, to stand directly south from the Canary or Cape de Verd islands, until he came under the equinoctial line, and then to stretch to the west before the favourable wind for such a course, which blows invariably between the tropics. With this idea he set sail, on May the thirtieth, one thousand four hundred and ninety-eight, and touched first at the Canary, and then at the Cape de Verd islands, on July the fourth. From the former he dispatched three of his ships with a supply of provisions for the colony in Hispaniola: with the other three, he continued his voyage towards the south. No remarkable occurrence happened till July the nineteenth, when they arrived within five degrees of the line. There they were becalmed, and at the same time the heat became so excessive, that many of their wine casks burst, the liquor in others soured, and their provisions corrupted. The Spaniards, who had never ventured so far to the south, were afraid that the ships would take fire, and began to apprehend the reality of what the ancients had taught concerning the destructive qualities of that torrid region of the globe. They were relieved, in some measure, from their fears by a seasonable fall of rain. This, however, though so heavy and unintermitting that the men could hardly keep the deck, did not greatly mitigate the intenseness of the heat. The admiral, who with his usual vigilance had in person directed every operation, from the beginning of the voyage, was so much exhausted by fatigue and want of sleep, that it brought on a violent fit of the gout, accompanied with a fever. All these circumstances constrained him to yield to the importunities of his crew, and to alter his course to the north-west, in order to reach some of the Caribbee islands, where he might resit, and be supplied with provisions.

On the first of August, the man stationed in the round top surprised them with the joyful cry of *land*. They stood towards it, and discovered a considerable island, which the admiral called Trinidad, a name it still retains. It lies on the coast of Guiana, near the mouth of the

Orinoco,

Orinoco. This, though a river only of the third or fourth magnitude in the New World, far surpasses any of the streams in our hemisphere. It rolls towards the ocean such a vast body of water, and rushes into it with such impetuous force, that when it meets the tide, which on that coast rises to an uncommon height, their collision occasions a swell and agitation of the waves no less surprising than formidable. In this conflict, the irresistible torrent of the river so far prevails, that it freshens the ocean many leagues with its flood. Columbus, before he could perceive the danger, was entangled among those adverse currents and tempestuous waves, and it was with the utmost difficulty that he escaped through a narrow strait, which appeared so tremendous, that he called it *La Boca del Drago*. As soon as the consternation which this occasioned, permitted him to reflect upon the nature of an appearance so extraordinary, he discerned in it a source of comfort and hope. He justly concluded, that such a vast body of water as this river contained, could not be supplied by any island, but must flow through a country of immense extent, and of consequence that he was now arrived at that continent which it had long been the object of his wishes to discover. Full of this idea, he stood to the west along the coast of those provinces which are now known by the names of *Paria* and *Cumana*. He landed in several places, and had some intercourse with the people, who resembled those of *Hispaniola* in their appearance and manner of life. They wore, as ornaments, small plates of gold, and pearls of considerable value, which they willingly exchanged for European toys. They seemed to possess a better understanding, and greater courage, than the inhabitants of the islands. The country produced four-footed animals of several kinds, as well as a great variety of fowls and fruits. The admiral was so much delighted with its beauty and fertility, that with the warm enthusiasm of a discoverer, he imagined it to be the paradise described in Scripture, which the Almighty chose for the residence of man, while he retained innocence that rendered him worthy of such a habitation. Thus Columbus had the glory not only of discovering to mankind the existence of a New World, but made considerable progress towards a perfect knowledge of it; and was the first man who conducted the Spaniards to that vast continent which has been the chief seat of their empire, and the source of their treasures in this quarter of the globe. The shattered condition of his ships, scarcity of provisions, his own infirmities, together with the impatience of his crew, prevented him from pursuing his discoveries any farther, and made it necessary to bear away for *Hispaniola*. In his way thither he discovered the islands of *Cubagua* and *Margarita*, which afterwards became remarkable for their

their pearl-fishery. When he arrived at Hispaniola, on the thirtieth of August, he was wasted to an extreme degree with fatigue and sickness; but found the affairs of the colony in such a situation, as afforded him no prospect of enjoying that repose of which he stood so much in need.

Many revolutions had happened in that country during his absence. His brother the adelantado, in consequence of the advice which the admiral gave before his departure, had removed the colony from Isabella to a more commodious station, on the opposite side of the island, and laid the foundation of St. Domingo, which was long the most considerable European town in the New World, and the seat of the supreme courts in the Spanish dominions there. As soon as the Spaniards were established in this new settlement, the adelantado, that they might neither languish in inactivity, nor have leisure to form new cabals, marched into those parts of the island which his brother had not yet visited or reduced to obedience. As the people were unable to resist, they submitted every where to the tribute which he imposed. But they soon found the burden to be so intolerable, that, overawed as they were by the superior power of their oppressors, they took arms against them. Those insurrections, however, were not formidable. A conflict with timid and naked Indians was neither dangerous nor of doubtful issue.

But while the adelantado was employed against them in the field, a mutiny, of an aspect far more alarming, broke out among the Spaniards. The ringleader of it was Francis Roldan, whom Columbus had placed in a station which required him to be the guardian of order and tranquility in the colony. A turbulent and inconsiderate ambition precipitated him into this desperate measure, so unbecoming his rank. The arguments which he employed to seduce his countrymen were frivolous and ill-founded. He accused Columbus and his two brothers of arrogance and severity; he pretended that they aimed at establishing an independent dominion in the country; he taxed them with an intention of cutting off part of the Spaniards by hunger and fatigue, that they might more easily reduce the remainder to subjection; he represented it as unworthy of Castilians, to remain the tame and passive slaves, of three Geonese adventurers. As men have always a propensity to impute the hardships of which they feel the pressure, to the misconduct of their rulers; as every nation views with a jealous eye the power and exaltation of foreigners, Roldan's insinuations made a deep impression on his countrymen. His character and rank added weight to them. A considerable number of the Spaniards made choice of him as their leader, and taking arms against the adelantado and his brother, seized the king's magazine of provisions, and endeavoured to surprise the



the fort at St. Domingo. This was preserved by the vigilance and courage of Don Diego Columbus. The mutineers were obliged to retire to the province of Xaragua, where they continued not only to disclaim the adelantado's authority themselves, but excited the Indians to throw off the yoke.

Such was the distracted state of the colony when Columbus landed at St. Domingo. He was astonished to find that the three ships which he had dispatched from the Canaries were not yet arrived. By the unskillfulness of the pilots, and the violence of currents, they had been carried a hundred and sixty miles to the west of St. Domingo, and forced to take shelter in a harbour of the province of Xaragua, where Roldan and his seditious followers were cantoned. Roldan carefully concealed from the commanders of the ships his insurrection against the adelantado, and employing his utmost address to gain their confidence, persuaded them to set on shore a considerable part of the new settlers whom they brought over, that they might proceed by land to St. Domingo. It required but few arguments to prevail with those men to espouse his cause. They were the refuse of the jails of Spain, to whom idleness, licentiousness, and deeds of violence were familiar; and they returned eagerly to a course of life nearly resembling that to which they had been accustomed. The commanders of the ships perceiving, when it was too late, their imprudence in disembarking so many of their men, stood away for St. Domingo, and got safe into the port a few days after the admiral; but their stock of provisions was so wasted during a voyage of such long continuance, that they brought little relief to the colony.

By this junction with a band of such bold and desperate associates, Roldan became extremely formidable, and no less extravagant in his demands. Columbus, though filled with resentment at his ingratitude, and highly exasperated by the insolence of his followers, made no haste to take the field. He trembled at the thoughts of kindling the flames of a civil war, in which, whatever party prevailed, the power and strength of both must be so much wasted, as might encourage the common enemy to unite and complete their destruction. At the same time, he observed, that the prejudices and passions which incited the rebels to take arms, had so far infected those who still adhered to him, that many of them were adverse, and all cold to the service. From such sentiments with respect to the public interest, as well as from this view of his own situation, he chose to negotiate rather than to fight. By a seasonable proclamation, offering free pardon to such as should merit it by returning to their duty, he made impression upon some of the malcontents. By engaging to grant such as should desire it the liberty of returning to

Spain, he allured all those unfortunate adventurers, who, from sickness and disappointment, were disgusted with the country. By promising to re-establish Roldan in his former office, he soothed his pride; and by complying with most of his demands in behalf of his followers, he satisfied their avarice. Thus, gradually and without bloodshed, but after many tedious negotiations, he dissolved this dangerous combination which threatened the colony with ruin; and restored the appearance of order, regular government, and tranquillity.

In consequence of this agreement with the mutineers, lands were allotted them in different parts of the island, and the Indians settled in each district were appointed to cultivate a certain portion of ground for the use of those new masters\*. The performance of this work was substituted in place of the tribute formerly imposed; and how necessary soever such a regulation might be in a sickly and feeble colony, it introduced among the Spaniards the *Repartimientos*, or distributions of Indians established by them in all their settlements, which brought numberless calamities upon that unhappy people, and subjected them to the most grievous oppression. This was not the only bad effect of the insurrection in Hispaniola; it prevented Columbus from prosecuting his discoveries on the continent, as self-preservation obliged him to keep near his person his brother the adelantado, and the sailors whom he intended to have employed in that service. As soon as his affairs would permit, he sent some of his ships to Spain with a journal of the voyage which he had made, a description of the new countries which he had discovered, a chart of the coast along which he had sailed, and specimens of the gold, the pearls, and other curious or valuable productions which he had acquired by trafficking with the natives. At the same time he transmitted an account of the insurrection in Hispaniola; he accused the mutineers not only of having thrown the colony into such violent convulsions as threatened its dissolution, but of having obstructed every attempt towards discovery and improvement, by their unprovoked rebellion against their superiors, and proposed several regulations for the better government of the island, as well as the extinction of that mutinous spirit, which, though suppressed at present, might soon burst out with additional rage. Roldan and his associates did not neglect to convey to Spain, by the same ships, an apology for their own conduct, together with their recriminations upon the admiral and his brothers. Unfortunately for the honour of Spain, and the happiness of Columbus, the latter gained most credit in the court of Ferdinand and Isabella, and produced unexpected effects.

But, previous to the relating of these, it is proper to take a view of some events, which merit attention, both on account of their own importance, and their connection with the history of the New World. While Columbus was engaged in his successive voyages to the west, the spirit of discovery did not languish in Portugal, the kingdom where it first acquired vigour, and became enterprising. Self-condemnation and regret were not the only sentiments to which the success of Columbus, and reflection upon their own imprudence in rejecting his proposals, gave rise among the Portuguese. They excited a general emulation to surpass his performances, and an ardent desire to make some reparation to their country for their own error. With this view, Emmanuel, who inherited the enterprising genius of his predecessors, persisted in their grand scheme of opening a passage to the East Indies by the Cape of Good Hope; and soon after his accession to the throne, equipped a squadron for that important voyage. He gave the command of it to Vasco de Gama, a man of noble birth, possessed of virtue, prudence, and courage, equal to the station. The squadron, like all those fitted out for discovery in the infancy of navigation, was extremely feeble, consisting only of three vessels, of neither burden nor force adequate to the service. As the Europeans were at that time little acquainted with the course of the trade-winds and periodical monsoons which render navigation in the Atlantic ocean, as well as in the sea that separates Africa from India, at some seasons easy, and at others not only dangerous, but almost impracticable, the time chosen for Gama's departure was the most improper during the whole year. He set sail from Lisbon on the ninth of July, 1497, and standing towards the south, had to struggle for four months with contrary winds, before he could reach the Cape of Good Hope. On November 20, their violence began to abate; and during an interval of calm weather, Gama doubled that formidable promontory, which had so long been the boundary of navigation, and directed his course towards the north-east, along the African coast. He touched at several ports; and after various adventures, which the Portuguese historians relate with high but just encomiums upon his conduct and intrepidity, he came to anchor before the city of Melinda. Throughout all the vast countries which extend along the coast of Africa, from the river Senegal to the confines of Zanguebar, the Portuguese had found a race of men rude and uncultivated, strangers to letters, to arts and commerce, and differing from the inhabitants of Europe no less in their features and complexion, than in their manners and institutions. As they advanced from this, they observed, to their inexpressible joy, that the human form gradually altered and improved, the Asiatic features

began to predominate, marks of civilization appeared, letters were known, the Mahometan religion was established, and a commerce, far from being inconsiderable, was carried on. At that time several vessels from India were in the port of Melinda. Gama now pursued his voyage with almost absolute certainty of success, and, under the conduct of a Mahometan pilot, arrived at Calcut, upon the coast of Malabar, on the twenty-second of May one thousand four hundred and ninety-eight. What he beheld of the wealth, the populousness, the cultivation, the industry and arts of this highly civilized country, far surpassed any idea that he had formed, from the imperfect accounts which the Europeans had hitherto received of it. But as he possessed neither sufficient force to attempt a settlement, nor proper commodities with which he could carry on commerce of any consequence, he hastened back to Portugal, with an account of his success in performing a voyage the longest, as well as most difficult, that had ever been made since the first invention of navigation. He landed at Lisbon on the fourteenth of September, one thousand four hundred and ninety-nine, two years two months and five days from the time he left that port.

Thus, during the course of the fifteenth century, mankind made greater progress in exploring the state of the habitable globe, than in all the ages which had elapsed previous to that period. The spirit of discovery, feeble at first and cautious, moved within a very narrow sphere, and made its efforts with hesitation and timidity. Encouraged by success, it became adventurous, and boldly extended its operations. In the course of its progression, it continued to acquire vigour, and advanced at length with a rapidity and force which burst through all the limits within which ignorance and fear had hitherto circumscribed the activity of the human race. Almost fifty years were employed by the Portuguese in creeping along the coast of Africa from Cape Non to Cape de Verd, the latter of which lies only twelve degrees to the south of the former. In less than thirty years they ventured beyond the equinoctial line into another hemisphere, and penetrated to the southern extremity of Africa, at the distance of forty-nine degrees from Cape de Verd. During the last seven years of the century, a New World was discovered in the west, not inferior in extent to all the parts of the earth with which mankind were at that time acquainted. In the east, unknown seas and countries were found out, and a communication, long desired, but hitherto concealed, was opened between Europe and the opulent regions of India. In comparison with events so wonderful and unexpected, all that had hitherto been deemed great or splendid, faded away and disappeared. Vast objects now presented themselves. The human



human mind, roused and interested by the prospect, engaged with ardour in pursuit of them, and exerted its active powers in a new direction.

This spirit of enterprise, though but newly awakened in Spain, began soon to operate extensively. All the attempts towards discovery made in that kingdom, had hitherto been carried on by Columbus alone, and at the expence of the sovereign. But now private adventurers, allured by the magnificent descriptions he gave of the regions which he had visited, as well as by the specimens of their wealth which he produced, offered to fit out squadrons at their own risk, and to go in quest of new countries. The Spanish court, whose scanty revenues, were exhausted by the charge of its expeditions to the New World, which, though they opened alluring prospects of future benefit, yielded a very sparing return of present profit, was extremely willing to devolve the burden of discovery upon its subjects. It seized with joy an opportunity of rendering the avarice, the ingenuity, and efforts of projectors, instrumental in promoting designs of certain advantage to the public, though of doubtful success with respect to themselves. One of the first propositions of this kind was made by Alonso de Ojeda, a gallant and active officer, who had accompanied Columbus in his second voyage. His rank and character procured him such credit with the merchants of Seville, that they undertook to equip four ships, provided he could obtain the royal licence, authorising the voyage. The powerful patronage of the bishop of Badajos easily secured success in a suit so agreeable to the court. Without consulting Columbus, or regarding the rights and jurisdiction which he had acquired by the capitulation in one thousand four hundred and ninety-two, Ojeda was permitted to set out for the New World. In order to direct his course, the bishop communicated to him the admiral's journal of his last voyage, and his charts of the countries which he had discovered. Ojeda struck out into no new path of navigation, but adhering servilely to the route which Columbus had taken, arrived on the coast of Paria. He traded with the natives, and standing to the west, proceeded as far as Cape de Vela, and ranged along a considerable extent of coast beyond that on which Columbus had touched. Having thus ascertained the opinion of Columbus, that this country was a part of the continent, Ojeda returned in October, by way of Hispaniola to Spain, with some reputation as a discoverer, but with little benefit to those who had raised the funds for the expedition.

Amerigo Vespucci, a Florentine gentleman, accompanied Ojeda in this voyage. In what station he served, is uncertain; but as he was an experienced sailor, and eminently skilful in all the sciences subservient

to navigation, he must have acquired some authority among his companions, that they willingly allowed him to have a chief share in directing their operations during the voyage. Soon after his return, he transmitted an account of his adventures and discoveries to one of his countrymen; and labouring with the vanity of a traveller to magnify his own exploits, he had the address and confidence to frame his narrative, so as to make it appear that he had the glory of having first discovered the continent in the New World. Amerigo's account was drawn up not only with art, but with some elegance. It contained an amusing history of his voyage, and judicious observations upon the natural productions, the inhabitants, and the customs of the countries which he had visited. As it was the first description of any part of the New World that was published, a performance so well calculated to gratify the passion of mankind for what is new and marvellous, circulated rapidly, and was read with admiration. The country, of which Amerigo was supposed to be the discoverer, came gradually to be called by his name. The caprice of mankind, often as unaccountable as unjust, has perpetuated this error. By the universal consent of nations, AMERICA is the name bestowed on this new quarter of the globe. The bold pretensions of a fortunate impostor have robbed the discoverer of the New World of a distinction which belonged to him. The name of Amerigo has supplanted that of Columbus; and mankind may regret an act of injustice, which, having received the sanction of time, it is now too late to redress.

During the same year, another voyage of discovery was undertaken. Columbus not only introduced the spirit of naval enterprise into Spain, but all the first adventurers who distinguished themselves in this new career, were formed by his instructions, and acquired in his voyages the skill and information which qualified them to imitate his example. Alonzo Nigno, who had served under the admiral in his last expedition, fitted out a single ship, in conjunction with Christopher Guerra, a merchant of Seville, and sailed to the coast of Paria. This voyage seems to have been conducted with greater attention to private emolument, than to any general or national object. Nigno and Guerra made no discoveries of any importance; but they brought home such a return of gold and pearls, as inflamed their countrymen with the desire of engaging in similar adventures.

Soon after, Vincent Yanez Pinzon, one of the admiral's companions in his first voyage, sailed from Palos with four ships. He stood boldly towards the south, and was the first Spaniard who ventured to cross the equinoctial line; but he seems to have landed on no part of the coast beyond

beyond the mouth of the Maragnon, or river of the Amazons. All these navigators adopted the erroneous theory of Columbus, and believed that the countries which they had discovered were part of the vast continent of India.

During the last year of the fifteenth century, that fertile district of America, on the confines of which Pinon had stopt short, was more fully discovered. The successful voyage of Gama to the East Indies having encouraged the king of Portugal to fit out a fleet so powerful, as not only to carry on trade, but to attempt conquest, he gave the command of it to Pedro Alvarez Cabral. In order to avoid the coast of Africa, where he was certain of meeting with variable breezes, or frequent calms, which might retard his voyage, Cabral stood out to sea, and kept so far to the west, that, to his surprise, he found himself upon the shore of an unknown country, in the tenth degree beyond the line. He imagined, at first, that it was some island in the Atlantic ocean hitherto unobserved; but, proceeding along its coast for several days, he was led gradually to believe, that a country so extensive formed a part of some great continent. This latter opinion was well founded. The country with which he fell in belongs to that province in South America, now known by the name of Brasil. He landed; and having formed a very high idea of the fertility of the soil, and agreeableness of the climate, he took possession of it for the crown of Portugal, and dispatched a ship to Lisbon with an account of this event, which appeared to be no less important than it was unexpected. Columbus's discovery of the New World was the effort of an active genius, enlightened by science, guided by experience, and acting upon a regular plan, executed with no less courage than perseverance. But from this adventure of the Portuguese, it appears that chance might have accomplished that great design which it is now the pride of human reason to have formed and perfected. If the sagacity of Columbus had not conducted mankind to America, Cabral, by a fortunate accident, might have led them, a few years later, to the knowledge of that extensive continent.

While the Spaniards and Portuguese, by those successive voyages, were daily acquiring more enlarged ideas of the extent and opulence of that quarter of the globe which Columbus had made known to them, he himself, far from enjoying the tranquillity and honours with which his services should have been recompensed, was struggling with every distress in which the envy and malevolence of the people under his command, or the ingratitude of the court which he served, could involve him. Though the pacification with Roldan broke the union and weakened the force of the mutineers, it did not extirpate the seeds of discord



out of the island. Several of the malcontents continued in arms, refusing to submit to the admiral. He and his brothers were obliged to take the field alternately, in order to check their incursions, or to punish their crimes. The perpetual occupation and disquiet which this created, prevented him from giving due attention to the dangerous machinations of his enemies in the court of Spain. A good number of such as were most dissatisfied with his administration, had embraced the opportunity of returning to Europe with the ships which he dispatched from St. Domingo. The final disappointment of all their hopes inflamed the rage of these unfortunate adventurers against Columbus to the utmost pitch. Their poverty and distress, by exciting compassion, rendered their accusations credible, and their complaints interesting. They teased Ferdinand and Isabella incessantly with memorials, containing the detail of their own grievances, and the articles of their charge against Columbus. Whenever either the king or queen appeared in public, they surrounded them in a tumultuary manner, insisting with importunate clamours for payment of the arrears due to them, and demanding vengeance upon the author of their sufferings. They insulted the admiral's sons wherever they met them, reproaching them as the offspring of the projector, whose fatal curiosity had discovered those pernicious regions which drained Spain of its wealth, and would prove the grave of its people. These avowed endeavours of the malcontents from America to ruin Columbus, were seconded by the secret, but more dangerous insinuations of that party among the courtiers, which had always thwarted his schemes, and envied his success and credit.

Ferdinand was disposed to listen, not only with a willing, but with a partial ear, to these accusations. Notwithstanding the flattering accounts which Columbus had given of the riches of America, the remittances from it had hitherto been so scanty, that they fell far short of the expence of the armaments fitted out. The glory of the discovery, together with the prospect of remote commercial advantages, was all that Spain had yet received in return for the efforts which she had made. But time had already diminished the first sensations of joy which the discovery of a New World occasioned, and fame alone was not an object to satisfy the cold interested mind of Ferdinand. The nature of commerce was then so little understood, that, where immediate gain was not acquired, the hope of distant benefit, or of slow and moderate returns, was totally disregarded. Ferdinand considered Spain, on this account, as having lost by the enterprise of Columbus, and imputed it to his misconduct and incapacity for government, that a country abound-



ing in gold had yielded nothing of value to its conquerors. Even Isabella, who from the favourable opinion which she entertained of Columbus, had uniformly protected him, was shaken at length by the number and boldness of his accusers, and began to suspect that a disaffection so general must have been occasioned by real grievances, which called for redress. The bishop of Bajados, with his usual animosity against Columbus, encouraged these suspicions, and confirmed them.

As soon as the queen began to give way to the torrent of calumny, a resolution fatal to Columbus was taken. Francis de Bovadilla, a knight of Calatrava, was appointed to repair to Hispaniola, with full powers to enquire into the conduct of Columbus, and, if he should find the charge of mal-administration proved, to supersede him, and assume the government of the island. It was impossible to escape condemnation, when this preposterous commission made it the interest of the judge to pronounce the person, whom he was sent to try, guilty. Though Columbus had now composed all the dissensions in the island; though he had brought both Spaniards and Indians to submit peaceably to his government; though he had made such effectual provision for working the mines, and cultivating the country, as would have secured a considerable revenue to the king, as well as large profits to individuals, Bovadilla, without deigning to attend to the nature or merit of those services, discovered, from the moment that he landed in Hispaniola, a determined purpose of treating him as a criminal. He took possession of the admiral's house in St. Domingo, from which its master happened at that time to be absent, and seized his effects, as if his guilt had been already fully proved; he rendered himself master of the fort and of the king's stores by violence; he required all persons to acknowledge him as supreme governor; he set at liberty the prisoners confined by the admiral, and summoned him to appear before his tribunal, in order to answer for his conduct; transmitting to him, together with the summons, a copy of the royal mandate, by which Columbus was enjoined to yield implicit obedience to his commands.

Columbus, though deeply affected with the ingratitude and injustice of Ferdinand and Isabella, did not hesitate a moment about his own conduct. He submitted to the will of his sovereigns with a respectful judge, and repaired directly to the court of that violent and partial judge whom they had authorised to try him. Bovadilla, without admitting him into his presence, ordered him instantly to be arrested, to be loaded with chains, and hurried on board a ship. Even under this humiliating reverse of fortune, the firmness of mind which distinguishes the character of Columbus, did not forsake him. Conscious of his own

integrity, and solacing himself with reflecting upon the great things which he had achieved, he endured this insult offered to his character, not only with composure, but with dignity. Nor had he the consolation of sympathy to mitigate his sufferings. Bovadilla had already rendered himself so extremely popular, by granting various immunities to the colony, by liberal donations of Indians to all who applied for them, and by relaxing the reins of discipline and government, that the Spaniards, who were mostly adventurers, whom their indigence or crimes had impelled to abandon their native country, expressed the most indecent satisfaction with the disgrace and imprisonment of Columbus. They flattered themselves, that now they should enjoy an uncontrouled liberty, more suitable to their disposition and former habits of life. Among persons thus prepared to censure the proceedings, and to asperse the character of Columbus, Bovadilla collected materials for a charge against him. All accusations, the most improbable, as well as inconsistent, were received. No informer, however infamous, was rejected. The result of this inquest, no less indecent than partial, he transmitted to Spain. At the same time, he ordered Columbus, with his two brothers, to be carried thither in fetters; and, adding cruelty to insult, he confined them in different ships, and excluded them from the comfort of that friendly intercourse which might have soothed their common distress. But while the Spaniards in Hispaniola viewed the arbitrary and insolent proceedings of Bovadilla with a general approbation, which reflects dishonour upon their name and country, one man still retained a proper sense of the great actions which Columbus had performed, and was touched with the sentiments of veneration and pity due to his rank, his age, and his merit. Alonso de Vallejo, the captain of the vessel on board which the admiral was confined, as soon as he was clear of the island, approached the prisoner with great respect, and offered to release him from the fetters with which he was unjustly loaded. "No," replied Columbus, with a generous indignation, "I wear these irons in consequence of an order from my sovereigns. They shall find me as obedient to this as to their other injunctions. By their command I have been confined, and their command alone shall set me at liberty."

Fortunately, the voyage to Spain was extremely short. As soon as Ferdinand and Isabella were informed that Columbus was brought home a prisoner, and in chains, they perceived at once what universal astonishment this event must occasion, and what an impression to their disadvantage it must make. All Europe, they foresaw, would be filled with indignation at this ungenerous requital of a man who had performed actions worthy of the highest recompence, and would exclaim against the  
injustice

injustice of the nation, to which he had been such an eminent benefactor, as well as against the ingratitude of the princes whose reign he had rendered illustrious. Ashamed of their own conduct, and eager not only to make some reparation for this injury, but to efface the stain which it might fix upon their character, they instantly issued orders to set Columbus at liberty, on December the seventeenth, invited him to court, and remitted money to enable him to appear there in a manner suitable to his rank. When he entered the royal presence, Columbus threw himself at the feet of his sovereigns. He remained for some time silent; the various passions which agitated his mind suppressing his power of utterance. At length he recovered himself, and vindicated his conduct in a long discourse, producing the most satisfying proofs of his own integrity as well as good intention, and evidence, no less clear, of the malevolence of his enemies, who, not satisfied with having ruined his fortune, laboured to deprive him of what alone was now left, his honour and his fame. Ferdinand received him with decent civility, and Isabella with tendernefs and respect. They both expressed their sorrow for what had happened, disavowed their knowledge of it, and joined in promising him protection and future favour. But though they instantly degraded Bovadilla, in order to remove from themselves any suspicion of having authorised his violent proceedings, they did not restore to Columbus his jurisdiction and privileges as viceroy of those countries which he had discovered. Though willing to appear the avengers of Columbus's wrongs, that illiberal jealousy which prompted them to invest Bovadilla with such authority as put it in his power to treat the admiral with indignity still subsisted. They were afraid to trust a man to whom they had been so highly indebted, and retaining him at court under various pretexts, they appointed Nicholas de Ovando, a knight of the military order of Alcantara, governor of Hispaniola.

Columbus was deeply affected with this new injury, which came from hands that seemed to be employed in making reparation for his past sufferings. The sensibility with which great minds feel every thing that implies any suspicion of their integrity, or that wears the aspect of an affront, is exquisite. Columbus had experienced both from the Spaniards; and their ungenerous conduct exasperated him to such a degree, that he could no longer conceal the sentiments which it excited. Wherever he went, he carried about with him, as a memorial of their ingratitude, those fetters with which he had been loaded. They were constantly hung up in his chamber, and he gave orders that when he died they should be buried in his grave.

Meanwhile, in the year one thousand five hundred and one, the spirit of discovery, notwithstanding the severe check which it received by the ungenerous treatment of the man, who first excited it in Spain, continued active and vigorous. Roderigo de Bastidas, a person of distinction, fitted out two ships, in January, in co-partnery with John de la Cosa, who having served under the admiral in two of his voyages, was deemed the most skilful pilot in Spain. They steered directly towards the continent, arrived on the coast of Paria, and proceeding to the west, discovered all the coast of the province now known by the name of *Tierra Firmè*, from Cape de Vela to the gulf of Darien. Not long after Ojeda, with his former associate Amerigo Vespucci, set out upon a second voyage, and being unacquainted with the destination of Bastidas, held the same course, and touched at the same places. The voyage of Bastidas was prosperous and lucrative, that of Ojeda unfortunate. But both tended to increase the ardour of discovery; for in proportion as the Spaniards acquired a more extensive knowledge of the American continent, their idea of its opulence and fertility increased.

Before these adventurers returned from their voyages, a fleet was equipped, at the public expence, for carrying over Ovando, the new governor to Hispaniola. His presence there was extremely requisite, in order to stop the inconsiderate career of Bovadilla, whose imprudent administration threatened the settlement with ruin. Conscious of the violence and iniquity of his proceedings against Columbus, he continued to make it his sole object to gain the favour and support of his countrymen, by accommodating himself to their passions and prejudices. With this view, he established regulations, in every point the reverse of those which Columbus deemed essential to the prosperity of the colony. Instead of the severe discipline, necessary in order to habituate the dissolute and corrupted members of which the society was composed to the restraints of law and subordination, he suffered them to enjoy such uncontrouled licence, as encouraged the wildest excesses. Instead of protecting the Indians, he gave a legal sanction to the oppression of that unhappy people. He took the exact number of such as survived their past calamities, divided them into distinct classes, distributed them in property among his adherents, and reduced all the people of the island to a state of complete servitude. As the avarice of the Spaniards was too rapacious and impatient to try any method of acquiring wealth but that of searching for gold, this servitude became as grievous as it was unjust. The Indians were driven in crowds to the mountains, and compelled to work in the mines by masters, who imposed their tasks without mercy or discretion. Labour, so disproportion-



tioned to their strength and former habits of life, wasted that feeble race of men with such rapid consumption, as must have soon terminated in the utter extinction of the ancient inhabitants of the country.

The necessity of applying a speedy remedy to those disorders, hastened Ovando's departure. He had the command of the most respectable armament hitherto fitted out for the New World. It consisted of thirty-two ships, on board of which two thousand five hundred persons embarked, with an intention of settling in the country. Upon the arrival of the new governor with this powerful reinforcement to the colony, in the year one thousand five hundred and two, Boyadilla resigned his charge, and was commanded to return instantly to Spain, in order to answer for his conduct. Roldan, and the other ringleaders of the mutineers, who had been most active in opposing Columbus, were required to leave the island at the same time. A proclamation was issued, declaring the natives to be free subjects of Spain, of whom no service was to be exacted contrary to their own inclination, and without paying them an adequate price for their labour. With respect to the Spaniards themselves, various regulations were made, tending to suppress the licentious spirit which had been so fatal to the colony, and to establish that reverence for law and order on which society is founded, and to which it is indebted for its increase and stability. In order to limit the exorbitant gain which private persons were supposed to make by working the mines, an ordinance was published, directing all the gold to be brought to a public smelting-house, and declaring one half of it to be the property of the crown.

While these steps were taking for securing the tranquillity and welfare of the colony which Columbus had planted, he himself was engaged in the unpleasant employment of soliciting the favour of an ungrateful court, and, notwithstanding all his merits and services, he solicited in vain. He demanded, in terms of the original capitulation in one thousand four hundred and ninety-two, to be reinstated in his office of viceroy over the countries which he had discovered. By a strange fatality, the circumstance which he urged in support of his claim, determined a jealous monarch to reject it. The greatness of his discoveries, and the prospect of their increasing value, made Ferdinand consider the concessions in the capitulation as extravagant and impolitic. He was afraid of entrusting a subject with the exercise of a jurisdiction that now appeared to be so truly extensive, and might grow no less formidable. He inspired Isabella with the same suspicions; and under various pretexts, equally frivolous and unjust, they eluded all Columbus's requisitions to perform that which a solemn compact bound them to accomplish. After  
attending

attending the court of Spain for near two years, as an humble suitor, he found it impossible to remove Ferdinand's prejudices and apprehensions; and perceived, at length, that he laboured in vain, when he urged a claim of justice or merit with an interested and unfeeling prince.

But even this ungenerous return did not discourage him from pursuing the great object which first called forth his inventive genius, and excited him to attempt discovery. To open a new passage to the East Indies was his original and favourite scheme. This still engrossed his thoughts; and either from his own observations in his voyage to Paria, or from some obscure hint of the natives, or from the accounts given by Bastidas and de la Cosa, of their expedition, he conceived an opinion that, beyond the continent of America, there was a sea which extended to the East Indies, and hoped to find some narrow strait or narrow neck of land, by which a communication might be opened with it and the part of the ocean already known. By a very fortunate conjecture, he supposed this strait or isthmus to be situated near the gulf of Darien. Full of this idea, though he was now of an advanced age, worn out with fatigue, and broken with infirmities, he offered, with the alacrity of a youthful adventurer, to undertake a voyage which would ascertain this important point, and perfect the grand scheme which from the beginning he proposed to accomplish. Several circumstances concurred in disposing Ferdinand and Isabella to lend a favourable ear to this proposal. They were glad to have the pretext of any honourable employment for removing from court a man with whose demands they deemed it impolitic to comply, and whose services it was indecent to neglect. Though unwilling to reward Columbus, they were not insensible of his merit, and from their experience of his skill and conduct, had reason to give credit to his conjectures, and to confide in his success. To these considerations, a third must be added of still more powerful influence. About this time the Portuguese fleet, under Cabral, arrived from the Indies; and, by the richness of its cargo, gave the people of Europe a more perfect idea, than they had hitherto been able to form, of the opulence and fertility of the east. The Portuguese had been more fortunate in their discoveries than the Spaniards. They had opened a communication with countries where industry, arts, and elegance flourished; and where commerce had been longer established, and carried to greater extent, than in any region of the earth. Their first voyages thither yielded immediate, as well as vast returns of profit, in commodities extremely precious and in great request. Lisbon became immediately the seat of commerce and of wealth; while Spain had only the expectation of remote benefit, and of future gain, from the western world. No-  
thing,

thing, then, could be more acceptable to the Spaniards than Columbus's offer to conduct them to the east, by a route which he expected to be shorter, as well as less dangerous, than that which the Portuguese had taken. Even Ferdinand was roused by such a prospect, and warmly approved of the undertaking.

But, interesting as the object of his voyage was to the nation, Columbus could procure only four small barks, the largest of which did not exceed seventy tons in burden, for performing it. Accustomed to brave danger, and to engage in arduous undertakings with inadequate force, he did not hesitate to accept the command of this pitiful squadron. His brother Bartholomew, and his second son Ferdinand, the historian of his actions, accompanied him. He sailed from Cadiz on the ninth of May, and touched, as usual, at the Canary Islands; from thence he purposed to have stood directly for the continent; but his largest vessel was so clumsy and unfit for service, as constrained him to bear away for Hispaniola, in hopes of exchanging her for some ship of the fleet that had carried out Ovando. When he arrived off St. Domingo, on June the twenty-ninth, he found eighteen of these ships ready loaded, and on the point of departing for Spain. Columbus immediately acquainted the governor with the destination of his voyage, and the accident which had obliged him to alter his route. He requested permission to enter the harbour, not only that he might negotiate the exchange of his ship, but that he might take shelter during a violent hurricane, of which he discerned the approach from various prognostics, which his experience and sagacity had taught him to observe. On that account, he advised him likewise to put off for some days the departure of the fleet bound for Spain. But Ovando refused his request, and despised his counsel. Under circumstances in which humanity would have afforded refuge to a stranger, Columbus was denied admittance into a country of which he had discovered the existence and acquired the possession. His salutary warning, which merited the greatest attention, was regarded as the dream of a visionary prophet, who arrogantly pretended to predict an event beyond the reach of human foresight. The fleet set sail for Spain. Next night the hurricane came on with dreadful impetuosity. Columbus, aware of the danger, took precautions against it, and saved his little squadron. The fleet destined for Spain met with the fate which the rashness and obstinacy of its commanders deserved. Of eighteen ships two or three only escaped. In this general wreck perished Bovadilla, Roldan, and the greater part of those who had been the most active in persecuting Columbus, and oppressing the Indians. Together with themselves, all the wealth which they

they had acquired by their injustice and cruelty was swallowed up. It exceeded in value two hundred thousand *pesos*; an immense sum at that period, and sufficient not only to have screened them from any severe scrutiny into their conduct, but to have secured them a gracious reception in the Spanish court. Among the ships that escaped, one had on board all the effects of Columbus which had been recovered from the ruins of his fortune. Historians, struck with the exact discrimination of characters, as well as the just distribution of rewards and punishments, conspicuous in those events, universally attribute them to an immediate interposition of divine Providence, in order to avenge the wrongs of an injured man, and to punish the oppressors of an innocent people. Upon the ignorant and superstitious race of men, who were witnesses of this occurrence, it made a different impression. From an opinion, which vulgar admiration is apt to entertain with respect to persons who have distinguished themselves by their sagacity and inventions, they believed Columbus to be possessed of supernatural powers, and imagined that he had conjured up this dreadful storm by magical art, and incantations, in order to be avenged of his enemies.

Columbus soon left Hispaniola, July 14, where he met with such an inhospitable reception, and stood towards the continent. After a tedious and dangerous voyage, he discovered Guanaia, an island not far distant from the coast of Honduras. There he had an interview with some inhabitants of the continent, who arrived in a large canoe. They appeared to be a people more civilized, and who had made greater progress in the knowledge of useful arts, than any whom he had hitherto discovered. In return to the inquiries which the Spaniards made, with their usual eagerness, concerning the places where the Indians got the gold which they wore by way of ornament, they directed them to countries situated to the west, in which gold was found in such profusion, that it was applied to the most common uses. Instead of steering in quest of a country so inviting, which would have conducted him along the coast of Yucatan to the rich empire of Mexico, Columbus was so bent upon his favourite scheme of finding out the strait which he supposed to communicate with the Indian ocean, that he bore away to the east towards the gulf of Darien. In this navigation he discovered all the coast of the continent, from Cape Gracias a Dios, to a harbour which, on account of its beauty and security, he called Porto Bello. He searched, in vain, for the imaginary strait, through which he expected to make his way into an unknown sea; and though he went on shore several times, and advanced into the country, he did not penetrate so far as to cross the narrow isthmus which separates the gulf of Mexico

from



from the great southern ocean. He was so much delighted, however, with the fertility of the country, and conceived such an idea of its wealth, from the specimens of gold produced by the natives, that he resolved to leave a small colony upon the river Belem, in the province of Veragua, under the command of his brother, and to return himself to Spain, in order to procure what was requisite for rendering the establishment permanent. But the ungovernable spirit of the people under his command, deprived Columbus of the glory of planting the first colony on the continent of America. Their insolence and rapaciousness provoked the natives to take arms, and as these were a more hardy and warlike race of men than the inhabitants of the islands, they cut off part of the Spaniards, and obliged the rest to abandon a station which was found to be untenable.

This repulse, the first that the Spaniards met with from any of the American nations, was not the only misfortune that befel Columbus; it was followed by a succession of all the disasters to which navigation is exposed. Furious hurricanes, with violent storms of thunder and lightning, threatened his leaky vessels with destruction; while his discontented crew, exhausted with fatigue, and destitute of provisions, was unwilling or unable to execute his commands. One of his ships perished; he was obliged to abandon another, as unfit for service; and with the two which remained, he quitted that part of the continent which in his anguish he named the Coast of Vexation, and bore away for Hispaniola. New distresses awaited him in this voyage. He was driven back by a violent tempest from the coast of Cuba, his ships fell foul of one another, and were so much shattered by the shock, that with the utmost difficulty they reached Jamaica, on June 24, where he was obliged to run them aground, to prevent them from sinking. The measure of his calamities seemed now to be full. He was cast ashore upon an island at a considerable distance from the only settlement of the Spaniards in America. His ships were ruined beyond the possibility of being repaired. To convey an account of his situation to Hispaniola, appeared impracticable; and without this it was vain to expect relief. His genius, fertile in resources, and most vigorous in those perilous extremities when feeble minds abandon themselves to despair, discovered the only expedient which afforded any prospect of deliverance. He had recourse to the hospitable kindness of the natives, who considering the Spaniards as beings of a superior nature, were eager, on every occasion, to minister to their wants. From them he obtained two of their canoes, each formed out of the trunk of a single tree hollowed with fire, and so mis-shapen and awkward as hardly to merit the name of boats.

In these, which were fit only for creeping along the coast, or crossing from one side of a bay to another, Mendez, a Spaniard, and Fieschi, a Genoese, two gentlemen particularly attached to Columbus, gallantly offered to set out for Hispaniola, upon a voyage of above thirty leagues. This they accomplished in ten days, after surmounting incredible dangers, and enduring such fatigue, that several of the Indians who accompanied them sunk under it, and died. The attention paid to them by the governor of Hispaniola was neither such as their courage merited, nor the distress of the persons from whom they came required. Ovando, from a mean jealousy of Columbus was afraid of allowing him to set foot in the island under his government. This ungenerous passion hardened his heart against every tender sentiment, which reflection upon the services and misfortunes of that great man, or compassion for his own fellow-citizens involved in the same calamities, must have excited. Mendez and Fieschi spent eight months in soliciting relief for their commander and associates, without any prospect of obtaining it.

During this period, various passions agitated the mind of Columbus, and his companions in adversity. At first the expectation of speedy deliverance, from the success of Mendez and Fieschi's voyage, cheered the spirits of the most desponding. After some time the more timorous began to suspect that they had miscarried in their daring attempt. At length, even the most sanguine concluded that they had perished. The ray of hope which had broke in upon them, made their condition appear now more dismal. Despair, heightened by disappointment, settled in every breast. Their last resource had failed, and nothing remained but the prospect of ending their miserable days among naked savages, far from their country and their friends. The seamen, in a transport of rage, rose in open mutiny, threatened the life of Columbus, whom they reproached as the author of all their calamities, seized ten canoes, which he had purchased from the Indians, and despising his remonstrances and entreaties, made off with them to a distant part of the island. At the same time the natives murmured at the long residence of the Spaniards in their country. As their industry was not greater than that of their neighbours in Hispaniola, like them they found the burden of supporting so many strangers to be altogether intolerable. They began to bring in provisions with reluctance, they furnished them with a sparing hand, and threatened to withdraw those supplies altogether. Such a resolution must have been quickly fatal to the Spaniards. Their safety depended upon the good-will of the Indians; and unless they could revive the admiration and reverence with which that simple people had at first beheld them, destruction was unavoidable.

avoidable. Though the licentious proceedings of the mutineers had, in a great measure effaced those impressions which had been so favourable to the Spaniards, the ingenuity of Columbus suggested a happy artifice, that not only restored but heightened the high opinion which the Indians had originally entertained of them. By his skill in astronomy he knew that there was shortly to be a total eclipse of the moon. He assembled all the principal persons of the district around him on the day before it happened, and, after reproaching them for their fickleness in withdrawing their affection and assistance from men whom they had lately revered, he told them, that the Spaniards were servants of the Great Spirit who dwells in heaven, who made and governs the world; that he, offended at their refusing to support men who were the objects of his peculiar favour, was preparing to punish this crime with exemplary severity, and that very night the moon should withhold her light, and appear of a bloody hue, as a sign of the divine wrath, and an emblem of the vengeance ready to fall upon them. To this marvellous prediction some of them listened with the careless indifference peculiar to the people of America; others, with the credulous astonishment natural to barbarians. But when the moon began gradually to be darkened, and at length appeared of a red colour, all were struck with terror. They ran with consternation to their houses, and returning instantly to Columbus loaded with provisions, threw them at his feet, conjuring him to intercede with the Great Spirit to avert the destruction with which they were threatened. Columbus, seeming to be moved by their entreaties, promised to comply with their desire. The eclipse went off, the moon recovered its splendour, and from that day the Spaniards were not only furnished profusely with provisions, but the natives, with superstitious attention, avoided every thing that could give them offence.

During those transactions, the mutineers had made repeated attempts to pass over to Hispaniola in the canoes which they had seized. But, from their own misconduct, or the violence of the winds and currents, their efforts were all unsuccessful. Enraged at this disappointment, they marched towards that part of the island where Columbus remained, threatening him with new insults and danger. While they were advancing, an event happened, more cruel and afflicting than any calamity which he dreaded from them. The governor of Hispaniola, whose mind was still filled with some dark suspicions of Columbus, sent a small bark to Jamaica, not to deliver his distressed countrymen, but to spy out their condition. Lest the sympathy of those whom he employed should afford them relief, contrary to his intention, he gave the command of this vessel to Escobar, an inveterate enemy of Columbus, who

adhering to his instructions with malignant accuracy, cast anchor at some distance from the island, approached the shore in a small boat, observed the wretched plight of the Spaniards, delivered a letter of empty compliments to the admiral, received his answer, and departed. When the Spaniards first descried the vessel standing towards the island, every heart exulted, as if the long expected hour of their deliverance had at length arrived; but when it disappeared so suddenly, they sunk into the deepest dejection, and all their hopes died away. Columbus alone, though he felt most sensibly this wanton insult which Ovando added to his past neglect, retained such composure of mind, as to be able to cheer his followers. He assured them, that Mendez and Fieschi had reached Hispaniola in safety; that they would speedily procure ships to carry them off; but as Escobar's vessel could not take them all on board, he had refused to go with her, because he was determined never to abandon the faithful companions of his distress. Soothed with the expectation of speedy deliverance, and delighted with his apparent generosity in attending more to their preservation than to his own safety, their spirits revived, and he regained their confidence.

Without this confidence, he could not have resisted the mutineers, who were now at hand. All his endeavours to reclaim those desperate men had no effect but to increase their frenzy. Their demands became every day more extravagant, and their intentions more violent and bloody. The common safety rendered it necessary to oppose them with open force. Columbus who had been long afflicted with the gout, could not take the field. On the twentieth of May his brother, the Adelantado, marched against them. They quickly met. The mutineers rejected with scorn terms of accommodation, which were once more offered them, and rushed on boldly to the attack. They fell not upon an enemy unprepared to receive them. In the first shock, several of their most daring leaders were slain. The Adelantado, whose strength was equal to his courage, closed with their captain, wounded, disarmed, and took him prisoner. At sight of this, the rest fled with a dastardly fear, suitable to their former insolence. Soon after, they submitted in a body to Columbus, and bound themselves by the most solemn oaths to obey all his commands. Hardly was tranquillity re-established, when the ships appeared, whose arrival Columbus had promised with great address, though he could foresee it with little certainty. With transports of joy, the Spaniards quitted an island in which the unfeeling jealousy of Ovando had suffered them to languish above a year, exposed to misery in all its various forms.

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When they arrived at St. Domingo, 'on the thirteenth of August, the governor, with the mean artifice of a vulgar mind, that labours to atone for insolence by servility, fawned on the man whom he envied, and had attempted to ruin. He received Columbus with the most studied respect, lodged him in his own house, and distinguished him with every mark of honour. But amidst these overacted demonstrations of regard, he could not conceal the hatred and malignity latent in his heart. He set at liberty the captain of the mutineers, whom Columbus had brought over in chains, to be tried for his crimes, and threatened such as had adhered to the admiral with proceeding to a judicial enquiry into their conduct. Columbus submitted in silence to what he could not redress; but discovered an extreme impatience to quit a country which was under the jurisdiction of a man who had treated him, on every occasion, with inhumanity and injustice. His preparations were soon finished, and he set sail for Spain with two ships, on September the twelfth, 1504. Disasters similar to those which had accompanied him through life continued to pursue him to the end of his career. One of his vessels being disabled, was soon forced back to St. Domingo; the other, shattered by violent storms, failed seven hundred leagues with jury-masts, and reached with difficulty the port of St. Lucar in the month of December.

There he received the account of an event the most fatal that could have befallen him, and which completed his misfortunes. This was the death, on the ninth of November, 1504, of his patroness queen Isabella, in whose justice, humanity, and favour, he confided as his last resource. None now remained to redress his wrongs, or to reward him for his services and sufferings, but Ferdinand, who had so long opposed and so often injured him. To solicit a prince thus prejudiced against him, was an occupation no less irksome than hopeless. In this, however, was Columbus doomed to employ the close of his days. As soon as his health was in some degree re-established, he repaired to court; and though he was received there with civility barely decent, he plied Ferdinand with petition after petition, demanding the punishment of his oppressors, and the restitution of all the privileges bestowed upon him by the capitulation of one thousand four hundred and ninety-two. Ferdinand amused him with fair words and unmeaning promises. Instead of granting his claims, he proposed expedients in order to elude them, and spun out the affair with such apparent art, as plainly discovered his intention that it should never be terminated. The declining health of Columbus flattered Ferdinand with the hopes of being soon delivered from an importunate suitor, and encouraged him to persevere in this illiberal plan. Nor was he deceived in his expectations. Disgusted

with the ingratitude of a monarch whom he had served with such fidelity and success, exhausted with the fatigues and hardships which he had endured, and broken with the infirmities which these brought upon him, Columbus ended his life at Valladolid on the twentieth of May, one thousand five hundred and six, in the fifty-ninth year of his age. He died with a composure of mind suitable to the magnanimity which distinguished his character, and with sentiments of piety becoming that supreme respect for religion, which he manifested in every occurrence of his life.

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Having thus given an Account of the first Discovery of America, we shall now proceed to lay before the Reader, a GENERAL DESCRIPTION of that Country, its *Soil, Climate, Productions, Original Inhabitants, &c. &c.*

## GENERAL

# DESCRIPTION OF AMERICA,

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### BOUNDARIES AND EXTENT.

**T**HIS vast country extends from the 80th degree of north, to the 56th degree of south latitude; and, where its breadth is known, from the 35th to the 136th degree west longitude from London; stretching between 8000 and 9000 miles in length, and in its greatest breadth 3690. It sees both hemispheres, has two summers and a double winter, and enjoys all the variety of climates which the earth affords. It is washed by the two great oceans. To the eastward it has the Atlantic, which divides it from Europe and Africa; to the west it has the Pacific or Great South Sea, by which it is separated from Asia. By these seas it may, and does, carry on a direct commerce with the other three parts of the world.

**NORTH AND SOUTH CONTINENT.** America is not of equal breadth throughout its whole extent; but is divided into two great continents, called *North* and *South America*, by an isthmus 1500 miles long, and which at Darien, about Lat.  $9^{\circ}$  N. is only 60 miles over. This isthmus forms, with the northern and southern continents, a vast gulph, in which lie a great number of islands, called the *West Indies*, in contradistinction to the eastern parts of Asia, which are called the *East Indies*.

**CLIMATE.** Between the New World and the Old, there are several very striking differences; but the most remarkable is the general predominance of cold throughout the whole extent of America. Though we cannot, in any country, determine the precise degree of heat merely by the distance of the equator, because the elevation above the sea, the nature of the soil, &c. affect the climate; yet, in the ancient continent, the heat is much more in proportion to the vicinity to the equator than in any part of America. Here the rigour of the frigid zone extends over half that which should be temperate by its position. Even in those  
latitudes

latitudes where the winter is scarcely felt on the Old continent, it reigns with great severity in America, though during a short period. Nor does this cold, prevalent in the New World, confine itself to the temperate zones; but extends its influence to the torrid zone, also, considerably mitigating the excess of its heat. Along the eastern coast, the climate, though more similar to that of the torrid zone in other parts of the earth, is nevertheless considerably milder than in those countries of Asia and Africa which lie in the same latitude. From the southern tropic to the extremity of the American continent, the cold is said to be much greater than in parallel northern latitudes even of America itself.

For this so remarkable difference between the climate of the New continent and the Old, various causes have been assigned by different authors. The following is the opinion of the learned Dr. Robertson on this subject. "Though the utmost extent of America towards the north be not yet discovered, we know that it advances nearer to the pole than either Europe or Asia. The latter have large seas to the north, which are open during part of the year; and, even when covered with ice, the wind that blows over them is less intensely cold than that which blows over land in the same latitudes. But, in America, the land stretches from the river St. Laurence towards the pole, and spreads out immensely to the west. A chain of enormous mountains, covered with snow and ice, runs through all this dreary region. The wind passing over such an extent of high and frozen land, becomes so impregnated with cold, that it acquires a piercing keenness, which it retains in its progress through warmer climates; and is not entirely mitigated until it reach the gulph of Mexico. Over all the continent of North America, a north-westerly wind and excessive cold are synonymous terms. Even in the most sultry weather, the moment that the wind veers to that quarter, its penetrating influence is felt in a transition from heat to cold no less violent than sudden. To this powerful cause we may ascribe the extraordinary dominion of cold, and its violent in-roads into the southern provinces in that part of the globe.

"Other causes, no less remarkable, diminish the active power of heat in those parts of the American continent which lie between the tropics. In all that portion of the globe, the wind blows in an invariable direction from east to west. As this wind holds its course across the ancient continent, it arrives at the countries which stretch along the western shore of Africa, inflamed with all the fiery particles which it hath collected from the sultry plains of Asia, and the burning sands in the African deserts. The coast of Africa is accordingly the region of the earth which feels the



the most fervent heat, and is exposed to the unmitigated ardour of the torrid zone. But this same wind, which brings such an accession of warmth to the countries lying between the river of Senegal and Cafraria, traverses the Atlantic ocean before it reaches the American shore. It is cooled in its passage over this vast body of water; and is felt as a refreshing gale along the coasts of Brazil and Guiana, rendering those countries, though amongst the warmest in America, temperate, when compared with those which lie opposite to them in Africa. As this wind advances in its course across America, it meets with immense plains covered with impenetrable forests; or occupied by large rivers, marshes, and stagnating waters, where it can recover no considerable degree of heat. At length it arrives at the Andes, which run from north to south through the whole continent. In passing over their elevated and frozen summits, it is so thoroughly cooled, that the greater part of the countries beyond them hardly feel the ardour to which they seem exposed by their situation. In the other provinces of America, from Terra Firma westward to the Mexican empire, the heat of the climate is tempered, in some places, by the elevation of the land above the sea; in others, by their extraordinary humidity; and in all, by the enormous mountains scattered over this tract. The islands of America in the torrid zone are either small or mountainous, and are fanned alternately by refreshing sea and land breezes.

“The causes of the extraordinary cold towards the southern limits of America, and in the seas beyond it, cannot be ascertained in a manner equally satisfying. It was long supposed, that a vast continent, distinguished by the name of *Terra Australis Incognita*, lay between the southern extremity of America and the antarctic pole. The same principles which account for the extraordinary degree of cold in the northern regions of America, were employed in order to explain that which is felt at Cape Horn and the adjacent countries. The immense extent of the southern continent, and the rivers which it poured into the ocean, were mentioned and admitted by philosophers as causes sufficient to occasion the unusual sensation of cold, and the still more uncommon appearances of frozen seas in that region of the globe. But the imaginary continent to which such influence was ascribed having been searched for in vain, and the space which it was supposed to occupy having been found to be an open sea, new conjectures must be formed with respect to the causes of a temperature of climate, so extremely different from that which we experience in countries removed at the same distance from the opposite pole.

“The most obvious and probable cause of this superior degree of cold towards the southern extremity of America, seems to be the form of the continent there. Its breadth gradually decreases as it stretches from St. Antonio southwards, and from the bay of St. Julian to the straits of Magellan its dimensions are much contracted. On the east and west sides, it is washed by the Atlantic and Pacific oceans. From its southern point, it is probable that an open sea stretches to the antarctic pole. In whichever of these directions the wind blows, it is cooled before it approaches the Magellanic regions, by passing over a vast body of water; nor is the land there of such extent, that it can recover any considerable degree of heat in its progress over it. These circumstances concur in rendering the temperature of the air in this district of America more similar to that of an insular, than to that of a continental climate; and hinder it from acquiring the same degree of summer-heat with places in Europe and Asia, in a corresponding northern latitude. The north wind is the only one that reaches this part of America, after blowing over a great continent. But, from an attentive survey of its position, this will be found to have a tendency rather to diminish than augment the degree of heat. The southern extremity of America is properly the termination of the immense ridge of the Andes, which stretches nearly in a direct line from north to south, through the whole extent of the continent. The most sultry regions in South America, Guiana, Brasil, Paraguay, and Tucuman, lie many degrees to the east of the Magellanic regions. The level country of Peru, which enjoys the tropical heats, is situated considerably to the west of them. The north wind, then, though it blows over land, does not bring to the southern extremity of America an increase of heat collected in its passage over torrid regions; but, before it arrives there, it must have swept along the summit of the Andes, and come impregnated with the cold of that frozen region.”

Another particularity in the climate of America, is its excessive moisture in general. In some places, indeed, on the western coast, rain is not known; but, in all other parts, the moistness of the climate is as remarkable as the cold.—The forests wherewith it is every where covered, no doubt, partly occasion the moisture of its climate; but the most prevalent cause is the vast quantity of water in the Atlantic and Pacific oceans, with which America is environed on all sides. Hence those places where the continent is narrowest are deluged with almost perpetual rains, accompanied with violent thunder and lightning, by which some of them, particularly Porto Bello, are rendered in a manner uninhabitable.

This extreme moisture of the American climate is productive of much larger rivers there than in any other part of the world. The Danube, the Nile, the Indus, or the Ganges, are not comparable to the Mississippi, the river St. Laurence, or that of the Amazons; nor are such large lakes to be found any where as those which North America affords. To the same cause we are also partly to ascribe the excessive luxuriance of all kinds of vegetables in almost all parts of this country. In the southern provinces, where the moisture of the climate is aided by the warmth of the sun, the woods are almost impervious, and the surface of the ground is hid from the eye, under a thick covering of shrubs, herbs, and weeds.—In the northern provinces, the forests are not encumbered with the same luxuriance of vegetation; nevertheless, they afford trees much larger of their kind than what are to be found any where else.

From the coldness and the moisture of America, an extreme malignity of climate has been inferred, and asserted by M. de Paw, in his *Recherches Philosophiques*. Hence, according to his hypothesis, the smallness and irregularity of the nobler animals, and the size and enormous multiplication of reptiles and insects.

But the supposed smallness and less ferocity of the American animals, the Abbé Clavigero observes, instead of the malignity, demonstrates the mildness and bounty of the clime, if we give credit to Buffon, at whose fountain M. de Paw has drank, and of whose testimony he has availed himself against Don Pernetty. Buffon, who in many places of his *Natural History* produces the smallness of the American animals as a certain argument of the malignity of the climate of America, in treating afterwards of savage animals, in Tom. II. speaks thus; “As all things, even the most free creatures, are subject to natural laws, and animals as well as men are subjected to the influence of climate and soil, it appears that the same causes which have civilized and polished the human species in our climates, may have likewise produced similar effects upon other species. The wolf, which is perhaps the fiercest of all the quadrupeds of the temperate zone, is however incomparably less terrible than the tyger, the lion, and the panther, of the torrid zone; and the white bear and hyena of the frigid zone. In America, where the air and the earth are more mild than those of Africa, the tyger, the lion, and the panther, are not terrible but in the name. They have degenerated, if fierceness, joined to cruelty, made their nature; or, to speak more properly, they have only suffered the influence of the climate: under a milder sky, their nature also has become more mild. From climes which are immoderate in their temperature, are obtained drugs, perfumes, poisons,

Mildness, and how at last, and

and all those plants whose qualities are strong. The temperate earth, on the contrary, produces only things which are temperate; the mildest herbs, the most wholesome pulse, the sweetest fruits, the most quiet animals, and the most humane men, are the natives of this happy clime. As the earth makes the plants, the earth and plants make animals; the earth, the plants, and the animals, make man. The physical qualities of man, and the animals which feed on other animals, depend, though more remotely, on the same causes which influence their dispositions and customs. This is the greatest proof and demonstration, that in temperate climes every thing becomes temperate, and that in intemperate climes every thing is excessive; and that size and form, which appear fixed and determinate qualities, depend, notwithstanding, like the relative qualities, on the influence of climate. The size of our quadrupeds cannot be compared with that of an elephant, the rhinoceros, or sea-horse. The largest of our birds are but small, if compared with the ostrich, the condore, and *casare*." So far M. Buffon, whose text we have copied, because it is contrary to what M. de Paw writes against the climate of America, and to Buffon himself in many other places.

If the large and fierce animals are natives of intemperate climes, and small and tranquil animals of temperate climes, as M. Buffon has here established; if mildness of climate influences the disposition and customs of animals, M. de Paw does not well deduce the malignity of the climate of America from the smaller size and less fierceness of its animals; he ought rather to have deduced the gentleness and sweetness of its climate from this antecedent. If, on the contrary, the smaller size and less fierceness of the American animals, with respect to those of the old continent, are a proof of their degeneracy, arising from the malignity of the climate, as M. de Paw would have it, we ought in like manner to argue the malignity of the climate of Europe from the smaller size and less fierceness of its animals, compared with those of Africa. If a philosopher of the country of Guinea should undertake a work in imitation of M. de Paw, with this title, *Recherches Philosophiques sur les Europeens*, he might avail himself of the same argument which M. de Paw uses, to demonstrate the malignity of the climate of Europe, and the advantages of that of Africa. The climate of Europe, he would say, is very unfavourable to the production of quadrupeds, which are found incomparably smaller, and more cowardly than ours. What are the horse and the ox, the largest of its animals, compared with our elephants, our rhinoceroses, our sea-horses, and our camels? What are its lizards, either in size or intrepidity, compared with our crocodiles? Its wolves, its bears, the most dreadful of its wild beasts, when beside our lions or tygers? Its eagle, its vultures,



vultures, and cranes, if compared with our ostriches, appear only like hens.

As to the enormous size and prodigious multiplication of the insects and other little noxious animals, "The surface of the earth (says M. de Paw, infected by putrefaction, was over-run with lizards, serpents, reptiles, and insects monstrous for size, and the activity of their poison, which they drew from the copious juices of this uncultivated soil, that was corrupted and abandoned to itself, where the nutritive juice became sharp, like the milk in the breast of animals which do not exercise the virtue of propagation. Caterpillars, crabs, butterflies, beetles, spiders, frogs, and toads, were for the most part of an enormous corpulence in their species, and multiplied beyond what can be imagined. Panama is infested with serpents, Carthagená with clouds of enormous bats, Portobello with toads, Surinam with *kakerlacas*, or *cucarachus*, Guadaloupe, and the other colonies of the islands, with beetles, Quito with niguas or chegoes, and Lima with lice and bugs. The ancient kings of Mexico, and the emperors of Peru, found no other means of ridding their subjects of those insects which fed upon them, than the imposition of an annual tribute of a certain quantity of lice. Ferdinand Cortes found bags full of them in the palace of Montezuma." But this argument, exaggerated as it is, proves nothing against the climate of America, in general, much less against that of Mexico. There being some lands in America, in which, on account of their heat, humidity, or want of inhabitants, large insects are found, and excessively multiplied, will prove at most, that in some places the surface of the earth is infected, as he says, with putrefaction; but not that the soil of Mexico, or that of all America, is stinking, uncultivated, vitiated, and abandoned to itself. If such a deduction were just, M. de Paw might also say, that the soil of the old continent is barren, and stinks; as in many countries of it there are prodigious multitudes of monstrous insects, noxious reptiles, and vile animals, as in the Philippine isles, in many of those of the Indian Archipelago, in several countries of the south of Asia, in many of Africa, and even in some of Europe. The Philippine isles are infested with enormous ants and monstrous butterflies, Japan with scorpions, south of Asia and Africa with serpents, Egypt with asps, Guinea and Ethiopia with armies of ants, Holland with field-rats, Ukrania with toads, as M. de Paw himself affirms. In Italy, the Campagna di Rōma (although peopled for so many ages), with vipers; Calabria with tarantulas; the shores of the Adriatic sea, with clouds of gnats; and even in France, the population of which is so great and so ancient, whose lands are so well cultivated, and whose climate is so celebrated by the French, there appeared, a few years

years ago, according to M. Buffon, a new species of field-mice, larger than the common kind, called by him *Surmulots*, which have multiplied exceedingly, to the great damage of the fields. M. Bazin, in his Compendium of the History of Insects, numbers 77 species of bugs, which are all found in Paris and its neighbourhood. That large capital, as Mr. Bomare says, swarms with those disgusting insects. It is true, that there are places in America, where the multitude of insects, and filthy vermin, make life irksome; but we do not know that they have arrived to such excess of multiplication as to depopulate any place, at least there cannot be so many examples produced of this cause of depopulation in the new as in the old continent, which are attested by Theophrastus, Varro, Pliny, and other authors. The frogs depopulated one place in Gaul, and the locusts another in Africa. One of the Cyclades was depopulated by mice; Amiclas, near to Taracina, by serpents; another place, near to Ethiopia, by scorpions and poisonous ants; and another by scolopendras; and not so distant from our own times, the Mauritius was going to have been abandoned on account of the extraordinary multiplication of rats, as we can remember to have read in a French author,

With respect to the size of the insects, reptiles, and such animals, M. de Paw makes use of the testimony of Mr. Dumont, who, in his Memoirs on Louisiana, says, that the frogs are so large there that they weigh 37 French pounds, and their horrid croaking imitates the bellowing of cows. But M. de Paw himself says (in his answer to Don Perretty, cap. 17.) that all those who have written about Louisiana from Henepin, Le Clerc, and Cav. Tonti, to Dumont, have contradicted each other, sometimes on one and sometimes on another subject. In fact, neither in the old or the new continent are there frogs of 37 pounds in weight; but there are in Asia and Africa, serpents, butterflies, ants, and other animals of such monstrous size, that they exceed all those which have been discovered in the new world. We know very well, that some American historian says, that a certain gigantic species of serpents is to be found in the woods, which attract men with their breath, and swallow them up; but we know also, that several historians, both ancient and modern, report the same thing of the serpents of Asia, and even something more. Magasthenes, cited by Pliny, said, that there were serpents found in Asia, so large, that they swallowed entire stags and bulls. Metrodorus cited by the same author, affirms, that in Asia there were serpents which, by their breath, attracted birds, however high they were or quick their flight. Among the moderns, Gemelli, in Vol. V. of his Tour of the World, when he treats of the animals of the Philippine isles, speaks thus: "There are serpents in these islands of immoderate

tate size; there is one called *Ibitin*, very long, which suspending itself by the tail from the trunk of a tree, waits till stags, bears, and also men pass by, in order to attract them with its breadth, and devour them at once entirely:" from whence it is evident, that this very ancient fable has been common to both continents.

Further, it may be asked, In what country of America could M. de Paw find ants to equal those of the Philippine islands, called *sulum*, respecting which Hernandez affirms, that they were six fingers broad in length and one in breadth? Who has ever seen in America butterflies so large as those of Bourbon, Ternate, the Philippine isles, and all the Indian archipelago? The largest bat of America (native to hot shady countries), which is that called by Buffon *vampiro*, is, according to him, of the size of a pigeon. *La rougette*, one of the species of Asia, is as large as a raven; and the *roufette*, another species of Asia, is as big as a large hen. Its wings, when extended, measure from tip to tip three Parisian feet, and according to Gemelli, who measured it in the Philippine isles, six palms. M. Buffon acknowledges the excess in size of the Asiatic bat over the American species, but denies it as to number. Gemelli says, that those of the island of Luzon were so numerous that they darkened the air, and that the noise which they made with their teeth, in eating the fruits of the woods, was heard at the distance of two miles. M. de Paw says, in talking of serpents, "it cannot be affirmed that the New World has shown any serpents larger than those which Mr. Adanson saw in the deserts of Africa." The greatest serpent found in Mexico, after a diligent search made by Hernandez, was 18 feet long: but this is not to be compared with that of the Moluccas, which Bomare says is 33 feet in length; nor with the *anocanjada* of Ceylon, which the same author says is more than 33 feet long; nor with others of Asia and Africa, mentioned by the same author. Lastly, the argument drawn from the multitude and size of the American insects is fully as weighty as the argument drawn from the smallness and scarcity of quadrupeds, and both detect the same ignorance, or rather the same voluntary and studied forgetfulness, of the things of the old continent.

With respect to what M. de Paw has said of the tribute of lice in Mexico, in that as well as in many other things he discovers his ridiculous credulity. It is true that Cortes found bags of lice in the magazines of the palace of king Axajacatl. It is also true, that Montezuma imposed such a tribute, not on all his subjects, however, but only on those who were beggars; not on account of the extraordinary multitude of those insects, as M. de Paw affirms, but because Montezuma, who



could not suffer idleness in his subjects, resolved that that miserable set of people, who could not labour, should at least be occupied in lousing themselves. This was the true reason of such an extravagant tribute, as Torquemada, Betancourt, and other historians relate; and nobody ever before thought of that which M. de Paw affirms, merely because it suited his preposterous system. Those disgusting insects possibly abound as much in the hair and cloaths of American beggars, as of any poor and uncleanly low people in the world: but there is not a doubt, that if any sovereign of Europe was to exact such a tribute from the poor in his dominions, not only bags, but great vessels might be filled with them.

**ABORIGENES.** At the time America was discovered, it was found inhabited by a race of men no less different from those in the other parts of the world, than the climate and natural productions of this continent are different from those of Europe, Asia, or Africa. One great peculiarity in the native Americans is their colour, and the identity of it throughout the whole extent of the continent. In Europe and Asia, the people who inhabit the northern countries are of a fairer complexion than those who dwell more to the southward. In the torrid zone, both in Africa and Asia, the natives are entirely black, or the next thing to it. This, however, must be understood with some limitation. The people of Lapland, who inhabit the most northerly part of Europe, are by no means so fair as the inhabitants of Britain; nor are the Tartars so fair as the inhabitants of Europe who lie under the same parallels of latitude. Nevertheless, a Laplander is fair when compared with an Abyssinian, and a Tartar if compared with a native of the Molucca islands.—In America, this distinction of colour was not to be found. In the torrid zone there were no negroes, and in the temperate and frigid zones there were no white people. All of them were of a kind of red copper colour, which Mr. Forster observed, in the Pessierays of Terra del Fuego, to have something of a gloss resembling that metal. It doth not appear, however, that this matter hath ever been inquired into with sufficient accuracy. The inhabitants of the inland parts of South America, where the continent is widest, and consequently the influence of the sun the most powerful, have never been compared with those of Canada, or more northerly parts, at least by any person of credit. Yet this ought to have been done, and that in many instances too, before it could be asserted so positively as most authors do, that there is not the least difference of complexion among the natives of America. Indeed, so many systems have been formed concerning them, that it is very difficult to obtain a true knowledge of the most simple facts. If we may believe the Abbé Raynal, the Californians are  
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thwartier than the Mexicans; and so positive is he in this opinion, that he gives a reason for it. "This difference of colour," says he, "proves, that the civilized life of society subverts, or totally changes, the order and laws of nature, since we find, under the temperate zone, a savage people that are blacker than the civilized nations of the torrid zone." On the other hand, Dr. Robertson classes all the inhabitants of Spanish America together with regard to colour, whether they are civilized or uncivilized; and when he speaks of California, takes no notice of any peculiarity in their colour more than others. The general appearance of the indigenous Americans in various districts is thus described by the Chevalier Pinto: "They are all of a copper colour, with some diversity of shade, not in proportion to their distance from the equator, but according to the degree of elevation of the territory in which they reside. Those who live in a high country are fairer than those in the marshy low lands on the coast. Their face is round; farther removed, perhaps, than that of any people from an oval shape. Their forehead is small; the extremity of their ears far from the face; their lips thick; their nose flat; their eyes black, or of a chestnut colour, small, but capable of discerning objects at a great distance. Their hair is always thick and sleek, and without any tendency to curl. At the first aspect, a South American appears to be mild and innocent; but, on a more attentive view, one discovers in his countenance something wild, distrustful and sullen."

The following account of the native Americans is given by Don Antonio Ulloa, in a work intitled *Memoires philosophiques, historiques, et physiques, concernant la decouverte de l' Amerique*, lately published.

The American Indians are naturally of a colour bordering upon red. Their frequent exposure to the sun and wind changes it to their ordinary dusky hue. The temperature of the air appears to have little or no influence in this respect. There is no perceptible difference in complexion between the inhabitants of the high and those of the low parts of Peru; yet the climates are of an extreme difference. Nay, the Indians who live as far as 40 degrees and upwards south or north of the equator, are not to be distinguished, in point of colour, from those immediately under it.

There is also a general conformation of features and person, which, more or less, characteriseth them all. Their chief distinctions in these respects are a small forehead, partly covered with hair to the eye-brows, little eyes, the nose thin, pointed, and bent towards the upper lip; a broad face, large ears, black, thick, and lank hair; the legs well formed, the feet small, the body thick and muscular; little or no beard on the

face, and that little never extending beyond a small part of the chin and upper lip. It may easily be supposed that this general description cannot apply, in all its parts, to every individual; but all of them partake so much of it, that they may easily be distinguished even from the mulattoes, who come nearest to them in point of colour.

The resemblance among all the American tribes is not less remarkable in respect to their genius, character, manners, and particular customs. The most distant tribes are, in these respects, as similar as though they formed but one nation.

All the Indian nations have a peculiar pleasure in painting their bodies of a red colour, with a certain species of earth. The mine of Guanacavelica was formerly of no other use than to supply them with this material for dyeing their bodies; and the cinnabar extracted from it was applied entirely to this purpose. The tribes in Louisiana and Canada have the same passion; hence minium is the commodity most in demand there.

It may seem singular that these nations, whose natural colour is red, should affect the same colour as an artificial ornament. But it may be observed, that they do nothing in this respect but what corresponds to the practice of Europeans, who also study to heighten and display to advantage the natural red and white of their complexions. The Indians of Peru have now indeed abandoned the custom of painting their bodies: but it was common among them before they were conquered by the Spaniards; and it still remains the custom of all those tribes who have preserved their liberty. The northern nations of America, besides the red colour which is predominant, employ also black, white, blue, and green, in painting their bodies.

The adjustment of these colours is a matter of as great consideration with the Indians of Louisiana and the vast regions extending to the north, as the ornaments of dress among the most polished nations. The business itself they call *Maſſacher*, and they do not fail to apply all their talents and assiduity to accomplish it in the most finished manner. No lady of the greatest fashion ever consulted her mirror with more anxiety, than the Indians do while painting their bodies. The colours are applied with the utmost accuracy and address. Upon the eye-lids, precisely at the root of the eye-lashes, they draw two lines as fine as the smallest thread; the same upon the lips, the openings of the nostrils, the eye-brows, and the ears; of which last they even follow all the inflexions and insinuosities. As to the rest of the face, they distribute various figures, in all which the red predominates, and the other colours are assorted so as to throw it out to the best advantage. The neck also re-

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receives its proper ornaments: a thick coat of vermilion commonly distinguishes the cheeks. Five or six hours are requisite for accomplishing all this with the nicety which they affect. As their first attempts do not always succeed to their wish, they efface them, and begin a-new upon a better plan. No coquette is more fastidious in her choice of ornament, none more vain when the important adjustment is finished. Their delight and self-satisfaction are then so great, that the mirror is hardly ever laid down. An Indian *Maftahed* to his mind is the vainest of all the human species. The other parts of the body are left in their natural state, and, excepting what is called a *cachecul*, they go entirely naked.

Such of them as have made themselves eminent for bravery, or other qualifications, are distinguished by figures painted on their bodies. They introduce the colours by making punctures on their skins, and the extent of surface which this ornament covers is proportioned to the exploits they have performed. Some paint only their arms, others both their arms and legs; others again their thighs, while those who have attained the summit of warlike renown, have their bodies painted from the waist upwards. This is the heraldry of the Indians; the devices of which are probably more exactly adjusted to the merits of the persons who bear them than those of more civilized countries.

Besides these ornaments, the warriors also carry plumes of feathers on their heads, their arms, and ancles. These likewise are tokens of valour, and none but such as have been thus distinguished may wear them.

The propensity to indolence is equal among all the tribes of Indians, civilized or savage. The only employment of those who have preserved their independence is hunting and fishing. In some districts the women exercise a little agriculture in raising Indian corn and pompions, of which they form a species of aliment, by bruising them together: they also prepare the ordinary beverage in use among them, taking care, at the same time, of the children, of whom the fathers take no charge.

The female Indians of all the conquered regions of South America practice what is called the *urcu* (a word which among them signifies elevation). It consists in throwing forward the hair from the crown of the head upon the brow, and cutting it round from the ears to above the eye; so that the forehead and eye-brows are entirely covered. The same custom takes place in the Northern countries. The female inhabitants of both regions tie the rest of their hair behind, so exactly on the same fashion, that it might be supposed the effect of mutual imitation. This however being impossible, from the vast distance that separates them, is thought to countenance the supposition of the whole of America being originally planted with one race of people.

This custom does not take place among the males. Those of the higher parts of Peru wear long and flowing hair, which they reckon a great ornament. In the lower parts of the same country they cut it short, on account of the heat of the climate; a circumstance in which they imitate the Spaniards. The inhabitants of Louisiana pluck out their hair by the root, from the crown of the head forwards, in order to obtain a large forehead, otherwise denied them by nature. The rest of their hair they cut as short as possible, to prevent their enemies from seizing them by it in battle, and also to prevent them from easily getting their scalp, should they fall into their hands as prisoners.

The whole race of American Indians is distinguished by thickness of skin and hardness of fibres; circumstances which probably contribute to that insensibility to bodily pain for which they are remarkable. An instance of this insensibility occurred in an Indian who was under the necessity of submitting to be cut for the stone. This operation, in ordinary cases, seldom lasts above four or five minutes. Unfavourable circumstances in his case prolonged it to the uncommon period of 27 minutes. Yet all this time the patient gave no tokens of the extreme pain commonly attending this operation: he complained only as a person does who feels some slight uneasiness. At last the stone was extracted. Two days after, he expressed a desire for food; and on the eighth day from the operation he quitted his bed, free from pain, although the wound was not yet thoroughly closed. The same want of sensibility is observed in cases of fractures, wounds, and other accidents of a similar nature. In all these cases their cure is easily effected, and they seem to suffer less present pain than any other race of men. The skulls that have been taken up in their ancient burying-grounds are of a greater thickness than that bone is commonly found, being from six to seven lines from the outer to the inner superficies. The same is remarked as to the thickness of their skins.

It is natural to infer from hence, that their comparative insensibility to pain is owing to a coarser and stronger organization than that of other nations. The ease with which they endure the severities of climate is another proof of this. The inhabitants of the higher parts of Peru live amidst perpetual frost and snow. Although their cloathing is very slight, they support this inclement temperature without the least inconvenience. Habit, it is to be confessed, may contribute a good deal to this, but much also is to be ascribed to the compact texture of their skins, which defend them from the impression of cold through their pores.

The northern Indians resemble them in this respect. The utmost rigours of the winter season do not prevent them from following the chase



chace almost naked. It is true, they wear a kind of woollen cloak, or sometimes the skin of a wild beast, upon their shoulders; but besides that it covers only a small part of their body, it would appear that they use it rather for ornament than warmth. In fact, they wear it indiscriminately, in the severities of winter and in the sultriest heats of summer, when neither Europeans nor Negroes can suffer any but the slightest cloathing. They even frequently throw aside this cloak when they go a-hunting, that it may not embarrass them in traversing their forests, where they say the thorns and undergrowth would take hold of it; while, on the contrary, they slide smoothly over the surface of their naked bodies. At all times they go with their heads uncovered, without suffering the least inconvenience, either from the cold, or from those *coups de soleil*, which in Louisiana are so often fatal to the inhabitants of other climates.

**DRESS.** The Indians of South America distinguish themselves by modern dresses, in which they affect various tastes. Those of the high country, and of the valleys in Peru, dress partly in the Spanish fashion. Instead of hats they wear bonnets of coarse double cloth, the weight of which neither seems to incommode them when they go to warmer climates, nor does the accidental want of them seem to be felt in situations where the most piercing cold reigns. Their legs and feet are always bare, if we except a sort of sandals made of the skins of oxen. The inhabitants of South America, compared with those of North America, are described as generally more feeble in their frame; less vigorous in the efforts of their mind; of gentler dispositions, more addicted to pleasure, and sunk in indolence.—This, however, is not universally the case. Many of their nations are as intrepid and enterprising as any others on the whole continent. Among the tribes on the banks of Oroonoko, if a warrior aspires to the post of captain, his probation begins with a long fast, more rigid than any ever observed by the most abstemious hermit. At the close of this the chiefs assemble; and each gives him three lashes with a large whip, applied so vigorously, that his body is almost flayed. If he betrays the least symptom of impatience, or even of sensibility, he is disgraced for ever, and rejected as unworthy of the honour. After some interval, his constancy is proved by a more excruciating trial. He is laid in his hammock with his hands bound fast; and an innumerable multitude of venomous ants, whose bite occasions a violent pain and inflammation, are thrown upon him. The judges of his merit stand around the hammock; and whilst these cruel insects fasten upon the most sensible parts of his body, a sigh, a groan, or an involuntary motion expressive of what he suffers, would exclude him from the dignity of

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which he is ambitious. Even after this evidence, his fortitude is not deemed to be sufficiently ascertained, till he has stood another test more severe, if possible, than the former. He is again suspended in his hammock, and covered with the leaves of the palmetto. A fire of stinking herbs is kindled underneath, so as he may feel its heat, and be involved in smoke. Though scorched and almost suffocated, he must continue to endure this with the same patient insensibility. Many perish in this essay of their firmness and courage; but such as go through it with applause, receive the ensigns of their new dignity with much solemnity, and are ever after regarded as leaders of approved resolution, whose behaviour, in the most trying situations, will do honour to their country. In North America, the previous trial of a warrior is neither so formal nor so severe: Though, even there, before a youth is permitted to bear arms, his patience and fortitude are proved by blows, by fire, and by insults, more intolerable to a haughty spirit than either.

**MANNERS AND CUSTOMS.** Of the manners and customs of the North Americans more particularly, the following is the most consistent account that can be collected from the best informed and most impartial writers.

When the Europeans first arrived in America, they found the Indians quite naked, except those parts which even the most uncultivated people usually conceal. Since that time, however, they generally use a coarse blanket, which they buy of the neighbouring planters.

Their huts or cabins are made of stakes of wood driven into the ground, and covered with branches of trees or reeds. They lie on the floor either on mats or the skins of wild beasts. Their dishes are of timber; but their spoons are made of the skulls of wild oxen, and their knives of flint. A kettle and a large plate constitute almost all the whole utensils of the family. Their diet consists chiefly in what they procure by hunting; and sagamite, or pottage, is likewise one of their most common kinds of food. The most honourable furniture amongst them is the scalps of their enemies; with those they ornament their huts, which are esteemed in proportion to the number of this sort of spoils.

The character of the Indians is altogether founded upon their circumstances and way of life. A people who are constantly employed in procuring the means of a precarious subsistence, who live by hunting the wild animals, and who are generally engaged in war with their neighbours, cannot be supposed to enjoy much gaiety of temper, or a high flow of spirits. The Indians therefore are in general grave even to sadness; they have nothing of that giddy vivacity peculiar to some nations of Europe, and they despise it. Their behaviour to those about them is regular.

regular, modest, and respectful. Ignorant of the arts of amusement, of which that of saying trifles agreeably is one of the most considerable, they never speak but when they have something important to observe; and all their actions, words, and even looks, are attended with some meaning. This is extremely natural to men who are almost continually engaged in pursuits which to them are of the highest importance. Their subsistence depends entirely on what they procure with their hands; and their lives, their honour, and every thing dear to them, may be lost by the smallest inattention to the designs of their enemies. As they have no particular object to attach them to one place rather than another, they fly wherever they expect to find the necessaries of life in greatest abundance. Cities, which are the effects of agriculture and arts, they have none. The different tribes or nations are for the same reason extremely small, when compared with civilized societies, in which industry, arts, agriculture, and commerce, have united a vast number of individuals, whom a complicated luxury renders useful to one another. These small tribes live at an immense distance; they are separated by a desert frontier, and hid in the bosom of impenetrable and almost boundless forests.

**GOVERNMENT.** There is established in each society a certain species of government, which over the whole continent of America prevails with exceeding little variation; because over the whole of this continent the manners and way of life are nearly similar and uniform. Without arts, riches, or luxury, the great instruments of subjection in polished societies, an American has no method by which he can render himself considerable among his companions, but by superiority in personal qualities of body or mind. But as Nature has not been very lavish in her personal distinctions, where all enjoy the same education, all are pretty much equal, and will desire to remain so. Liberty, therefore, is the prevailing passion of the Americans; and their government under the influence of this sentiment, is better secured than by the wisest political regulations. They are very far, however, from despising all sort of authority; they are attentive to the voice of wisdom, which experience has conferred on the aged, and they enlist under the banners of the chief in whose valour and military address they have learned to repose their confidence. In every society, therefore, there is to be considered the power of the chief and of the elders; and according as the government inclines more to the one or to the other, it may be regarded as monarchical, or as a species of aristocracy. Among those tribes which are most engaged in war, the power of the chief is naturally predominant; because the idea of having a military leader was the first source of his superiority, and the



the continual exigencies of the state requiring such a leader; will continue to support, and even to enhance it. His power, however, is rather persuasive than coercive; he is revered as a father, rather than feared as a monarch. He has no guards, no prisons, no officers of justice, and one act of ill-judged violence would pull him from the throne. The elders, in the other form of government, which may be considered as an aristocracy, have no more power. In some tribes, indeed, there are a kind of hereditary nobility, whose influence being constantly augmented by time, is more considerable. But this source of power, which depends chiefly on the imagination, by which we annex to the merit of our contemporaries that of their forefathers, is too refined to be very common among the natives of America. In most countries, therefore, age alone is sufficient for acquiring respect, influence, and authority. It is age which teaches experience, and experience is the only source of knowledge among a barbarous people. Among those persons business is conducted with the utmost simplicity, and which may recal to those who are acquainted with antiquity a picture of the most early ages. The heads of families meet together in a house or cabin appointed for the purpose. Here the business is discussed; and here those of the nation, distinguished for their eloquence or wisdom, have an opportunity of displaying those talents. Their orators, like those of Homer, express themselves in a bold figurative style, stronger than refined, or rather softened, nations can well bear, and with gestures equally violent, but often extremely natural and expressive. When the business is over, and they happen to be well provided with food, they appoint a feast upon the occasion, of which almost the whole nation partakes. The feast is accompanied with a song, in which the real or fabulous exploits of their forefathers are celebrated. They have dances too, though, like those of the Greeks and Romans, chiefly of the military kind; and their music and dancing accompany every feast.

To assist their memory, they have belts of small shells, or beads, of different colours, each representing a particular object, which is marked by their colour and arrangement. At the conclusion of every subject on which they discourse, when they treat with a foreign state, they deliver one of those belts; for if this ceremony should be omitted, all that they have said passes for nothing. Those belts are carefully deposited in each town, as the public records of the nation; and to them they occasionally have recourse, when any public contest happens with a neighbouring tribe. Of late, as the materials of which those belts are made have become scarce, they often give some skin in place of the wampum (the name of the beads), and receive in return presents of a more valuable

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able kind from our commissioners; for they never consider a treaty as of any weight, unless every article in it be ratified by such a gratification.

It often happens, that those different tribes or nations, scattered as they are at an immense distance from one another, meet in their excursions after prey. If their subsists no animosity between them, which seldom is the case, they behave in the most friendly and courteous manner; but if they happen to be in a state of war, or if there has been no previous intercourse between them, all who are not friends are deemed enemies, and they fight with the most savage fury.

War, if we except hunting, is the only employment of the men; as to every other concern, and even the little agriculture they enjoy, it is left to the women. Their most common motive for entering into war, when it does not arise from an accidental rencounter or interference, is either to revenge themselves for the death of some lost friends, or to acquire prisoners, who may assist them in their hunting, and whom they adopt into their society. These wars are either undertaken by some private adventurers, or at the instance of the whole community. In the latter case, all the young men who are disposed to go out to battle (for no one is compelled contrary to his inclination), give a bit of wood to the chief, as a token of their design to accompany him; for every thing among those people is transacted with a great deal of ceremony and many forms. The chief who is to conduct them fasts several days, during which he converses with no one, and is particularly careful to observe his dreams; which the presumption natural to savages generally renders as favourable as he could desire. A variety of other superstitions and ceremonies are observed. One of the most hideous is setting the war-kettle on the fire, as an emblem that they are going out to devour their enemies; which among some nations must formerly have been the case, since they still continue to express it in clear terms, and use an emblem significant of the ancient usage. Then they dispatch a porcelane, or large shell, to their allies, inviting them to come along, and drink the blood of their enemies. They think that those in their alliance must not only adopt their enmities, but have their resentment wound up to the same pitch with themselves. And indeed no people carry their friendship or their resentment so far as they do; and this is what should be expected from their peculiar circumstances: that principle in human nature which is the spring of the social affections, acts with so much the greater force the more it is restrained. The Americans, who live in small societies, who see few objects and few persons, become wonderfully attached to those objects and persons, and cannot

be deprived of them without feeling themselves miserable. Their ideas are too confined to enable them to entertain just sentiments of humanity, or universal benevolence. But this very circumstance, while it makes them cruel and savage to an incredible degree towards those with whom they are at war, adds a new force to their particular friendships, and to the common tie which unites the members of the same tribe, or of those different tribes which are in alliance with one another. Without attending to this reflection, some facts we are going to relate would excite our wonder without informing our reason, and we should be bewildered in a number of particulars, seemingly opposite to one another, without being sensible of the general cause from which they proceed.

Having finished all the ceremonies previous to the war, and the day appointed for their setting out on the expedition being arrived, they take leave of their friends, and exchange their clothes, or whatever moveables they have, in token of mutual friendship; after which they proceed from the town, their wives and female relations walking before, and attending them to some distance. The warriors march all dressed in their finest apparel and most showy ornaments, without any order. The chief walks slowly before them, singing the war-song, while the rest observe the most profound silence. When they come up to their women, they deliver them all their finery, and putting on their worst clothes, proceed on their expedition.

Every nation has its peculiar ensign or standard, which is generally some beast, bird, or fish. Those among the Five Nations are the bear, otter, wolf, tortoise, and eagle; and by these names the tribes are usually distinguished. They have the figures of those animals pricked and painted on several parts of their bodies; and when they march through the woods, they commonly, at every encampment, cut the representation of their ensign on trees, especially after a successful campaign: marking at the same time the number of scalps or prisoners they have taken. Their military dress is extremely singular. They cut off or pull out all their hair, except a spot about the breadth of two English crown-pieces, near the top of their heads, and entirely destroy their eye-brows. The lock left upon their heads is divided into several parcels, each of which is stiffened and adorned with wampum, beads, and feathers of various kinds, the whole being twisted into a form much resembling the modern pompoon. Their heads are painted red down to the eye-brows, and sprinkled over with white down. The gristles of their ears are split almost quite round, and distended with wires or splinters so as to meet and tie together on the nape of the neck. These are also hung with ornaments, and generally bear the representation of some bird or beast.

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Their noses are likewise bored and hung with trinkets of beads, and their faces painted with various colours so as to make an awful appearance. Their breasts are adorned with a gorget or medal, of brass, copper, or some other metal; and that dreadful weapon the scalping-knife hangs by a string from their neck.

The great qualities in an Indian war are vigilance and attention, to give and to avoid a surprise; and indeed in these they are superior to all nations in the world. Accustomed to continual wandering in the forests, having their perceptions sharpened by keen necessity, and living in every respect according to nature, their external senses have a degree of acuteness which at first view appears incredible. They can trace out their enemies at an immense distance by the smoke of their fires, which they smell, and by the tracks of their feet on the ground, imperceptible to an European eye, but which they can count and distinguish with the utmost facility. They can even distinguish the different nations with whom they are acquainted, and can determine the precise time when they passed, where an European could not, with all his glasses, distinguish footsteps at all. These circumstances, however, are of small importance, because their enemies are no less acquainted with them. When they go out, therefore, they take care to avoid making use of any thing by which they might run the danger of a discovery. They light no fire to warm themselves or to prepare their victuals: they lie close to the ground all the day, and travel only in the night; and marching along in files, he that closes the rear diligently covers with leaves the tracks of his own feet and of theirs who preceded him. When they halt to refresh themselves, scouts are sent out to reconnoitre the country and beat up every place where they suspect an enemy to lie concealed. In this manner they enter unawares the villages of their foes; and while the flower of the nation are engaged in hunting, massacre all the children, women, and helpless old men, or make prisoners of as many as they can manage, or have strength enough to be useful to their nation. But when the enemy is apprised of their design, and coming on in arms against them, they throw themselves flat on the ground among the withered herbs and leaves, which their faces are painted to resemble. Then they allow a part to pass unmolested, when all at once, with a tremendous shout, rising up from their ambush, they pour a storm of musket-bullets on their foes. The party attacked returns the same cry. Every one shelters himself with a tree, and returns the fire, of the adverse party, as soon as they raise themselves from the ground to give a second fire. Thus does the battle continue until the one party is so much weakened as to be incapable of farther resistance. But if the force on



side continues nearly equal, the fierce spirits of the savages, inflamed by the loss of their friends, can no longer be restrained. They abandon their distant war, they rush upon one another with clubs and hatchets in their hands, magnifying their own courage, and insulting their enemies with the bitterest reproaches. A cruel combat ensues, death appears in a thousand hideous forms, which would congeal the blood of civilized nations to behold, but which rouse the fury of savages. They trample, they insult over the dead bodies, tearing the scalp from the head, wallowing in their blood like wild beasts, and sometimes devouring their flesh. The flame rages on till it meets with no resistance; then the prisoners are secured, those unhappy men, whose fate is a thousand times more dreadful than theirs who have died in the field. The conquerors set up a hideous howling to lament the friends they have lost. They approach in a melancholy and severe gloom to their own village; a messenger is sent to announce their arrival, and the women, with frightful shrieks, come out to mourn their dead brothers or their husbands. When they are arrived, the chief relates in a low voice to the elders, a circumstantial account of every particular of the expedition. The orator proclaims aloud this account to the people; and as he mentions the names of those who have fallen, the shrieks of the women are redoubled. The men too join in these cries, according as each is most connected with the deceased by blood or friendship. The last ceremony is the proclamation of the victory; each individual then forgets his private misfortunes, and joins in the triumph of the nation; all tears are wiped from their eyes, and by an unaccountable transition, they pass in a moment from the bitterness of sorrow to an extravagance of joy. But the treatment of the prisoners, whose fate all this time remains undecided, is what chiefly characterises the savages.

We have already mentioned the strength of their affections or resentments. United as they are in small societies, connected within themselves by the firmest ties, their friendly affections, which glow with the most intense warmth within the walls of their own village, seldom extend beyond them. They feel nothing for the enemies of their nation; and their resentment is easily extended from the individual who has injured them to all others of the same tribe. The prisoners, who have themselves the same feelings, know the intentions of their conquerors, and are prepared for them. The person who has taken the captive attends him to the cottage, where, according to the distribution made by the elders, he is to be delivered to supply the loss of a citizen. If those who receive him have their family weakened by war or other accidents, they adopt the captive into the family, of which he becomes a member.



But if they have no occasion for him, or their resentment for the loss of their friends be too high to endure the sight of any connected with those who were concerned in it, they sentence him to death. All those who have met with the same severe sentence being collected, the whole nation is assembled at the execution, as for some great solemnity. A scaffold is erected, and the prisoners are tied to the stake, where they commence their death-song, and prepare for the ensuing scene of cruelty with the most undaunted courage. Their enemies, on the other side, are determined to put it to the proof, by the most refined and exquisite tortures. They begin at the extremity of his body, and gradually approach the more vital parts. One plucks out his nails by the roots, one by one; another takes a finger into his mouth, and tears off the flesh with his teeth; a third thrusts the finger, mangled as it is, into the bowl of a pipe made red-hot, which he smokes like tobacco; then they pound his toes and fingers to pieces between two stones; they cut circles about his joints, and gashe in the fleshy parts of his limbs, which they sear immediately with red-hot irons, cutting, burning, and pinching them alternately; they pull off this flesh, thus mangled and roasted, bit by bit, devouring it with greediness, and smearing their faces with the blood in an enthusiasm of horror and fury. When they have thus torn off the flesh, they twist the bare nerves and tendons about an iron, tearing and snapping them, whilst others are employed in pulling and extending their limbs in every way that can increase the torment. This continues often five or six hours; and sometimes, such is the strength of the savage, days together. Then they frequently unbind him, to give a breathing to their fury, and to think what new torments they shall inflict, and to refresh the strength of the sufferer, who, wearied out with such a variety of unheard-of torments, often falls into so profound a sleep, that they are obliged to apply the fire to awake him, and renew his sufferings. He is again fastened to the stake, and again they renew their cruelty; they stick him all over with small matches of wood that easily takes fire, but burns slowly; they continually run sharp reeds into every part of his body; they drag out his teeth with pincers, and thrust out his eyes; and lastly, after having burned his flesh from the bones with slow fires; after having so mangled the body that it is all but one wound; after having mutilated his face in such a manner as to carry nothing human in it; after having peeled the skin from the head, and poured a heap of red-hot coals or boiling water on the naked skull—they once more unbind the wretch; who, blind, and staggering with pain and weakness, assaulted and pelted upon every side with clubs and stones, now up, now down, falling into their fires at every step, runs

hither and thither, until one of the chiefs, whether out of compassion, or weary of cruelty, puts an end to his life with a club or dagger. The body is then put into a kettle, and this barbarous employment is succeeded by a feast as barbarous.

The women, forgetting the human as well as the female nature, and transformed into something worse than furies, even outdo the men in this scene of horror; while the principal persons of the country sit round the stake, smoking and looking on without the least emotion, What is most extraordinary, the sufferer himself, in the little intervals of his torments, smokes too, appears unconcerned, and converses with his torturers about indifferent matters. Indeed, during the whole time of his execution, there seems a contest which shall exceed, they in inflicting the most horrid pains, or he in enduring them with a firmness and constancy almost above human: not a groan, not a sigh, not a distortion of countenance escapes him; he possesses his mind entirely in the midst of his torments; he recounts his own exploits; he informs them what cruelties he has inflicted upon their countrymen, and threatens them with the revenge that will attend his death; and, though his reproaches exasperate them to a perfect madness of rage and fury, he continues his insults even of their ignorance of the art of tormenting, pointing out himself more exquisite methods, and more sensible parts of the body to be afflicted. The women have this part of courage as well as the men; and it is as rare for an Indian to behave otherwise as it would be for any European to suffer as an Indian. Such is the wonderful power of an early institution, and a ferocious thirst of glory, "I am brave and intrepid (exclaims the savage in the face of his tormentors); I do not fear death, nor any kind of tortures; those who fear them are cowards; they are less than women; life is nothing to those that have courage: May my enemies be confounded with despair and rage! Oh! that I could devour them, and drink their blood to the last drop."

But neither the intrepidity on one side, nor the inflexibility on the other, are among themselves matter of astonishment: for vengeance, and fortitude in the midst of torment, are duties which they consider as sacred; they are the effects of their earliest education, and depend upon principles instilled into them from their infancy. On all other occasions they are humane and compassionate. Nothing can exceed the warmth of their affection towards their friends, who consist of all those who live in the same village, or are in alliance with it: among these all things are common; and this, though it may in part arise from their not possessing very distinct notions of separate property, is chiefly to be attributed to the strength of their attachment; because in every thing else, with their

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lives as well as their fortunes, they are ready to serve their friends. Their houses, their provisions, even their young women, are not enough to oblige a guest. Has any one of these succeeded ill in his hunting? Has his harvest failed? or is his horse burned? He feels no other effect of his misfortunes, than that it gives him an opportunity to experience the benevolence and regard of his fellow-citizens. On the other hand, to the enemies of his country, or to those who have privately offended, the American is implacable. He conceals his sentiments, he appears reconciled, until by some treachery or surprise he has an opportunity of executing an horrible revenge. No length of time is sufficient to allay his resentment; no distance of place great enough to protect the object; he crosses the steepest mountains, he pierces the most impracticable forests, and traverses the most hideous bogs and deserts for several hundreds of miles; bearing the inclemency of the seasons, the fatigue of the expedition, the extremes of hunger and thirst, with patience and cheerfulness, in hopes of surprising his enemy, on whom he exercises the most shocking barbarities, even to the eating of his flesh. To such extremes do the Indians push their friendship or their enmity; and such indeed, in general, is the character of all strong and uncultivated minds.

But what we have said respecting the Indians would be a faint picture, did we omit observing the force of their friendship, which principally appears by the treatment of their dead. When any one of the society is cut off, he is lamented by the whole: on this occasion a thousand ceremonies are practised, denoting the most lively sorrow. No business is transacted, however pressing, till all the pious ceremonies due to the dead are performed. The body is washed, anointed, and painted. Then the women lament the loss with hideous howlings, intermixed with songs which celebrate the great actions of the deceased and his ancestors. The men mourn in a less extravagant manner. The whole village is present at the interment, and the corpse is habited in their most sumptuous ornaments. Close to the body of the defunct are placed his bows and arrows, with whatever he valued most in his life, and a quantity of provision for his subsistence on the journey which he is supposed to take. This solemnity, like every other, is attended with feasting. The funeral being ended, the relations of the deceased confine themselves to their huts for a considerable time to indulge their grief. After an interval of some weeks they visit the grave, repeat their sorrow, new clothe the remains of the body, and act over again all the solemnities of the funeral.

Among the various tokens of their regard for their deceased friends, the most remarkable is what they call the *feast of the dead*, or the *feast*  
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*of souls.* The day for this ceremony is appointed in the council of their chiefs, who give orders for every thing which may enable them to celebrate it with pomp and magnificence; and the neighbouring nations are invited to partake of the entertainment. At this time, all who have died since the preceding feast of the kind are taken out of their graves. Even those who have been interred at the greatest distance from the villages are diligently sought for, and conducted to this rendezvous of the dead, which exhibits a scene of horror beyond the power of description. When the feast is concluded, the bodies are dressed in the finest skins which can be procured, and after being exposed for some time in this pomp, are again committed to the earth with great solemnity, which is succeeded by funeral games.

Their taste for war, which forms the chief ingredient in their character, gives a strong bias to their religion. Areskoui, or the god of battle, is revered as the great god of the Indians. Him they invoke before they go into the field; and according as his disposition is more or less favourable to them, they conclude they will be more or less successful. Some nations worship the sun and moon; among others there are a number of traditions, relative to the creation of the world and the history of the gods: traditions which resemble the Grecian fables, but which are still more absurd and inconsistent. But religion is not the prevailing character of the Indians; and except when they have some immediate occasion for the assistance of their gods, they pay them no sort of worship. Like all rude nations, however, they are strongly addicted to superstition. They believe in the existence of a number of good and bad genii or spirits, who interfere in the affairs of mortals, and produce all our happiness or misery. It is from the evil genii, in particular, that our diseases proceed; and it is to the good genii we are indebted for a cure. The ministers of the genii are the jugglers, who are also the only physicians among the savages. These jugglers are supposed to be inspired by the good genii, most commonly in their dreams, with the knowledge of future events; they are called in to the assistance of the sick, and are supposed to be informed by the genii whether they will get over the disease, and in what way they must be treated. But these spirits are extremely simple in their system of physic, and, in almost every disease, direct the juggler to the same remedy. The patient is inclosed in a narrow cabin, in the midst of which is a stone red-hot; on this they throw water, until he is well soaked with the warm vapour and his own sweat. Then they hurry him from this bagnio, and plunge him suddenly into the next river. This coarse method, which costs many their lives, often performs very extraordinary cures. The jugglers have like-

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wife the use of some specifics of wonderful efficacy; and all the savages are dexterous in curing wounds by the application of herbs. But the power of these remedies is always attributed to the magical ceremonies with which they are administered.

Though the women generally bear the laborious part of domestic economy, their condition is far from being so slavish as it appears. On the contrary, the greatest respect is paid by the men to the female sex. The women even hold their councils, and have their share in all deliberations which concern the state. Polygamy is practised by some nations, but is not general. In most, they content themselves with one wife; but a divorce is admitted in case of adultery. No nation of the Americans is without a regular marriage, in which there are many ceremonies; the principal of which is, the bride's presenting the bridegroom with a plate of their corn. The women, though before incontinent, are remarkable for chastity after marriage.

Liberty, in its full extent, being the darling passion of the Indians, their education is directed in such a manner as to cherish this disposition to the utmost. Hence children are never upon any account chastised with blows, and they are seldom even reprimanded. Reason, they say, will guide their children when they come to the use of it, and before that time their faults cannot be very great: but blows might damp their free and martial spirit, by the habit of a slavish motive to action. When grown up, they experience nothing like command, dependence, or subordination; even strong persuasion is industriously withheld by those who have influence among them.—No man is held in great esteem, unless he has increased the strength of his country with a captive, or adorned his hut with a scalp of one of his enemies.

Controversies among the Indians are few, and quickly decided. When any criminal matter is so flagrant as to become a national concern, it is brought under the jurisdiction of the great council; but in ordinary cases, the crime is either revenged or compromised by the parties concerned. If a murder be committed, the family which has lost a relation prepares to retaliate on that of the offender. They often kill the murderer; and when this happens, the kindred of the last person slain look upon themselves to be as much injured, and to have the same right to vengeance as the other party. In general, however, the offender absents himself; the friends send compliments of condolence to those of the person that has been murdered. The head of the family at length appears with a number of presents, the delivery of which he accompanies with a formal speech. The whole ends, as usual, in mutual feasting, songs, and dances. If the murder is committed by one of the

same family or cabin, that cabin has the full right of judgment within itself, either to punish the guilty with death, or to pardon him, or to oblige him to give some recompence to the wife or children of the slain. Instances of such a crime, however, very seldom happen; for their attachment to those of the same family is remarkably strong, and is said to produce such friendships as may vie with the most celebrated in fabulous antiquity.

Such, in general, are the manners and customs of the Indian nations; but every tribe has something peculiar to itself. Among the Hurons and Natchez, the dignity of the chief is hereditary, and the right of succession in the female line. When this happens to be extinct, the most respectable matron of the tribe makes choice of whom she pleases to succeed.

The Cherokees are governed by several sachems or chiefs, elected by the different villages; as are also the Creeks and Chactaws. The two latter punish adultery in a woman by cutting off her hair, which they will not suffer to grow till the corn is ripe the next season; but the Illinois, for the same crime, cut off the womens noses and ears.

The Indians on the lakes are formed into a sort of empire; and the emperor is elected from the eldest tribe, which is that of the Ottowawaws. He has the greatest authority of any chief that has appeared on the continent since our acquaintance with it. A few years ago, the person who held this rank formed a design of uniting all the Indian nations under his sovereignty; but he miscarried in the attempt.

In general, the American Indians live to a great age, although it is not possible to know from themselves the exact number of their years. It was asked of an Indian, who appeared to be extremely old, what age he was of? I am above twenty, was his reply. Upon putting the question in a different form, by reminding him of certain circumstances in former times, My machu, said he, spoke to me when I was young of the Incas; and he had seen these princes. According to this reply, there must have elapsed, from the date of his machu's (his grandfather's) remembrance to that time, a period of at least 232 years. The man who made this reply appeared to be 120 years of age: for, besides the whiteness of his hair and beard, his body was almost bent to the ground; without, however, showing any other marks of debility or suffering. This happened in 1764. This longevity, attended in general with uninterrupted health, is probably the consequence in part of their vacancy from all serious thought and employment, joined also with the robust texture and conformation of their bodily organs. If the Indians did not destroy one another in their almost perpetual wars, and if their habits

habits of intoxication were not so universal and incurable, they would be, of all the races of men who inhabit the globe, the most likely to prolong, not only the bounds, but the enjoyments, of animal life to their utmost duration.

Let us now attend to other pictures which have been given of the aboriginal inhabitants of the New World. The vices and defects of the American Indians have by several writers been most unaccountably aggravated, and every virtue and good quality denied them. Their cruelties have been already described and accounted for. The following anecdote of an Algonquin woman we find adduced as a remarkable proof of their innate thirst of blood. That nation being at war with the Iroquois, she happened to be made prisoner, and was carried to one of the villages belonging to them. Here she was stripped naked, and her hands and feet bound with ropes in one of their cabins. In this condition she remained ten days, the savages sleeping round her every night. The eleventh night, while they were asleep, she found means to disengage one of her hands, with which she immediately freed herself from the ropes, and went to the door. Though she had now an opportunity of escaping unperceived, her revengeful temper could not let slip so favourable an opportunity of killing one of her enemies. The attempt was manifestly at the hazard of her own life; yet, snatching up a hatchet, she killed the savage that lay next her; and, springing out of the cabin, concealed herself in a hollow tree which she had observed the day before. The groans of the dying person soon alarmed the other savages, and the young ones immediately set out in pursuit of her.—Perceiving from her tree, that they all directed their course one way, and that no savage was near her, she left her sanctuary, and, flying by an opposite direction, ran into a forest without being perceived. The second day after this happened, her footsteps were discovered, and they pursued her with such expedition, that the third day she discovered her enemies at her heels. Upon this she threw herself into a pond of water; and, diving among some weeds and bulrushes, she could just breathe above water without being perceived. Her pursuers, after making the most diligent search, were forced to return.—For 35 days this woman held on her course through woods and deserts, without any other sustenance than roots and wild berries. When she came to the river St. Lawrence, she made with her own hands a kind of a wicker raft, on which she crossed it. As she went by the French fort Trois Rivières, without well knowing where she was, she perceived a canoe full of savages; and, fearing they might be Iroquois, ran again into the woods, where she remained till sunset.—Continuing her course, soon after she saw Trois Rivières; and was then



discovered by a party whom she knew to be Hurons, a nation in alliance with the Algonquins. She then squatted down behind a bush, calling out to them that she was not in a condition to be seen, because she was naked. They immediately threw her a blanket, and then conducted her to the fort, where she recounted her story.

Personal courage has been denied them. In proof of their puffanimity, the following incidents are quoted from Charlevoix by Lord Kames, in his sketches of the History of Man. "The fort de Vercheres in Canada, belonging to the French, was, in the year 1690, attacked by some Iroquois. They approached silently, preparing to scale the palisade, when some musket shot made them retire. Advancing a second time, they were again repulsed, wondering that they could discover none but a woman, who was seen every where. This was Madame de Vercheres, who appeared as resolute as if supported by a numerous garrison. The hopes of storming a place without men to defend it occasioned reiterated attacks. After two days siege, they retired, fearing to be intercepted in their retreat. Two years after, a party of the same nation appeared before the fort so unexpectedly, that a girl of fourteen, daughter of the proprietor, had but time to shut the gate. With the young woman there was not a soul but one raw soldier. She showed herself with her assistant, sometimes in one place and sometimes in another; changing her dress frequently, in order to give some appearance of a garrison; and always fired opportunely. The faint-hearted Iroquois decamped without success."

There is no instance, it is said, either of a single Indian facing an individual of any other nation in fair and open combat, or of their jointly venturing to try the fate of battle with an equal number of any foes. Even with the greatest superiority of numbers, they dare not meet an open attack. Yet, notwithstanding this want of courage, they are still formidable; nay, it has been known, that a small party of them has routed a much superior body of regular troops: but this can only happen when they have surprised them in the fastnesses of their forests, where the covert of the wood may conceal them until they take their aim with their utmost certainty. After one such discharge they immediately retreat, without leaving the smallest trace of their route. It may easily be supposed, that an onset of this kind must produce confusion even among the steadiest troops, when they can neither know the number of their enemies, nor perceive the place where they lie in ambush.

Perfidy combined with cruelty has been also made a part of their character. Don Ulloa relates, That the Indians of the country called *Natches*, in Louisiana, laid a plot of massacring in one night every indi-



vidual belonging to the French colony established there. This plot they actually executed, notwithstanding the seeming good understanding that subsisted between them and these European neighbours. Such was the secrecy which they observed, that no person had the least suspicion of their design until the blow was struck. One Frenchman alone escaped, by favour of the darkness, to relate the disaster of his countrymen. The compassion of a female Indian contributed also in some measure to his exemption from the general massacre. The tribe of Natches had invited the Indians of other countries, even to a considerable distance, to join in the same conspiracy. The day, or rather the night, was fixed, on which they were to make an united attack on the French colonists. It was intimated by sending a parcel of rods, more or less numerous according to the local distance of each tribe, with an injunction to abstract one rod daily; the day on which the last fell to be taken away being that fixed for the execution of their plan. The women were partners of the bloody secret. The parcels of rods being thus distributed, that belonging to the tribe of Natches happened to remain in the custody of a female. This woman, either moved by her own feelings of compassion, or by the commiseration expressed by her female acquaintances in the view of the proposed scene of bloodshed, abstracted one day three or four of the rods; and thus anticipated the term of her tribe's proceeding to the execution of the general conspiracy. The consequence of this was, that the Natches were the only actors in this carnage; their distant associates having still several rods remaining at the time when the former made the attack. An opportunity was thereby given to the colonists in those quarters to take measures for their defence, and for preventing a more extensive execution of the design.

It was by conspiracies similar to this that the Indians of the province of Macas, in the kingdom of Quito, destroyed the opulent city of Logrogno, the colony of Guambaya, and its capital Sevilla del Oro; and that so completely, that it is no longer known in what place these settlements existed, or where that abundance of gold was found from which the last-mentioned city took the addition to its name. Like ravages have been committed upon l'Imperiale in Chili, the colonies of the Missions of Chuncas, those of Darien in Terra Firma, and many other places, which have afforded scenes of this barbarous ferocity. These conspiracies are always carried on in the same manner. The secret is inviolably kept, the actors assemble at the precise hour appointed, and every individual is animated with the same sanguinary purposes. The males that fall into their hands are put to death with every shocking circumstance that can be suggested by a cool and determined cruelty.

The females are carried off, and preserved as monuments of their victory, to be employed as their occasions require.

Nor can this odious cruelty and treachery, it is said, be justly ascribed to their subjection to a foreign yoke, seeing the same character, belongs equally to all the original inhabitants of this vast continent, even those who have preserved their independence most completely. Certain it is, continues he, that these people, with the most limited capacities for every thing else, display an astonishing degree of penetration and subtlety with respect to every object that involves treachery, bloodshed, and rapine. As to these, they seem to have been all educated at one school; and a secret, referring to any such plan, no consideration on earth can extort from them.

Their understandings also have been represented as not less contemptible than their manners are gross and brutal. Many nations are neither capable of forming an arrangement for futurity; nor did their solicitude or foresight extend so far. They set no value upon those things of which they were not in some immediate want. In the evening, when a Carib is going to rest, no consideration will tempt him to sell his hammock; but in the morning he will part with it for the slightest trifle. At the close of winter, a North American, mindful of what he has suffered from the cold, sets himself with vigour to prepare materials for erecting a comfortable hut to protect him against the inclemency of the succeeding season: but as soon as the weather becomes mild, he abandons his work, and never thinks of it more till the return of the cold compels him to resume it.—In short, to be free from labour seems to be the utmost wish of an American. They will continue whole days stretched in their hammocks, or seated on the earth, without changing their posture, raising their eyes, or uttering a single word. They cannot compute the succession of days nor of weeks. The different aspects of the moon alone engage their attention as a measure of time. Of the year they have no other conception than what is suggested to them by the alternate heat of summer and cold of winter; nor have they the least idea of applying to this period the obvious computation of the months which it contains. When it is asked of any old man in Peru, even the most civilized, what age he is of? the only answer he can give is the number of caciques he has seen. It often happens, too, that they only recollect the most distant of these princes in whose time certain circumstances had happened peculiarly memorable, while of those that lived in a more recent period they have lost all remembrance.

The same gross stupidity is alledged to be observable in those Indians who have retained their original liberty. They are never known to fix  
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the dates of any events in their minds, or to trace the succession of circumstances that have arisen from such events. Their imagination takes in only the present, and in that only what intimately concerns themselves. Nor can discipline or instruction overcome this natural defect of apprehension. In fact, the subjected Indians in Peru, who have a continual intercourse with the Spaniards, who are furnished with curates perpetually occupied in giving them lessons of religion and morality, and who mix with all ranks of the civilized society established among them, are almost as stupid and barbarous as their countrymen who have had no such advantages. The Peruvians, while they lived under the government of their Incas, preserved the records of certain remarkable events. They had also a kind of regular government, described by the historians of the conquest of Peru. This government originated entirely from the attention and abilities of their princes, and from the regulations enacted by them for directing the conduct of their subjects. This ancient degree of civilization among them gives ground to presume, that their legislators sprung from some race more enlightened than the other tribes of Indians; a race of which no individual seems to remain in the present times.

Vanity and conceit are said to be blended with their ignorance and treachery. Notwithstanding all they suffer from Europeans, they still, it is said, consider themselves as a race of men far superior to their conquerors. This proud belief, arising from their perverted ideas of excellence, is universal over the whole known continent of America. They do not think it possible that any people can be so intelligent as themselves. When they are detected in any of their plots, it is their common observation, that the Spaniards, or *Variacochas*, want to be as knowing as they are. Those of Louisiana, and the countries adjacent, are equally vain of their superior understanding, confounding that quality with the cunning which they themselves constantly practise. The whole object of their transactions is to over-reach those with whom they deal. Yet though faithless themselves, they never forgive the breach of promise on the part of others. While the Europeans seek their amity by presents, they give themselves no concern to secure a reciprocal friendship. Hence, probably, arises their idea, that they must be a superior race of men, in ability and intelligence, to those who are at such pains to court their alliance and avert their enmity.

Their natural eloquence has also been decried. The free tribes of savages who enter into conventions with the Europeans, it is observed, are accustomed to make long, pompous, and, according to their own notions, sublime harangues, but without any method or connection. The whole



whole is a collection of disjointed metaphors and comparisons. The light, heat, and course of the sun, form the principal topic of their discourse; and these unintelligible reasonings are always accompanied with violent and ridiculous gestures. Numberless repetitions prolong the oration, which, if not interrupted, would last whole days: At the same time, they meditate very accurately beforehand, in order to avoid mentioning any thing but what they are desirous to obtain. This pompous faculty of making speeches is also one of the grounds on which they conceive themselves to be superior to the nations of Europe: They imagine it is their eloquence that procures them the favours they ask. The subjected Indians converse precisely in the same style. Prolix and tedious, they never know when to stop; so that, excepting by the difference in language, it would be impossible, in this respect, to distinguish a civilized Peruvian from an inhabitant of the most savage districts to the northward.

But such partial and detached views as the above, were they even free from misrepresentation, are not the just ground upon which to form an estimate of their character. Their qualities, good and bad (for they certainly possess both), their way of life, the state of society among them, with all the circumstances of their condition, ought to be considered in connection, and in regard to their mutual influence. Such a view has been given in the preceding part of this article: from which, it is hoped, their real character may be easily deduced.

Many of the disagreeable traits exhibited in the anecdotes just quoted, are indeed extracted from Don Ulloa: an author of credit and reputation; but a Spaniard, and evidently biassed in some degree by a desire to palliate the enormities of his countrymen in that quarter of the globe. And with regard to the worst and least equivocal parts of the American character, cruelty and revenge, it may be fairly questioned, whether the instances of these, either in respect of their cause or their atrocity, be at all comparable to those exhibited in European history, and staining the annals of Christendom:—to those, for instance, of the Spaniards themselves, at their first discovery of America; to those indicated by the engines found on board their mighty Armada; to those which, in cold blood, were perpetrated by the Dutch at Amboyna; to the dragoonings of the French; to their religious massacres; or even to the *tender mercies* of the Inquisition!

Still harsher, however, are the descriptions given by *Buffon* and *de Pau* of the natives of this whole continent, in which the most mortifying degeneracy of the human race, as well as of all the inferior animals, is asserted to be conspicuous. Against those philosophers, or rather theorists,



theorists, the Americans have found an able advocate in the Abbé *Clavigero*; an historian whose situation and long residence in America afforded him the best means of information, and who, though himself a subject of Spain, appears superior to prejudice, and disdains in his description the glosses of policy.

Concerning the stature of the Americans, M. de Paw says, in general, that although it is not equal to the stature of the Castilians, there is but little difference between them. But the Abbé *Clavigero* evinces, that the Indians who inhabit those countries lying between 9 and 40 degrees of north latitude, which are the limits of the discoveries of the Spaniards, are more than five Parisian feet in height, and that those that do not reach that stature are as few in number amongst the Indians as they are amongst the Spaniards. It is besides certain, that many of those nations, as the *Apaches*, the *Hiaquese*, the *Pimese*, and *Cochimies*, are at least as tall as the tallest Europeans; and that, in all the vast extent of the New World, no race of people has been found, except the *Esquimaux*, so diminutive in stature as the *Laplanders*, the *Samojeds*, and *Tartars*, in the north of the Old Continent. In this respect, therefore, the inhabitants of the two continents are upon an equality.

Of the shape and character of the Mexican Indians, the Abbé gives a most advantageous description; which he asserts no one who reads it in America will contradict, unless he views them with the eye of a prejudiced mind. It is true, that *Ulloa* says, in speaking of the Indians of *Quito*, he had observed, “that imperfect people abounded among them; that they were either irregularly diminutive, or monstrous in some other respect; that they became either insensible, dumb, or blind, or wanted some limb of their body.” Having therefore made some inquiry respecting this singularity of the *Quitans*, the Abbé found, that such defects were neither caused by bad humours, nor by the climate, but by the mistaken and blind humanity of their parents, who, in order to free their children from the hardships and toils to which the healthy Indians are subjected by the Spaniards, fix some deformity or weakness upon them that they may become useless: a circumstance of misery which does not happen in other countries of America, nor in those places of the same kingdom of *Quito*, where the Indians are under no such oppression. M. de Paw, and in agreement with him Dr. *Robertson*, says, that no deformed persons are to be found among the savages of America; because, like the ancient *Lacedemonians*, they put to death those children which are born hunch-backed, blind, or defective in any limb; but that in those countries where they are formed into societies, and the vigilance of their rulers prevent the murder of such infants, the number of

their deformed individuals is greater than it is in any other country of Europe. This would make an exceeding good solution of the difficulty if it were true: but if, possibly, there has been in America a tribe of savages who have imitated the barbarous example of the celebrated Lacedemonians, it is certain that those authors have no grounds to impute such inhumanity to the rest of the Americans; for that it has not been the practice, at least with the far greater part of those nations, is to be demonstrated from the attestations of the authors the best acquainted with their customs.

No argument against the New World can be drawn from the colour of the Americans: for their colour is less distant from the white of the Europeans than it is from the black of the Africans, and a great part of the Asiatics. The hair of the Mexicans, and of the greater part of the Indians, is, as we have already said, coarse and thick; on their face they appear to have little, and in general none on their arms and legs: but it is an error to say, as M. de Paw does, that they are entirely destitute of hair in all the other parts of the body. This is one of the many passages of the Philosophical Researches, at which the Mexicans, and all the other nations, must smile to find an European philosopher so eager to divest them of the dress they had from nature. Don Ulloa, indeed, in the description which he gives of the Indians of Quito, says, that hair neither grows upon the men nor upon the women when they arrive at puberty, as it does on the rest of mankind; but whatever singularity may attend the Quitans, or occasion this circumstance, there is no doubt, that among the Americans in general, the period of puberty is accompanied with the same symptoms as it is among other nations of the world. In fact, with the North Americans, it is disgraceful to be hairy on the body. They say it likens them to hogs. They therefore pluck the hair as fast as it appears. But the traders who marry their women, and prevail on them to discontinue this practice, say, that nature is the same with them as with the whites. As to the beards of the men, had Buffon or de Paw known the pains and trouble it costs them to pluck out by the roots the hair that grows on their faces, they would have seen that nature had not been deficient in that respect. Every nation has its customs. "I have seen an Indian beau, with a looking-glass in his hand (says Mr. Jefferson), examining his face for hours together, and plucking out by the roots every hair he could discover, with a kind of tweezer made of a piece of fine brass wire, that had been twisted round a stick, and which he used with great dexterity."

The very aspect of an Angolan, Mandigan, or Congan, would have shocked M. de Paw, and made him recal that censure which he passes

On the colour, the make, and the hair of the Americans. What can be imagined more contrary to the idea we have of beauty, and the perfection of the human frame, than a man whose body emits a rank smell, whose skin is as black as ink, whose head and face are covered with black wool instead of hair, whose eyes are yellow and bloody, whose lips are thick and blackish, and whose nose is flat? Such are the inhabitants of a very large portion of Africa, and of many islands of Asia. What men can be more imperfect than those who measure no more than four feet in stature, whose faces are long and flat, the nose compressed, the irides yellowish black, the eye-lids turned back towards the temples, the cheeks extraordinarily elevated, their mouths monstrously large, their lips thick and prominent, and the lower part of their visages extremely narrow? Such, according to Count de Buffon, are the Laplanders, the Zemblans, the Borandines, the Samojeds, and Tartars in the East. What objects more deformed than men whose faces are too long and wrinkled even in their youth, their noses thick and compressed, their eyes small and sunk, their cheeks very much raised, their upper jaw low, their teeth long and disunited, eye-brows so thick that they shade their eyes; the eye-lids thick, some bristles on their faces instead of beard, large thighs and small legs? Such is the picture Count de Buffon gives of the Tartars; that is, of those people who, as he says, inhabit a tract of land in Asia 1200 leagues long and upwards, and more than 750 broad. Amongst these the Calmucks are the most remarkable for their deformity; which is so great, that, according to Tavernier, they are the most brutal men of all the universe. Their faces are so broad that there is a space of five or six inches between their eyes, according as Count de Buffon himself affirms. In Calicut, in Ceylon, and other countries of India, there is, say Pyrard and other writers on those regions, a race of men who have one or both of their legs as thick as the body of a man; and that this deformity among them is almost hereditary. The Hottentots, besides other gross imperfections, have that monstrous irregularity attending them, of a callous appendage extending from the os pubis downwards, according to the testimony of the historians of the Cape of Good Hope. Strays, Gemelli, and other travellers affirm, that in the kingdom of Lambry, in the islands of Formosa, and of Mindoro, men have been found with tails. Bomare says, that a thing of this kind in men is nothing else than an elongation of the os coccygis; but what is a tail in quadrupeds but the elongation of that bone, though divided into distinct articulations? However it may be, it is certain, that that elongation renders those Asiatics fully as irregular as if it was a real tail.

If we were, in like manner, to go through the nations of Asia and Africa, we should hardly find any extensive country where the colour of men is not darker, where there are not stronger irregularities observed, and grosser defects to be found in them, than M. de Paw finds fault with in the Americans. The colour of the latter is a good deal clearer than that of almost all the Africans and the inhabitants of southern Asia. Even their alledged scantiness of beard is common to the inhabitants of the Philippine Islands, and of all the Indian Archipelago, to the famous Chinese, Japanese, Tartars, and many other nations of the Old Continent. The imperfections of the Americans, however great they may be represented to be, are certainly not comparable with the defects of that immense people, whose character we have sketched, and others whom we omit.

M. de Paw represents the Americans to be a feeble and diseased set of nations; and, in order to demonstrate the weakness and disorder of their physical constitution, adduces several proofs equally ridiculous and ill founded, and which it will not be expected we should enumerate. He alleges, among other particulars, that they were overcome in wrestling by all the Europeans, and that they sunk under a moderate burden; that by a computation made, 200,000 Americans were found to have perished in one year from carrying of baggage. With respect to the first point, the Abbé Clavigero observes, it would be necessary that the experiment of wrestling was made between many individuals of each continent, and that the victory should be attested by the Americans as well as the Europeans. It is not, however, meant to insist, that the Americans are stronger than the Europeans. They may be less strong, without the human species having degenerated in them. The Swiss are stronger than the Italians; and still we do not believe the Italians are degenerated, nor do we tax the climate of Italy. The instance of 200,000 Americans having died in one year, under the weight of baggage, were it true, would not convince us so much of the weakness of the Americans, as of the inhumanity of the Europeans. In the same manner that those 200,000 Americans perished, 200,000 Prussians would also have perished, had they been obliged to make a journey of between 300 and 400 miles, with 100 pounds of burden upon their backs; if they had collars of iron about their necks, and were obliged to carry that load over rocks and mountains; if those who became exhausted with fatigue, or wounded their feet so as to impede their progress, had their heads cut off that they might not retard the pace of the rest; and if they were not allowed but a small morsel of bread to enable them to support so severe a toil. Les Casas, from whom M. de Paw got the account of the 200,000 Americans who



who died under the fatigue of carrying baggage, relates also all the above mentioned circumstances. If the author therefore is to be credited in the last, he is also to be credited in the first. But a philosopher who vaunts the physical and moral qualities of Europeans over those of the Americans, would have done better, we think, to have suppressed facts so opprobrious to the Europeans themselves.

Nothing in fact demonstrates so clearly the robustness of the Americans as those various and lasting fatigues in which they are continually engaged. M. de Paw says, that when the New World was discovered, nothing was to be seen but thick woods; that at present there are some lands cultivated, not by the Americans, however, but by the Africans and Europeans; and that the soil in cultivation is to the soil which is uncultivated as 2000 to 2,000,000. These three assertions the Abbe demonstrates to be precisely as many errors. Since the conquest, the Americans alone have been the people who have supported all the fatigues of agriculture in all the vast countries of the continent of South America, and in the greater part of those of South America subject to the crown of Spain. No European is ever to be seen employed in the labours of the field. The Moors who, in comparison of the Americans, are very few in number in the kingdom of New Spain, are charged with the culture of the sugar cane and tobacco, and the making of sugar; but the soil destined for the cultivation of those plants is not with respect to all the cultivated land of that country in the proportion of one to two thousand. The Americans are the people who labour on the soil. They are the tillers, the sowers, the weeders, and the reapers of the wheat, of the maize, of the rice, of the beans, and other kinds of grain and pulse, of the cacao, of the vanilla, of the cotton, of the indigo, and all other plants useful to the sustenance, the clothing, and commerce of those provinces; and without them so little can be done, that in the year 1762, the harvest of wheat was abandoned in many places on account of a sickness which prevailed and prevented the Indians from reaping it. But this is not all; the Americans are they who cut and transport all the necessary timber from the woods; who cut, transport, and work the stones; who make lime, plaster, and tiles; who construct all the buildings of that kingdom, except a few places where none of them inhabit; who open and repair all the roads, who make the canals and sluices, and clean the cities. They work in many mines of gold, of silver, of copper, &c. they are the shepherds, herdsmen, weavers, potters, basket-makers, bakers, couriers, day-labourers, &c.; in a word, they are the persons who bear all the burden of public labours. These, says our justly indignant author, are the employments of the weak, dastardly, and

and useless Americans; while the vigorous M. de Paw, and other indefatigable Europeans, are occupied in writing invectives against them.

These labours, in which the Indians are continually employed, certainly attest their healthiness and strength; for if they are able to undergo such fatigues, they cannot be diseased, nor have an exhausted stream of blood in their veins, as M. de Paw insinuates. In order to make it believed that their constitutions are vitiated, he copies whatever he finds written by historians of America, whether true or false, respecting the diseases which reign in some particular countries of that great continent. It is not to be denied, that in some countries in the wide compass of America, men are exposed more than elsewhere to the distempers which are occasioned by the intemperature of the air, or the pernicious quality of the aliments; but it is certain, according to the assertion of many respectable authors acquainted with the New World, that the American countries are, for the most part, healthy; and if the Americans were disposed to retaliate on M. de Paw, and other European authors who write as he does, they would have abundant subject of materials to throw discredit on the clime of the Old Continent, and the constitution of its inhabitants in the endemic distempers which prevail there.

Lastly, The supposed feebleness and unsound bodily habit of the Americans do not correspond with the length of their lives. Among those Americans whose great fatigues and excessive toils do not anticipate their death, there are not a few who reach the age of 80, 90, and 100 or more years, as formerly mentioned; and what is more, without there being observed in them that decay which time commonly produces in the hair, in the teeth, in the skin, and in the muscles of the human body. This phenomenon, so much admired by the Spaniards who reside in Mexico, cannot be ascribed to any other cause than the vigour of their constitutions, the temperance of their diet, and the salubrity of their clime. Historians, and other persons who have sojourned there for many years, report the same thing of other countries of the New World.

As to the mental qualities of the Americans, M. de Paw has not been able to discover any other characters than a memory so feeble, that to day they do not remember what they did yesterday; a capacity so blunt, that they are incapable of thinking, or putting their ideas in order; a disposition so cold, that they feel no excitement of love; a dastardly spirit, and a genius that is torpid and indolent. Many other Europeans, indeed, and what is still more wonderful, many of those children or descendants of Europeans who are born in America, think as M. de Paw does; some from ignorance, some from want of reflection, and others from hereditary

ditary prejudice and prepossession. But all this and more would not be sufficient to invalidate the testimonies of other Europeans, whose authority have a great deal more weight, both because they were men of great judgment, learning, and knowledge of these countries, and because they gave their testimony in favour of strangers against their own countrymen. In particular, Acofta, whose natural and moral history even de Paw commends as *an excellent work*, employs the whole sixth book in demonstrating the good sense of the Americans by an explanation of their ancient government, their laws, their histories in paintings and knots, calendars, &c. M. de Paw thinks the Americans are bestial; Acofta, on the other hand, reputes those persons weak and presumptuous who think them so. M. de Paw says, that the most acute Americans were inferior in industry and sagacity to the rudest nations of the Old Continent; Acofta extols the civil government of the Mexicans above many republics of Europe. M. de Paw finds, in the moral and political conduct of the Americans, nothing but barbarity, extravagance, and brutality; and Acofta finds there, laws that are admirable and worthy of being preserved for ever.

M. de Paw denies them courage, and alleges the conquest of Mexico as a proof of their cowardice. "Cortes (he says), conquered the empire of Mexico with 450 vagabonds and 15 horses, badly armed; his miserable artillery consisted of six falconets, which would not at the present day be capable of exciting the fears of a fortress defended by invalids. During his absence the capital was held in awe by the half of his troops. What men! what events!—It is confirmed by the depositions of all historians, that the Spaniards entered the first time into Mexico without making one single discharge of their artillery. If the title of hero is applicable to him who has the disgrace to occasion the death of a great number of rational animals, Ferdinand Cortes might pretend to it; otherwise I do not see what true glory he has acquired by the overthrow of a tottering monarchy, which might have been destroyed in the same manner by any other assassin of our continent." These passages indicate either M. de Paw's ignorance of the history of the conquest of Mexico, or a wilful suppression of what would openly contradict his system; since all who have read that history know well, that the conquest of Mexico was not made with 450 men, but with more than 200,000. Cortes himself, to whom it was of more importance than to M. de Paw to make his bravery conspicuous, and his conquest appear glorious, confesses the excessive number of the allies who were under his command at the siege of the capital, and combated with more fury against the Mexicans than the Spaniards themselves. According to the account which

Cortes

Cortes gave to the emperor Charles V. the siege of Mexico began with 87 horses, 848 Spanish infantry, armed with guns, cross-bows, swords, and lances, and upwards of 75,000 allies, of Tlascala, Huexotzinco, Cholula, and Chalco, equipped with various sorts of arms; with three large pieces of cannon of iron, 15 small of copper, and 13 brigantines. In the course of the siege were assembled the numerous nations of the Otomies, the Coahuixcas, and Matlazincas, and the troops of the populous cities of the lakes; so that the army of the besiegers not only exceeded 200,000, but amounted to 4,000,000, according to the letter from Cortes; and besides these, 3000 boats and canoes came to their assistance. Did it betray cowardice to have sustained, for full 74 days, the siege of an open city, engaging daily with an army so large, and in part provided with arms so superior, and at the same time having to withstand the ravages of famine? Can they merit the charge of cowardice, who, after having lost seven of the eight parts of their city, and about 50,000 citizens, part cut off by the sword, part by famine and sickness, continued to defend themselves until they were furiously assaulted in the last hold which was left them?

According to M. de Paw, "the Americans at first were not believed to be men, but rather satyrs, or large apes, which might be murdered without remorse or reproach. At last, in order to add insult to the oppression of those times, a pope made an original bull, in which he declared, that being desirous of founding bishoprics in the richest countries of America, it pleased him and the Holy Spirit, to acknowledge the Americans to be true men: in so far, that without this decision of an Italian, the inhabitants of the New World would have appeared, even at this day, to the eyes of the faithful, a race of equivocal men. There is no example of such a decision since this globe has been inhabited by men and apes." Upon this passage the Abbé animadverts, as being a singular instance of calumny and misrepresentation; and gives the following history of the decision alluded to.

"Some of the first Europeans who established themselves in America, not less powerful than avaricious, desirous of enriching themselves to the detriment of the Americans, kept them continually employed, and made use of them as slaves; and in order to avoid the reproaches which were made them by the bishops and missionaries who inculcated humanity, and the giving liberty to those people to get themselves instructed in religion, that they might do their duties towards the church and their families, alleged, that the Indians were by nature slaves and incapable of being instructed; and many other falsehoods of which the Chronicler Herrera makes mention against them. Those zealous ecclesiastics being  
unable,



unable, either by their authority or preaching to free those unhappy converts from the tyranny of such misers, had recourse to the Catholic kings, and at last obtained from their justice and clemency, those laws as favourable to the Americans as honourable to the court of Spain, that compose the Indian code, which were chiefly due to the indefatigable zeal of the bishop de las Casas. On another side, Garces bishop of Tlascala, knowing that those Spaniards bore, notwithstanding their perversity, a great respect to the decisions of the vicar of Jesus Christ, made application in the year 1586 to pope Paul III. by that famous letter of which we have made mention; representing to him the evils which the Indians suffered from the wicked Christians, and praying him to interpose his authority in their behalf. The pope, moved by such heavy remonstrances, dispatched the next year the original bull, which was not made, as is manifest, to declare the Americans true men; for such a piece of weakness was very distant from that or any other pope: but solely to support the natural rights of the Americans against the attempts of their oppressors, and to condemn the injustice and inhumanity of those, who, under the pretence of supposing those people idolatrous, or incapable of being instructed, took from them their property and their liberty, and treated them as slaves and beasts.

If at first the Americans were esteemed satyrs, nobody can better prove it than Christopher Columbus their discoverer. Let us hear, therefore, how that celebrated admiral speaks, in his account to the Catholic kings Ferdinand and Isabella, of the first satyrs he saw in the island of Haiti, or Hispaniola. "I swear," he says, "to your majesties, that there is not a better people in the world than these, more affectionate, affable, or mild. They love their neighbours as themselves: their language is the sweetest, the softest, and the most cheerful; for they always speak smiling: and although they go naked, let your majesties believe me, their customs are very becoming; and their king, who is served with great majesty, has such engaging manners, that it gives great pleasure to see him, and also to consider the great retentive faculty of that people, and their desire of knowledge, which incites them to ask the causes and the effects of things."

"We have had intimate commerce with the Americans (continues the Abbe); have lived for some years in a seminary destined for their instruction; saw the erection and progress of the royal college of Gaudaloupe, founded in Mexico, by a Mexican Jesuit, for the education of Indian children; had afterwards some Indians amongst our pupils; had particular knowledge of many American rectors, many nobles, and nu-

merous artists; attentively observed their character, their genius, their disposition, and manner of thinking; and have examined besides, with the utmost diligence, their ancient history, their religion, their government, their laws, and their customs. After such long experience and study of them, from which we imagine ourselves enabled to decide without danger of erring, we declare to M. de Paw, and to all Europe, that the mental qualities of the Americans are not in the least inferior to those of the Europeans; that they are capable of all, even the most abstract sciences; and that if equal care was taken of their education, if they were brought up from childhood in seminaries under good masters, were protected and stimulated by rewards, we should see rise among the Americans, philosophers, mathematicians, and divines, who would rival the first in Europe."

But although we should suppose, that, in the torrid climates of the New World, as well as in those of the Old, especially under the additional depression of slavery, there was an inferiority of the mental powers, the Chilese and the North Americans have discovered higher rudiments of human excellence and ingenuity than have ever been known among tribes in a similar state of society in any part of the world.

M. de Paw affirms, that the Americans were unacquainted with the use of money, and quotes the following well-known passage from Montesquieu: "Imagine to yourself, that, by some accident, you are placed in an unknown country; if you find money there, do not doubt that you are arrived among a polished people." But if by money we are to understand a piece of metal with the stamp of the prince or the public, the want of it in a nation is no token of barbarity. The Athenians employed oxen for money, as the Romans did sheep. The Romans had no coined money till the time of Servius Tullius, nor the Persians until the reign of Darius Hytaspes. But if by money is understood a sign representing the value of merchandise, the Mexicans, and other nations of Anahuac, employed money in their commerce. The cacao, of which they made constant use in the market to purchase whatever they wanted, was employed for this purpose, as salt is in Abyssinia.

It has been affirmed, that stone-bridges were unknown in America when it was first discovered; and that the natives did not know how to form arches. But these assertions are erroneous. The remains of the ancient palaces of Tezeuco, and still more their vapour-baths, show the ancient use of arches and vaults among the Mexicans. But the ignorance of this art would have been no proof of barbarity. Neither the Egyptians nor Babylonians understood the construction of arches.

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M. de Paw affirms, that the palace of Montezuma was nothing else than a hut. But it is certain, from the affirmation of all the historians of Mexico, that the army under Cortes, consisting of 6,400 men, were all lodged in the palace; and there remained still sufficient room for Montezuma and his attendants.

The advances which the Mexicans had made in the study of astronomy is perhaps the most surprising proof of their attention and sagacity; for it appears from Abbe Clavigero's history, that they not only counted 365 days to the year, but also knew of the excess of about six hours in the solar over the civil year, and remedied the difference by means of intercalary days.

Of American morality, the following exhortation of a Mexican to his son may serve as a specimen. "My son who art come into the light from the womb of thy mother like a chicken from the egg, and like it are preparing to fly through the world, we know not how long Heaven will grant to us the enjoyment of that precious gem which we possess in thee; but however short the period, endeavour to live exactly, praying God continually to assist thee. He created thee; thou art his property. He is thy father, and loves thee still more than I do: repose in him thy thoughts, and day and night direct thy sighs to him. Reverence and salute thy elders, and hold no one in contempt. To the poor and distressed be not dumb, but rather use words of comfort. Honour all persons, particularly thy parents to whom thou owest obedience, respect, and service. Guard against imitating the example of those wicked sons, who, like brutes who are deprived of reason, neither reverence their parents, listen to their instruction, nor submit to their correction; because whoever follows their steps will have an unhappy end, will die in a desperate or sudden manner, or will be killed and devoured by wild beasts.

"Mock not, my son, the aged or the imperfect. Scorn not him whom ye see fall into some folly or transgression, nor make him reproaches; but restrain thyself, and beware lest thou fall into the same error which offends thee in another. Go not where thou art not called, nor interfere in that which does not concern thee. Endeavour to manifest thy good breeding in all thy words and actions. In conversation, do not lay thy hands upon another, nor speak too much, nor interrupt or disturb another's discourse. When any one discourses with thee, hear him attentively, and hold thyself in an easy attitude, neither playing with thy feet, nor putting thy mantle to thy mouth, nor spitting too often, nor looking about you here and there, nor rising up frequently, if thou art sitting; for such actions are indications of levity and low-breeding."—He proceeds to mention several particular vices which are

to be avoided, and concludes,—“Steal not, nor give thyself to gaming; otherwise thou wilt be a disgrace to thy parents, whom thou oughtest rather to honour for the education they have given thee. If thou wilt be virtuous, thy example will put the wicked to shame. No more, my son; enough has been said in discharge of the duties of a father. With these counsels I wish to fortify thy mind. Refuse them not, nor act in contradiction to them; for on them thy life and all thy happiness depend.”

ANIMALS. As ranging on the same side with the Abbé Clavigero, the ingenious Mr. Jefferon deserves particular attention. This gentleman, in his notes on the State of Virginia, &c. has taken occasion to combat the opinions of Buffon; and seems to have fully refuted them both by argument and facts. The French philosopher asserts, “That living nature is less active, less energetic, in the New World than in the Old.” He affirms, 1. That the animals common to both continents are smaller in America. 2. That those peculiar to the New are on an inferior scale. 3. That those which have been domesticated in both have degenerated in America. And 4. That it exhibits fewer species of living creatures. The cause of this he ascribes to the diminution of heat in America, and to the prevalence of humidity from the extension of its lakes and waters over a prodigious surface. In other words, he affirms, that *heat* is friendly and *moisture* adverse to the production and development of the large quadrupeds.

The hypothesis, that moisture is unfriendly to animal growth, Mr. Jefferon shows to be contradicted by observation and experience. It is by the assistance of heat and moisture that vegetables are elaborated from the elements. Accordingly we find, that the more humid climates produce plants in greater profusion than the dry. Vegetables are immediately or remotely the food of every animal; and, from the uniform operation of Nature’s laws we discern, that, in proportion to the quantity of food, animals are not only multiplied in their numbers, but improved in their size. Of this last opinion is the Count de Buffon himself, in another part of his work: “En general, il paroît que les pays un peu *froids* conviennent mieux à nos bœufs que les pays chauds, et qu’ils sont d’autant plus gros et plus grands que le climat est plus *humide* et plus abondans en paturages. Les bœufs de Danemarck, de la Podolie; de l’Ukraine, et de la Tartarie qu’habitent les Calmouques, sont les plus grands de tous.” Here, then, a race of animals, and one of the largest too, has been increased in its dimensions by cold and moisture, in direct opposition to the hypothesis, which supposes that these two circumstances diminish animal bulk, and that it is their contraries, heat and dryness,



which enlarge it. But to try the question on more general ground, let us take two portions of the earth, Europe and America for instance, sufficiently extensive to give operation to general causes; let us consider the circumstances peculiar to each, and observe their effect on animal nature. America, running through the torrid as well as temperate zone, has more heat, collectively taken, than Europe. But Europe, according to our hypothesis, is the driest. They are equally adapted then to animal productions; each being endowed with one of those causes which befriend animal growth, and with one which opposes it. Let us, then, take a comparative view of the quadrupeds of Europe and America, presenting them to the eye in three different tables; in one of which shall be enumerated those found in both countries; in a second, those found in one only; in a third, those which have been domesticated in both. To facilitate the comparison, let those of each table be arranged in gradation, according to their sizes, from the greatest to the smallest, so far as their sizes can be conjectured. The weights of the large animals shall be expressed in the English avoirdupoise pound and its decimals; those of the smaller in the ounce and its decimals. Those which are marked thus \*, are actual weights of particular subjects, deemed amongst the largest of their species. Those marked thus †, are furnished by judicious persons, well acquainted with the species, and saying, from conjecture only, what the largest individual they had seen would probably have weighed. The other weights are taken from Messrs. Buffon and D'Aubenton, and are of such subjects as came casually to their hands for dissection.

“ Comparative View of the Quadrupeds of Europe and of America.

TABLE I. <i>Aboriginals of both.</i>		Europe.	America.
		lb.	lb.
Mammoth			
Buffalo. Bison	- - - - -		*1800
White bear. Ours blanc			
Caribou. Renne			
Bear. Ours	- - - - -	153.7	*410
Elk. Elan. Original, palmated			
Red deer. Cerf	- - - - -	288.8	*273
Fallow deer. Daim	- - - - -	167.8	
Wolf. Loup	- - - - -	69.8	
Roe. Chevreuil	- - - - -	56.7	
Glutton. Glouton. Carcajou			
Wild cat. Chat sauvage	- - - - -		†30
Lynx. Loup cervier	- - - - -	25.	
Beaver. Castor	- - - - -	18.5	*45
Badger. Blaireau	- - - - -	13.6	
Red fox. Renard	- - - - -	13.5	

Table I. *continued.*

		Europe.	America.
		lb.	lb.
Grey fox.	Ifatis		
Otter.	Loutre - - - - -	8.9	+12
Monax.	Marmotte - - - - -	6.5	
Vifon.	Fouine - - - - -	2.8	
Hedgehog.	Herisson - - - - -	2.2	
Martin.	Marte - - - - -	1.9	+6
		oz.	
Water rat.	Rat d'eau - - - - -	7.5	
Wefel.	Belette - - - - -	2.2	oz.
Flying squirrel.	Polatouche - - - - -	2.2	+4
Shrew mouse.	Maufaraigne - - - - -	1.	

TABLE II. *Aboriginals of one only.*

EUROPE.		AMERICA.	
			lb.
Sanglier.	Wild boar - 280.	Tapir - - - - -	534.
Mouflonn.	Wild sheep - 56.	Elk, round horned - - -	+450.
Bonquetin.	Wild goat	Puma	
Lievre.	Hare - - - - - 7.6	Jaguar - - - - -	218.
Lapin.	Rabbit - - - - - 3.4	Cabiai - - - - -	109.
Putois.	Polecat - - - - - 3.3	Tamanoir - - - - -	109.
Genette	- - - - - 3.1	Tamandua - - - - -	65.4
Defman.	Musk rat - - - - - oz.	Cougar of N. America -	75.
Ecureuil.	Squirrel - - - - - 12.	Cougar of S. America -	59.4
Hermine.	Ermin - - - - - 8.2	Ocelot	
Rat.	Rat - - - - - 7.5	Pecari - - - - -	46.3
Loirs	- - - - - 3.1	Jaguaret - - - - -	48.6
Lerot.	Dormouse - - - - - 1.8	Alco	
Toupe.	Mole - - - - - 1.2	Lama	
Hamster	- - - - - .9	Paco	
Zifel	- - - - -	Paca - - - - -	32.7
Leming	- - - - -	Serval	
Souris.	Mouse - - - - - .6	Sloth. Unau - - - - -	27 $\frac{1}{4}$
		Saricovienne	
		Kincajou	
		Tatou Kabassou - - -	21.8
		Urfon. Urchin	
		Raccoon. Raton - - -	16.5
		Coati	
		Coendou - - - - -	16.3
		Sloth. Ai - - - - -	13.
		Sapajou Ouarini	
		Sapajou Coaita - - -	9.8
		Tatou Encubert	
		Tatou Apar	
		Tatou Cachica - - -	7.
		Little Coendou - - -	6.5
		Opossum. Sarigue	
		Tapeti	
		Margay	

Table II. continued.

## EUROPE.

## AMERICA.

Crabier	
Agouti	4.2
Sapajou Sai	3.5
Tatou Cirquinçon	
Tatou Tatouate	3.3
Mouffette Squash	
Mouffette Cinche	
Mouffette Conepate.	Scunk
Mouffette.	Zorilla
Whabus.	Hare. Rabbit
Aperea	
Akouchi	
Ondatra.	Muskrat
Pilori	
Great grey squirrel	†2.7
Fox squirrel of Virginia	†2.625
Surikate	2.
Mink	†2.
Sapajou.	Sajou
Indian pig.	Cochon d'Inde
Sapajou.	Saimiri
Phalanger	
Coquallin	
Lesser grey squirrel	†1.5
Black squirrel	†1.5
Red Squirrel	10. oz.
Sagoin Saki	
Sagoin Pinche	
Sagoin Tamarin	oz.
Sagoin Ouistiti	4.4
Sagoin Marakine	
Sagoin Mico	
Cayopolin	
Fourmillier	
Marmose	
Sarigue of Cayenne	
Tucan	
Red mole	oz.
Ground squirrel	4.

TABLE III. Domesticated in both.

							Europe.	America.
							lb.	lb.
Cow	-	-	-	-	-	-	763.	*2500
Horse	-	-	-	-	-	-		*1366
Ass	-	-	-	-	-	-		
Hog	-	-	-	-	-	-		*1200
Sheep	-	-	-	-	-	-		*125
Goat	-	-	-	-	-	-		*80
Dog	-	-	-	-	-	-	67.6	
Cat	-	-	-	-	-	-	7.	

The

“ The result of this view is, that of 26 quadrupeds common to both countries, seven are said to be larger in America, seven of equal size, and 12 not sufficiently examined. So that the first table impeaches the first member of the assertion, that of the Animals common to both countries the American are smallest, “ Et cela sans aucune exception.” It shows it not just, in all the latitude in which its author has advanced it, and probably not to such a degree as to found a distinction between the two countries.

“ Proceeding to the second table, which arranges the animals found in one of the two countries only, M. de Buffon observes, that the taphir, the elephant of America, is but of the size of a small cow. To preserve our comparison, Mr. Jefferson states the wild boar, the elephant of Europe, as little more than half that size. He has made an elk with round or cylindrical horns, an animal of America, and peculiar to it; because he has seen many of them himself, and more of their horns; and because, from the best information, it is certain that in Virginia this kind of elk has abounded much, and still exists in smaller numbers. He makes the American hare or rabbit peculiar, believing it to be different from both the European animals of those denominations, and calling it therefore by its Algonouin name Whabus, to keep it distinct from these. Kalm is of the same opinion. The squirrels are denominated from a knowledge derived from daily sight of them, because with that the European appellations and descriptions seem irreconcilable. These are the only instances in which Mr. Jefferson departs from the authority of M. de Buffon in the construction of this table; whom he takes for his ground-work, because he thinks him the best informed of any naturalist who has ever written. The result is, that there are 18 quadrupeds peculiar to Europe; more than four times as many, to wit 74, peculiar to America; that the first of these 74, the tapir, the largest of the animals peculiar to America, weighs more than the whole column of Europeans; and consequently this second table disproves the second member of the assertion, that the animals peculiar to the New World are on a smaller scale, so far as that assertion relied on European animals for support: and it is in full opposition to the theory which makes the animal volume to depend on the circumstances of heat and moisture.

“ The third table comprehends those quadrupeds only which are domestic in both countries. That some of these, in some parts of America, have become less than their original stock, is doubtless true; and the reason is very obvious. In a thinly people country, the spontaneous productions of the forests and waste fields are sufficient to support indifferently the domestic animals of the farmer, with a very little aid from him



in the severest and scarcest season. He therefore finds it more convenient to receive them from the hand of Nature in that indifferent state, than to keep up their size by a care and nourishment which would cost him much labour. If, on this low fare, these animals dwindle, it is no more than they do in those parts of Europe where the poverty of the soil, or poverty of the owner, reduces them to the same scanty subsistence. It is the uniform effect of one and the same cause, whether acting on this or that side of the globe. It would be erring, therefore, against that rule of philosophy, which teaches us to ascribe like effects to like causes, should we impute this diminution of size in America to any imbecillity or want of uniformity in the operations of nature. It may be affirmed with truth, that in those countries, and with those individuals of America, where necessity or curiosity has produced equal attention as in Europe to the nourishment of animals, the horses, cattle, sheep, and hogs of the one continent are as large as those of the other. There are particular instances, well attested, where individuals of America have imported good breeders from England, and have improved their size by care in the course of some years. And the weights actually known and stated in the third table, will suffice to show, that we may conclude, on probable grounds, that, with equal food and care, the climate of America will preserve the races of domestic animals as large as the European stock from which they are derived; and consequently that the third member of Monf. de Buffon's assertion, that the domestic animals are subject to degeneration from the climate of America, is as probably wrong as the first and second were certainly so.

That the last part of it is erroneous, which affirms, that the species of American quadrupeds are comparatively few, is evident from the tables taken altogether; to which may be added the proof adduced by the Abbe Clavigero. According to Buffon's latest calculation, in his *Epoches de la Nature*, there are 300 species of quadrupeds; and America, though it does not make more than a third part of the globe, contains, according to Clavigero, almost one half of the different species of its animals.

Of the human inhabitants of America, to whom the same hypothesis of degeneracy is extended, M. Buffon gives the following description: "Though the American savage be nearly of the same stature with men in polished societies; yet this is not a sufficient exception to the general contraction of animated Nature throughout the whole continent. In the savage, the organs of generation are small and feeble. He has no hair, no beard, no ardour for the female. Though nimbler than the European, because more accustomed to running, his strength is not so great.

His sensations are less acute : and yet he is more timid and cowardly. He has no vivacity, no activity of mind. The activity of his body is not so much an exercise of spontaneous motion, as a necessary action produced by want. Destroy his appetite for victuals and drink, and you will at once annihilate the active principle of all his movements : He remains in stupid repose, on his limbs or couch, for whole days. It is easy to discover the cause of the scattered life of savages, and of their estrangement from society. They have been refused the most precious spark of Nature's fire : They have no ardour for women, and, of course, no love to mankind. Unacquainted with the most lively and most tender of all attachments, their other sensations of this nature are cold and languid. Their love to parents and children are extremely weak. The bonds of the most intimate of all societies, that of the same family, are feeble ; and one family has no attachment to another. Hence no union, no republic, no social state, can take place among them. The physical cause of love gives rise to the morality of their manners. Their heart is frozen, their society cold, and their empire cruel. They regard their females as servants destined to labour, or as beasts of burden, whom they load unmercifully with the produce of their hunting, and oblige, without pity or gratitude, to perform labours which often exceed their strength. They have few children, and pay little attention to them. Every thing must be referred to the first cause : They are indifferent, because they are weak ; and this indifference to the sex is the original stain which disgraces Nature, prevents her from expanding, and, by destroying the germs of life, cuts the root of society. Hence man makes no exception to what has been advanced. Nature by denying him the faculty of love, has abused and contracted him more than any other animal."

A humiliating picture indeed ! but than which, Mr. Jefferson assures us, never was one more unlike the original. M. Buffon grants, that their stature is the same as that of the men of Europe ; and he might have admitted, that the Iroquois were larger, and the Lenopi or Delawares taller, than people in Europe generally are : But he says their organs of generation are smaller and weaker than those of Europeans ; which is not a fact. And as to their want of beard, this error has been already noticed.

" They have no ardour for their female."—It is true, that they do not indulge those excesses, nor discover that fondness, which are customary in Europe ; but this is not owing to a defect in nature, but to manners. Their soul is wholly bent upon war. This is what procures them glory among the men, and makes them the admiration of the women,

women. To this they are educated from their earliest youth. When they pursue game with ardour, when they bear the fatigues of the chase, when they sustain and suffer patiently hunger and cold, it is not so much for the sake of the game they pursue, as to convince their parents and the council of the nation, that they are fit to be enrolled in the number of the warriors. The songs of the women, the dance of the warriors, the sage counsel of the chiefs, the tales of the old, the triumphal entry of the warriors returning with success from battle, and the respect paid to those who distinguish themselves in battle, and in subduing their enemies, in short, every thing they see or hear, tends to inspire them with an ardent desire for military fame. If a young man were to discover a fondness for women before he has been to war, he would become the contempt of the men, and the scorn and ridicule of the women: or were he to indulge himself with a captive taken in war, and much more were he to offer violence in order to gratify his lust, he would incur indelible disgrace. The seeming frigidity of the men, therefore, is the effect of manners, and not a defect of nature. They are neither more defective in ardour, nor more impotent with the female, than are the whites reduced to the same diet and exercise.

“They raise few children.”—They indeed raise fewer children than we do; the causes of which are to be found, not in a difference of nature, but of circumstance. The women very frequently attending the men in their parties of war and of hunting, child-bearing becomes extremely inconvenient to them. It is said, therefore, that they have learned the practice of procuring abortion by the use of some vegetable; and that it even extends to prevent conception for a considerable time after. During these parties they are exposed to numerous hazards, to excessive exertions, to the greatest extremities of hunger. Even at their homes, the nation depends for food, through a certain part of every year, on the gleanings of the forest; that is, they experience a famine once in every year. With all animals, if the female be badly fed, or not fed at all, her young perish; and if both male and female be reduced to like want, generation becomes less active, less productive. To the obstacles, then, of want and hazard, which Nature has opposed to the multiplication of wild animals, for the purpose of restraining their numbers within certain bounds, those of labour and voluntary abortion are added with the Indian. No wonder, then, if they multiply less than we do. Where food is regularly supplied, a single farm will show more of cattle than a whole country of forests can of buffaloes. The same Indian women, when married to white traders, who feed them and their children

plentifully and regularly, who exempt them from excessive drudgery, who keep them stationary and unexposed to accident, produce and raise as many children as the white women. Instances are known, under these circumstances, of their rearing a dozen children.

Neither do they seem to be "deficient in natural affection." On the contrary, their sensibility is keen, even the warriors weeping most bitterly on the loss of their children; though in general they endeavour to appear superior to human events.

Their friendships are strong, and faithful to the uttermost extremity. A remarkable instance of this appeared in the case of the late Col. Byrd, who was sent to the Cherokee nation to transact some business with them. It happened that some of our disorderly people had just killed one or two of that nation. It was therefore proposed in the council of the Cherokees, that Col. Byrd should be put to death, in revenge for the loss of their countrymen. Among them was a chief, called *Silouee*, who, on some former occasion, had contracted an acquaintance and friendship with Col. Byrd. He came to him every night in his tent, and told him not to be afraid, they should not kill him. After many days deliberation, however, the determination was, contrary to *Silouee's* expectation, that Byrd should be put to death, and some warriors were dispatched as executioners. *Silouee* attended them; and when they entered the tent, he threw himself between them and Byrd, and said to the warriors, "This man is my friend: before you get at him, you must kill me." On which they returned; and the council respected the principle so much as to recede from their determination.

That "they are timorous and cowardly," is a character with which there is little reason to charge them, when we recollect the manner in which the Iroquois met *Monf. ———*, who marched into their country; in which the old men, who scorned to fly, or to survive the capture of their town, braved death like the old Romans in the time of the Gauls, and in which they soon after revenged themselves by sacking and destroying Montreal. In short, the Indian is brave, when an enterprise depends upon bravery; education with him making the point of honour consist in the destruction of an enemy by stratagem, and in the preservation of his own person free from injury: or perhaps this is nature, while it is education which teaches us to honour force rather than finess. He will defend himself against an host of enemies, always choosing to be killed rather than to surrender, though it be to the whites, who he knows will treat him well. In other situations, also, he meets death

with



with more deliberation, and endures tortures with a firmness unknown almost to religious enthusiasm among us.

Much less are they to be characterised as a people of no vivacity, and who are excited to action or motion only by the calls of hunger and thirst. Their dances in which they so much delight, and which to a European would be the most severe exercise, fully contradict this; not to mention their fatiguing marches, and the toil they voluntarily and cheerfully undergo in their military expeditions. It is true, that when at home they do not employ themselves in labour or the culture of the soil: but this, again, is the effect of customs and manners which have assigned that to the province of the women. But it is said, "they are averse to society and a social life." Can any thing be more inapplicable than this to a people who always live in towns or in clans? Or can they be said to have no *republique*, who conduct all their affairs in national councils; who pride themselves in their national character; who consider an insult or injury done to an individual by a stranger as done to the whole, and resent it accordingly?

To form a just estimate of their genius and mental powers, Mr. Jefferson observes, more facts are wanting, and great allowance is to be made for those circumstances of their situation which call for a display of particular talents only. This done, we shall probably find that the Americans are formed, in mind as well as in body, on the same model with the *homo sapiens Europæus*. The principles of their society forbidding all compulsion, they are to be led to duty and to enterprise by personal influence and persuasion. Hence eloquence in council, bravery and address in war, become the foundations of all consequence with them. To these acquirements all their faculties are directed. Of their bravery and address in war we have multiplied proofs, because we have been the subjects on which they were exercised. Of their eminence in oratory we have fewer examples, because it is displayed chiefly in their own councils. Some, however, we have of very superior lustre. We may challenge the whole orations of Demosthenes and Cicero, and of any more eminent orator, if Europe has furnished more eminent, to produce a single passage superior to the speech of Logan, a Mingo chief, to Lord Dunmore when governor of this state. The story is as follows; of which, and of the speech, the authenticity is unquestionable. In the spring of the year 1774, a robbery and murder were committed on an inhabitant of the frontiers of Virginia by two Indians of the Shawanee tribe. The neighbouring whites, according to their custom, undertook to punish this outrage in a summary way. Colonel Cresap, a man infamous for the many murders he had committed on those much-injured people,

people, collected a party, and proceeded down the Kanhaway in quest of vengeance. Unfortunately a canoe of women and children, with one man only, was seen coming from the opposite shore, unarmed, and unsuspecting any hostile attack from the whites. Cresap and his party concealed themselves on the bank of the river; and the moment the canoe reached the shore, singled out their objects, and at one fire killed every person in it. This happened to be the family of Logan, who had long been distinguished as a friend of the whites. This unworthy return provoked his vengeance. He accordingly signalized himself in the war which ensued. In the autumn of the same year a decisive battle was fought at the mouth of the Great Kanhaway, between the collected forces of the Shawanees, Mingoes, and Delawares, and a detachment of the Virginia militia. The Indians were defeated, and sued for peace. Logan, however, disdained to be seen among the suppliants; but, lest the sincerity of a treaty should be distrusted from which so distinguished a chief absented himself, he sent by a messenger the following speech, to be delivered to Lord Dunmore:—"I appeal to any white man to say if ever he entered Logan's cabin hungry, and he gave him not meat; if ever he came cold and naked, and he clothed him not. During the course of the last long and bloody war, Logan remained idle in his cabin, an advocate for peace. Such was my love for the whites, that my countrymen pointed as they passed, and said *Logan is the friend of white men*. I had even thought to have lived with you, but for the injuries of one man. Colonel Cresap, the last spring, in cold blood, and unprovoked, murdered all the relations of Logan, not sparing even my women and children. There runs not a drop of my blood in the veins of any living creature. This called on me for revenge. I have sought it; I have killed many; I have fully glutted my vengeance. For my country, I rejoice at the beams of peace; but do not harbour a thought that mine is the joy of fear. Logan never felt fear. He will not turn on his heel to save his life. Who is there to mourn for Logan?—Not one."

To the preceding anecdotes in favour of the American character, may be added the following by Dr. Benjamin Franklin. The Indian men, when young, are hunters and warriors: when old, counsellors; for all their government is by the counsel or advice of the sages. Hence they generally study oratory; the best speaker having the most influence. The Indian women till the ground, dress the food, nurse and bring up the children, and preserve and hand down to posterity the memory of public transactions. These employments of men and women are accounted natural and honourable. Having few artificial wants, they

have abundance of leisure for improvement by conversation. Our laborious manner of life, compared with theirs, they esteem slavish and base; and the learning on which we value ourselves, they regard as frivolous and useless.

Having frequent occasions to hold public councils, they have acquired great order and decency in conducting them. The old men sit in the foremost ranks, the warriors in the next, and the women and children in the hindmost. The business of the women is to take exact notice of what passes; imprint it in their memories, for they have no writing, and communicate it to their children. They are the records of the council, and they preserve tradition of the stipulations in treaties a hundred years back; which, when we compare with our writings, we always find exact. He that would speak rises. The rest observe a profound silence. When he has finished, and sits down, they leave him five or six minutes to recollect, that if he has omitted any thing he intended to say, or has any thing to add, he may rise again and deliver it. To interrupt another, even in common conversation, is reckoned highly indecent.

The politeness of these savages in conversation is, indeed, carried to excess; since it does not permit them to contradict or deny the truth of what is asserted in their presence. By this means they indeed avoid disputes; but then it becomes difficult to know their minds, or what impression you make upon them. The missionaries who have attempted to convert them to Christianity, all complain of this as one of the greatest difficulties of their mission. The Indians hear with patience the truths of the gospel explained to them, and give their usual tokens of assent and approbation; but this by no means implies conviction; it is mere civility.

When any of them come into our towns, our people are apt to crowd round them, gaze upon them, and incommode them where they desire to be private; this they esteem great rudeness, and the effect of the want of instruction in the rules of civility and good manners. "We have", say they, "as much curiosity as you; and when you come into our towns, we wish for opportunities of looking at you; but for this purpose we hide ourselves behind bushes where you are to pass, and never intrude ourselves into your company."

There manner of entering one another's villages has likewise its rules. It is reckoned uncivil in travelling strangers to enter a village abruptly, without giving notice of their approach. Therefore, as soon as they arrive within hearing, they stop and hollow, remaining there till invited to enter. Two old men usually come out to them and lead them in.

There

There is in every village a vacant dwelling, called the *strangers house*. Here they are placed, while the old men go round from hut to hut, acquainting the inhabitants that strangers are arrived, who are probably hungry and weary; and every one sends them what he can spare of victuals, and skins to repose on. When the strangers are refreshed, pipes and tobacco are brought; and then, but not before, conversation begins, with enquiries who they are, whither bound, what news, &c. and it usually ends with offers of service; if the strangers have occasion for guides, or any necessaries for continuing their journey; and nothing is exacted for the entertainment.

The same hospitality, esteemed among them as a principal virtue, is practised by private persons; of which Conrad Weiser, the interpreter, gave Dr. Franklin the following instance: He had been naturalized among the Six Nations, and spoke well the Mohock language. In going through the Indian country to carry a message from our governor to the council at Onondaga, he called at the habitation of Canassatego, an old acquaintance, who embraced him, spread furs for him to sit on, placed before him some boiled beans and venison, and mixed some rum and water for his drink. When he was well refreshed, and had lit his pipe, Canassatego began to converse with him: asked how he had fared the many years since they had seen each other, whence he then came, what had occasioned the journey, &c. Conrad answered all his questions; and when the discourse began to flag, the Indian, to continue it, said, "Conrad, you have lived long among the white people, and know something of their customs; I have been sometimes at Albany, and have observed, that once in seven days they shut up their shops, and assemble all in the great house; tell me what it is for?—What do they do there?" "They meet there," says Conrad, "to hear and learn *good things*." "I do not doubt (says the Indian) that they tell you so; they have told me the same: but I doubt the truth of what they say, and I will tell you my reasons. I went lately to Albany to sell my skins, and buy blankets, knives, powder, rum, &c. You know I generally used to deal with Hans Hanson; but I was a little inclined this time to try some other merchants. However I called first upon Hans, and asked him what he would give for beaver. He said he could not give more than 4s. a pound; but (says he) I cannot talk on business now; this is the day when we meet together to learn *good things*, and I am going to the meeting. So I thought to myself, since I cannot do any business to-day, I may as well go to the meeting too; and I went with him.—There stood up a man in black, and

" began



“ began to talk to the people very angrily. I did not understand what  
 “ he said; but perceiving that he looked much at me and at Hanson,  
 “ I imagined he was angry at seeing me there: so I went out, sat down  
 “ near the house, struck fire, and lit my pipe, waiting till the meeting  
 “ should break up. I thought too, that the man had mentioned some-  
 “ thing of beaver, and I suspected that it might be the subject of their  
 “ meeting. So when they came out, I accosted my merchant.—Well  
 “ Hans (says I) I hope you have agreed to give more than 4s. a-pound?”  
 “ No (says he), I cannot give so much, I cannot give more than 3s. 6d.”  
 “ I then spoke to several other dealers, but they all sung the same song,  
 “ three and sixpence, three and sixpence. This made it clear to me that  
 “ my suspicion was right; and that whatever they pretended of meeting  
 “ to learn *good things*, the real purpose was, to consult how to cheat In-  
 “ dians in the price of beaver. Consider but a little, Conrad, and you  
 “ must be of my opinion. If they met so often to learn *good things*,  
 “ they certainly would have learned some before this time. But they  
 “ are still ignorant. You know our practice. If a white man, in tra-  
 “ velling through our country, enters one of our cabins, we all treat  
 “ him as I treat you; we dry him if he is wet, we warm him if he is  
 “ cold, and give him meat and drink, that he may allay his thirst and  
 “ hunger; and we spread soft furs for him to rest and sleep on: we de-  
 “ mand nothing in return. But if I go into a white man’s house at  
 “ Albany, and ask for victuals and drink, they say, Where is your mo-  
 “ ney? And if I have none, they say, Get out, you Indian dog. You  
 “ see they have not yet learned those little *good things* that we need no  
 “ meeting to be instructed in; because our mothers taught them to us  
 “ when we were children; and therefore it is impossible their meetings  
 “ should be, as they say, for any such purpose, or have any such  
 “ effect; they are only to contrive *the cheating of Indians in the price of*  
 “ *beaver.*”

The next question that occurs is, Whether the peculiarities of the  
 Americans, or the disparity between them and the inhabitants of  
 Europe, afford sufficient grounds for determining them, as some have  
 done, to be a race of men radically different from all others?

In this question, to avoid being tedious, we shall confine ourselves to  
 what has been advanced by Lord Kames; who is of opinion, that there  
 are many different species of men, as well as of other animals; and  
 gives an hypothesis, whereby he pretends his opinion may be main-  
 tained in a consistency with Revelation. “ If (says he) the only rule  
 afforded by nature to classing animals can be depended on, there are

different races of men as well as of dogs: a mastiff differs not more from a spaniel, than a white man from a negro, or a Laplander from a Dane. And, if we have any faith in Providence, it ought to be so. Plants were created of different kinds, to fit them for different climates; and so were brute animals. Certain it is, that all men are not fitted equally for every climate. There is scarce a climate but what is natural to some men, where they prosper and flourish; and there is not a climate but where some men degenerate. Doth not then analogy lead us to conclude, that, as there are different climates on the face of this globe, so there are different races of men fitted for these different climates?

“ M. Buffon, from the rule, That animals which can procreate together, and whose progeny can also procreate, are of one species; concludes, that all men are of one race or species; and endeavours to support that favourite opinion, by ascribing to the climate, to food, or other accidental causes, all the varieties that are found among men. But is he seriously of opinion, that any operation of climate, or of other accidental cause, can account for the copper colour and smooth chin universal among the Americans; the prominence of the pudenda universal among the Hottentot women; or the black nipple no less universal among the female Samoiedes?—It is in vain to ascribe to the climate the low stature of the Esquimaux, the smallness of their feet, or the overgrown size of their heads. It is equally in vain to ascribe to climate the low stature of the Laplanders, or their ugly visage. The black colour of negroes, their lips, flat nose, crisped woolly hair, and rank smell, distinguish them from every other race of men. The Abyssinians, on the contrary, are tall and well made, their complexion a brown olive, features well proportioned, eyes large and of a sparkling black, thin lips, a nose rather high than flat. There is no such difference of climate between Abyssinia and Negro-land as to produce these striking differences.

“ Nor shall our author’s ingenious hypothesis concerning the extremities of heat and cold, purchase him impunity with respect to the fallow complexion of the Samoiedes, Laplanders, and Greenlanders. The Finlanders, and northern Norwegians, live in a climate not less cold than that of the people mentioned; and yet are fair beyond other Europeans. I say more, there are many instances of races of people preserving their original colour, in climates very different from their own; but not a single instance of the contrary, as far as I can learn. There have been four complete generations of negroes in Pennsylvania, without any visible change of colour; they continue jet black, as originally.

Those

Those who ascribe all to the sun, ought to consider how little probable it is, that the colour it impresses on the parents should be communicated to their infant children, who never saw the sun : I should be as soon induced to believe with a German naturalist, whose name has escaped me, that the negro colour is owing to an ancient custom in Africa, of dyeing the skin black. Let a European, for years, expose himself to the sun in a hot climate, till he be quite brown ; his children will nevertheless have the same complexion with those in Europe. From the action of the sun, is it possible to explain, why a negro, like a European, is born with a ruddy skin, which turns jet black the eighth or ninth day ?”

Our author next proceeds to draw some arguments for the existence of different races of men, from the various tempers and dispositions of different nations ; which he reckons to be *specific* differences, as well as those of colour, stature, &c. and having summed up his evidence, he concludes thus : “ Upon summing up the whole particulars mentioned above, would one hesitate a moment to adopt the following opinion, were there no counterbalancing evidence, viz. ‘ That God created many pairs of the human race, differing from each other, both externally and internally ; that he fitted those pairs for different climates, and placed each pair in its proper climate ; that the peculiarities of the original pairs were preserved entire in their descendants ; who, having no assistance but their natural talents, were left to gather knowledge from experience ; and, in particular, were left (each tribe) to form a language for itself ; that signs were sufficient for the original pairs, without any language but what nature suggests ; and that a language was formed gradually as a tribe increased in numbers, and in different occupations, to make speech necessary ?” But this opinion, however plausible, we are not permitted to adopt : being taught a different lesson by Revelation, viz. That God created but a single pair of the human species. Though we cannot doubt the authority of Moses, yet his account of the creation of man is not a little puzzling, as it seems to contradict every one of the facts mentioned above. According to that account different races of men were not formed, nor were men formed originally for different climates. All men must have spoken the same language, viz. That of our first parents. And what of all seems the most contradictory to that account, is the savage state : Adam, as Moses informs us, was endued by his Maker with an eminent degree of knowledge ; and he certainly was an excellent preceptor to his children and their progeny, among whom he lived many generations. Whence then the degeneracy of all men unto the savage state ? To account for that dismal catastrophe, mankind must have suffered some terrible convulsion. That terrible convulsion is revealed to us in the history of the

tower of Babel, contained in the 11th chapter of Genesis, which is, 'That, for many centuries after the deluge, the whole earth was of one language, and of one speech; that they united to build a city on a plain in the land of Shinar, with a tower, whose top might reach unto heaven; that the Lord, beholding the people to be one, and to have all one language, and that nothing would be restrained from them which they imagined to do, confounded their language that they might not understand one another, and scattered them abroad upon the face of all the earth.' Here light breaks forth in the midst of darkness. By confounding the language of men, and scattering them abroad upon the face of all the earth, they were rendered savages. And to harden them for their new habitations, it was necessary that they should be divided into different kinds, fitted for different climates. Without an immediate change of constitution, the builders of Babel could not possibly have subsisted in the burning region of Guinea, nor in the frozen region of Lapland; houses not being prepared, nor any other convenience to protect them against a destructive climate."

We may first remark, on his Lordship's hypothesis, that it is evidently incomplete; for, allowing the human race to have been divided into different species at the confusion of languages, and that each species was adapted to a particular climate; by what means were they to get to the climates proper for them, or how were they to know that such climates existed? How was an American, for instance, when languishing in an improper climate at Babel, to get to the land of the Amazons, or the banks of the Oroonoko, in his own country? or how was he to know these places were more proper for him than others?—If, indeed, we take the scripture phrase, "*The Lord scattered them abroad upon the face of all the earth,*" in a certain sense, we may account for it. If we suppose that the different species were immediately carried off by a whirlwind, or other supernatural means, to their proper countries, the difficulty will vanish: but if this is his Lordship's interpretation, it is certainly a very singular one.

Before entering upon a consideration of the particular arguments used by our author for proving the diversity of species in the human race, it will be proper to lay down the following general principles, which may serve as axioms. (1.) When we assert a multiplicity of species in the human race; we bring in a supernatural cause to solve a natural phenomenon: for these species are supposed to be the immediate work of the Deity. (2.) No person has a right to call any thing the immediate effect of omnipotence, unless by express revelation from the Deity, or from a certainty that no natural cause is sufficient to produce the effect. The

reason



reason is plain. The Deity is invifible, and fo are many natural caufes: when we fee an effect therefore, of which the caufe does not manifefit itfelf, we cannot know whether the immediate caufe is the Deity, or an invifible natural power. An example of this we have in the phenomena of thunder and earthquakes, which were often afcribed immediately to the Deity, but are now difcovered to be the effects of electricity. (3.) No perfon can affert natural caufes to be infufficient to produce fuch and fuch effects, unlefs he perfectly knows all thefe caufes and the limits of their power in all poffible cafes; and this no man has ever known, or can know.

By keeping in view thefe principles, which we hope are felf-evident, we will eafily fee Lord Kames's arguments to confift entirely in a *petitio principii*.—In fubftance they are all reduced to this fingle fentence: "Natural philofophers have been hitherto unfuccefsful in their endeavours to account for the differences obferved among mankind, therefore thefe differences cannot be accounted for from natural caufes."

His Lordfhip, however, tells us in the paffages already quoted, that "a maffiff differs not more from a fpaniel, than a Laplander from a Dane;" that "it is vain to afcribe to climate the low ftature of the Laplanders, or their ugly vifage."—Yet, in a note on the word *Laplanders*, he fubjoins, that, "by late accounts it appears, that the Laplanders are only degenerated Tartars; and that they and the Hungarians originally fprung from the fame breed of men, and from the fame country."—The Hungarians are generally handsome and well made, like Danes, or like other people. The Laplanders, he tells us, differ as much from them as a maffiff from a fpaniel. Natural caufes, therefore, according to Lord Kames himfelf, may caufe two individuals of the fame fpecies of mankind to differ from each other as much as a maffiff does from a fpaniel.

While we are treating this fubject of colour, it may not be amifs to obferve, that a very remarkable difference of colour may accidentally happen to individuals of the fame fpecies. In the ifthmus of Darien, a fingular race of men have been difcovered.—They are of low ftature, of a feeble make, and incapable of enduring fatigue. Their colour is a dead milk white; not refembling that of fair people among Europeans, but without any blufh or fanguine complexion. Their fkin is covered with a fine hairy down of a chalky white; the hair of their heads, their eye-brows, and eye-lafhes, are of the fame hue. Their eyes are of a fingular form, and fo weak, that they can hardly bear the light of the fun; but they fee clearly by moon-light, and are moft active and gay in the night. Among the negroes of Africa, as well as the natives of the Indian

Indian islands, a small number of these people are produced. They are called *Albinos* by the Portuguese, and *Kackerlakes* by the Dutch.

This race of men is not indeed permanent; but it is sufficient to show, that mere colour is by no means the characteristic of a certain species of mankind. The difference of colour in these individuals is undoubtedly owing to a natural cause. To constitute, then, a race of men of this colour, it would only be necessary that this cause, which at present is merely accidental, should become permanent, and we cannot know but it may be so in some parts of the world.

If a difference in colour is no characteristic of a different species of mankind, much less can a difference in stature be thought so.—In the southern parts of America, there are said to be a race of men exceeding the common size in height and strength. This account, however, is doubted of by some: but be that as it will, it is certain that the Esquimaux are as much under the common size, as the Patagonians are said to be above it. Nevertheless we are not to imagine, that either of these are specific differences; seeing the Laplanders and Hungarians are both of the same species, and yet the former are generally almost a foot shorter than the latter; and if a difference of climate, or other accidental causes, can make the people of one country a foot shorter than the common size of mankind, undoubtedly accidental causes of a contrary nature may make those of another country a foot taller than other men.

Though the sun has undoubtedly a share in the production of the swarthy colour of those nations which are most exposed to his influence; yet the manner of living to which people are accustomed, their victuals, their employment, &c. must contribute very much to a difference of complexion. There are some kinds of colouring roots, which, if mixed with the food of certain animals, will tinge even their bones of a yellow colour. It cannot be thought any great degree of credulity to infer from this, that if these roots were mixed with the food of a white man, they might, without a miracle, tinge his skin of a yellow colour. If a man and woman were both to use food of this kind for a length of time, till they became as it were *radically dyed*, it is impossible, without the intervention of Divine power, or of some extraordinary natural cause, but their children must be of the same colour; and was the same kind of food to be continued for several generations, it is more than probable that this colour might resist the continued use of any kind of food whatever.

Of this indeed we have no examples, but we have an example of changes much more wonderful. It is allowed on all hands, that it is more easy to work a change upon the body of a man, or any other  
animal

animal, than upon his mind. A man that is naturally choleric may indeed learn to prevent the bad effects of his passion by reason, but the passion itself will remain as immutable as his colour. But to reason in a manner similar to Lord Kames; though a man should be naturally choleric, or subject to any other passion, why should his children be so? — This way of reasoning, however plausible, is by no means conclusive, as will appear from the following passage in Mr. Forster's Voyage.

June 9th. "The officers who could not yet relish their salt provisions after the refreshments of New Zealand, had ordered their black dog, mentioned p. 135, to be killed: this day, therefore, we dined for the first time on a leg of it roasted; which tasted so exactly like mutton, that it was absolutely undistinguishable. In our cold countries, where animal food is so much used, and where to be carnivorous perhaps lies in the nature of men, or is indispensably necessary to the preservation of their health and strength, it is strange that there should exist a Jewish aversion to dogs-flesh, when hogs, the most uncleanly of all animals, are eaten without scruple. Nature seems expressly to have intended them for this use, by making their offspring so very numerous, and their increase so quick and frequent. It may be objected, that the exalted degree of instinct which we observe in our dogs, inspires us with great unwillingness to kill and eat them. But it is owing to the time we spend on the education of dogs, that they acquire those eminent qualities which attach them so much to us. The natural qualities of our dogs may receive a wonderful improvement; but education must give its assistance, without which the human mind itself, though capable of an immense expansion, remains in a very contracted state. In New Zealand, and (according to former accounts of voyages) in the tropical isles of the South Sea, the dogs are the most stupid, dull animals imaginable, and do not seem to have the least advantage in point of sagacity over our sheep, which are commonly made the emblems of filliness. In the former country they are fed upon fish, in the latter on vegetables, and both these diets may have served to alter their disposition. Education may perhaps likewise graft new instincts: the New Zealand dogs are fed on the remains of their master's meals; they eat the bones of other dogs; and the puppies become true cannibals from their birth. We had a young New Zealand puppy on board, which had certainly had no opportunity of tasting any thing but the mother's milk before we purchased it: however, it eagerly devoured a portion of the flesh and bones of the dog on which we dined to-day; while several others of the European breed taken on board at the Cape, turned from it without touching it.

"On the fourth of August, a young bitch, of the terrier breed, taken

on board at the Cape of Good Hope, and covered by a spaniel, brought ten young ones, one of which was dead. The New Zealand dog mentioned above, which devoured the bones of the roasted dog, now fell upon the dead puppy, and eat of it with a ravenous appetite. This is a proof how far education may go in producing and propagating new instincts in animals. European dogs are never fed on the meat of their own species, but rather seem to abhor it. The New Zealand dogs, in all likelihood, are trained up from their earliest age to eat the remains of their master's meals: they are therefore used to feed upon fish, their own species, and perhaps human flesh; and what was only owing to habit at first, may become instinct by length of time. This was remarkable in our cannibal dog; for he came on board so young, that he could not have been weaned long enough to have acquired a habit of devouring his own species, and much less of eating human flesh; however, one of our seamen having cut his finger, held it out to the dog, who fell to greedily, licked it, and then began to bite it."

From this account it appears, that even the instincts of animals are not unchangeable by natural causes; and if these causes are powerful enough to change the dispositions of succeeding generations, much more may we suppose them capable of making any possible alteration in the external appearance.

We are not here necessitated to confine ourselves to observations made on brute animals. The Franks are an example of the production of one general character, formed by some natural cause from a mixture of many different nations.—They were a motley multitude, consisting of various German nations dwelling beyond the Rhine: who, uniting in defence of their common liberty, took thence the name of *Franks*; the word *frank* signifying in their language, as it still does in ours, *free*. Among them the following nations were mentioned, viz. the Actuarii, Chamavi, Brueteri, Salii, Frisii, Chaufi, Amfswarii, and Catti. We cannot suppose one character to belong to so many different nations; yet it is certain, that the Franks were nationally characterized as treacherous; and so deeply seems this quality to have been rooted in their nature, that their descendants have not got quite free of it in 1500 years. It is in vain, then, to talk of different races of men, either from their colour, size, or prevailing dispositions, seeing we have undeniable proofs that all these may be changed, in the most remarkable manner, by natural causes, without any miraculous interposition of the deity.

THE FIRST PEOPLING OF AMERICA. The next question, then, which presents itself is, From what part of the Old World America has most probably been peopled?

Discoveries



Discoveries long ago made inform us, that an intercourse between the Old Continent and America might be carried on with facility from the north-west extremities of Europe and the north-east boundaries of Asia. In the ninth century the Norwegians discovered Greenland, and planted a colony there. The communication with that country was renewed in the last century by Moravian missionaries, in order to propagate their doctrine in that bleak and uncultivated region. By them we are informed that the north-west coast of Greenland is separated from America by a very narrow strait; that at the bottom of the bay it is highly probable that they are united; that the Esquimaux of America perfectly resemble the Greenlanders in their aspect, dress, and mode of living; and that a Moravian missionary, well acquainted with the language of Greenland, having visited the country of the Esquimaux, found, to his astonishment, that they spoke the same language with the Greenlanders, and were in every respect the same people. The same species of animals, too, are found in the contiguous regions. The bear, the wolf, the fox, the hare, the deer, the roebuck, the elk, frequent the forests of North America, as well as those in the north of Europe.

Other discoveries have proved, that if the two continents of Asia and America be separated at all, it is only by a narrow strait. From this part of the Old Continent, also, inhabitants may have passed into the New; and the resemblance between the Indians of America and the eastern inhabitants of Asia, would induce us to conjecture that they have a common origin. This is the opinion adopted by Dr. Robertson in his *History of America*, where we find it accompanied with the following narrative.

“ While those immense regions which stretched eastward from the river Oby to the sea of Kamtschatka were unknown, or imperfectly explored, the north-east extremities of our hemisphere were supposed to be so far distant from any part of the New World, that it was not easy to conceive how any communication should have been carried on between them. But the Russians, having subjected the western part of Siberia to their empire, gradually extended their knowledge of that vast country, by advancing towards the east into unknown provinces. These were discovered by hunters in their excursions after game, or by soldiers employed in levying the taxes; and the court of Moscow estimated the importance of those countries only by the small addition which they made to its revenue. At length, Peter the Great ascended the Russian throne: His enlightened comprehensive mind, intent upon every circumstance that could aggrandize his empire, or render his reign illustrious, discerned consequences of those discoveries, which had escaped the ob-

servation of his ignorant predecessors. He perceived, that, in proportion as the regions of Asia extended towards the east, they must approach nearer to America; that the communication between the two continents, which had long been searched for in vain, would probably be found in this quarter; and that, by opening this intercourse, some part of the wealth and commerce of the western world might be made to flow into his dominions by a new channel. Such an object suited a genius that delighted in grand schemes. Peter drew up instructions with his own hand for prosecuting this design, and gave orders for carrying it into execution.

“ His successors adopted his ideas, and pursued his plan. The officers whom the Russian court employed in this service, had to struggle with so many difficulties, that their progress was extremely slow. Encouraged by some faint traditions among the people of Siberia concerning a successful voyage in the year 1648 round the north-east promontory of Asia, they attempted to follow the same course. Vessels were fitted out, with this view, at different times, from the rivers Lena and Kolyma; but in a frozen ocean, which nature seems not to have destined for navigation, they were exposed to many disasters, without being able to accomplish their purpose. No vessel fitted out by the Russian court ever doubled this formidable cape; we are indebted for what is known of those extreme regions of Asia, to the discoveries made in excursions by land. In all those provinces, an opinion prevails, that countries of great extent and fertility lie at no considerable distance from their own coasts. These the Russians imagined to be part of America; and several circumstances concurred not only in confirming them in this belief, but in persuading them that some portion of that continent could not be very remote. Trees of various kinds, unknown in those naked regions of Asia, are driven upon the coast by an easterly wind. By the same wind floating ice is brought thither in a few days; flights of birds arrive annually from the same quarter; and a tradition obtains among the inhabitants, of an intercourse formerly carried on with some countries situated to the east.

“ After weighing all these particulars, and comparing the position of the countries in Asia which they had discovered, with such parts in the north-west of America as were already known; the Russian court formed a plan, which would have hardly occurred to any nation less accustomed to engage in arduous undertakings and to contend with great difficulties. Orders were issued to build two vessels at Ochotz, in the sea of Kamtschatka, to sail on a voyage of discovery. Though that dreary uncultivated region furnished nothing that could be of use in constructing them but some larch-trees; though not only the iron, the cordage, the  
sails,

sails, and all the numerous articles requisite for their equipment, but the provisions for victualling them, were to be carried through the immense deserts of Siberia, along rivers of difficult navigation, and roads almost impassable, the mandate of the sovereign, and the perseverance of the people, at last surmounted every obstacle. Two vessels were finished; and, under the command of the captains Behring and Tschirikow, sailed from Kamtschatka in quest of the New World, in a quarter where it had never been approached. They shaped their course towards the east; and though a storm soon separated the vessels, which never rejoined, and many disasters befel them, the expectations from the voyage were not altogether frustrated. Each of the commanders discovered land, which to them appeared to be part of the American continent; and, according to their observations, it seems to be situated within a few degrees of the north-west coast of California. Each sent some of his people ashore: but in one place the inhabitants fled as the Russians approached; in another, they carried off those who landed, and destroyed their boats. The violence of the weather, and the distress of their crews, obliged both to quit this inhospitable coast. In their return they touched at several islands, which stretch in a chain from east to west between the country which they had discovered and the coast of Asia. They had some intercourse with the natives, who seemed to them to resemble the North Americans. They presented to the Russians the calumet, or pipe of peace, which is a symbol of friendship universal among the people of North America, and an usage of arbitrary institution peculiar to them."

The more recent and accurate discoveries of the illustrious navigator Cooke, and his successor Clerke, have brought the matter still nearer to certainty. The sea, from the south of Behring's Straits to the crescent of isles between Asia and America, is very shallow. It deepens from these straits (as the British seas do from those of Dover) till soundings are lost in the Pacific Ocean; but that does not take place but to the south of the isles. Between them and the straits is an increase from 12 to 54 fathom, except only off St. Thaddeus Nos, where there is a channel of greater depth. From the volcanic disposition, it has been judged probable, not only that there was a separation of the continents at the Straits of Behring, but that the whole space from the isles to that small opening had once been occupied by land; and that the fury of the watery element, actuated by that of fire, had in most remote times, subverted and overwhelmed the tract, and left the islands monumental fragments.

Without adopting all the fancies of Buffon, there can be no doubt, as

the Abbé Clavigero observes, that our planet has been subject to great vicissitudes since the deluge. Ancient and modern histories confirm the truth which Ovid has sung in the name of Pythagoras :

*Video ego quod fuerat quondam solidissima tellus,  
Esse fretum; vidi factas ex æquore terras.*

At present they plough those lands over which ships formerly sailed, and now they sail over lands which were formerly cultivated; earthquakes have swallowed some lands, and subterraneous fires have thrown up others: the rivers have formed new soil with their mud; the sea retreating from the shores has lengthened the land in some places, and advancing in others has diminished it; it has separated some territories which were formerly united, and formed new straits and gulphs. We have examples of all these revolutions in the past century. Sicily was united to the continent of Naples, as Eubœa, now the Black Sea, to Bœotia. Diodorus, Strabo, and other ancient authors, say the same thing of Spain and Africa, and affirm, that by a violent eruption of the ocean upon the land between the mountains Abyla and Calpe, that communication was broken, and the Mediterranean Sea was formed. Among the people of Ceylon there is a tradition that a similar irruption of the sea separated their island from the peninsula of India. The same thing is believed by those of Malabar with respect to the isles of Maldivia, and with the Malayans with respect to Sumatra. It is certain, says the Count de Buffon, that in Ceylon the earth has lost 30 or 40 leagues, which the sea has taken from it; on the contrary, Tongres, a place of the low countries, has gained 30 leagues of land from the sea. The northern part of Egypt owes its existence to inundations of the Nile. The earth which this river has brought from the inland countries of Africa, and deposited in its inundations, has formed a soil of more than 25 cubits of depth. In like manner, adds the above author, the province of the Yellow River in China, and that of Louisiana, have only been formed of the mud of rivers. Pliny, Seneca, Diodorus, and Strabo, report innumerable examples of similar revolutions, which we omit, that our dissertation may not become too prolix; as also many modern revolutions, which are related in the theory of the earth of the Count de Buffon and other authors. In South America, all those who have observed with philosophic eyes the peninsula of Yucatan, do not doubt that that country has once been the bed of the sea; and, on the contrary, in the channel of Bahama many indications shew the island of Cuba to have been once united to the continent of Florida. In the strait which separates America from Asia many islands are found, which probably



were the mountains belonging to that tract of land which we suppose to have been swallowed up by earthquakes; which is made more probable by the multitude of volcanoes which we know of in the peninsula of Kamtschatka. It is imagined, however, that the sinking of that land, and the separation of the two continents, has been occasioned by those great and extraordinary earthquakes mentioned in the histories of the Americans, which formed an era almost as memorable as that of the deluge. The histories of the Toltecas fix such earthquakes in the year I Tecpatl; but as we know not to what century that belonged, we can form no conjecture of the time that great calamity happened. If a great earthquake should overwhelm the isthmus of Suez, and there should be at the same time as great a scarcity of historians as there were in the first ages after the deluge, it would be doubted, in 300 or 400 years after, whether Asia had ever been united by that part to Africa; and many would firmly deny it.

Whether that great event, the separation of the continents, took place before or after the population of America, is as impossible as it is of little moment for us to know; but we are indebted to the above-mentioned navigators for settling the long dispute about the point from which it was effected. Their observations prove, that in one place the distance between continent and continent is only 39 miles, not (as the author of the *Recherches Philosophiques sur les Americains* would have it) 800 leagues. This narrow strait has also in the middle two islands, which would greatly facilitate the migration of the Asiatics into the New World, supposing that it took place in canoes after the convulsion which rent the two continents asunder. Besides, it may be added, that these straits are, even in the summer, often filled with ice; in winter, often frozen. In either case mankind might find an easy passage; in the last, the way was extremely ready for quadrupeds to cross and stock the continent of America. But where, from the vast expanse of the north-eastern world, to fix on the first tribes who contributed to people the New Continent, now inhabited almost from end to end, is a matter that baffles human reason. The learned may make bold and ingenious conjectures, but plain good sense cannot always accede to them.

As mankind increased in numbers, they naturally protruded one another forward. Wars might be another cause of migrations. There appears no reason why the Asiatic north might not be an *officina virorum*, as well as the European. The overteeming country, to the east of the Rhipæan mountains, must find it necessary to discharge its inhabitants: the first great wave of people was forced forward by the next to it, more tumid and more powerful than itself: successive and new impulses continually

tinually arriving, short rest was given to that which spread over a more eastern tract; disturbed again and again, it covered fresh regions; at length, reaching the farthest limits of the Old World, found a new one, with ample space to occupy unmolested for ages; till Columbus cursed them by a discovery, which brought again new sins and new deaths to both worlds.

“The inhabitants of the New World (Mr. Pennant observes), do not consist of the offspring of a single nation; different people, at several periods, arrived there; and it is impossible to say, that any one is now to be found on the original spot of its colonization. It is impossible, with the lights which we have so recently received, to admit that America could receive its inhabitants (at least the bulk of them) from any other place than eastern Asia. A few proofs may be added, taken from customs or dresses common to the inhabitants of both worlds: some have been long extinct in the Old, others remain in both in full force.

“The custom of scalping was a barbarism in use with the Scythians, who carried about them at all times this savage mark of triumph: they cut a circle round the neck, and stripped off the skin, as they would that of an ox. A little image found among the Calmucs, of a Tartarian deity, mounted on a horse, and sitting on a human skin, with scalps pendent from the breast, fully illustrates the custom of the Scythian progenitors, as described by the Greek historian. This usage, as the Europeans know by horrid experience, is continued to this day in America. The ferocity of the Scythians to their prisoners extended to the remotest part of Asia. The Kamtschatkans, even at the time of their discovery by the Russians, put their prisoners to death by the most lingering and excruciating inventions; a practice in full force to this very day among the aboriginal Americans. A race of the Scythians were stiled *Anthropophagi*, from their feeding on human flesh. The people of Nootka Sound still make a repast on their fellow creatures: but what is more wonderful, the savage allies of the British army have been known to throw the mangled limbs of the French prisoners into the horrible cauldron, and devour them with the same relish as those of a quadruped.

“The Scythians were said, for a certain time, annually to transform themselves into wolves, and again to resume the human shape. The new discovered Americans about Nootka Sound, at this time disguise themselves in dresses made of the skins of wolves and other wild beasts, and wear even the heads fitted to their own. These habits they use in the chase, to circumvent the animals of the field. But would not ignorance

rance or superstition ascribe to a supernatural metamorphosis these temporary expedients to deceive the brute creation?

“ In their marches, the Kamtschatkans never went abreast, but followed one another in the same tract. The same custom is exactly observed by the Americans.

“ The Tungusi, the most numerous nation resident in Siberia, prick their faces with small punctures, with a needle, in various shapes; then rub into them charcoal, so that the marks become indelible. This custom is still observed in several parts of America. The Indians on the back of Hudson’s Bay, to this day, perform the operation exactly in the same manner, and puncture the skin into various figures; as the natives of New Zealand do at present, and as the ancient Britons did with the herb glastum, or woad; and the Virginians, on the first discovery of that country by the English.

“ The Tungusi use canoes made of birch-bark, distended over ribs of wood, and nicely sewed together. The Canadian, and many other American nations, use no other sort of boats. The paddles of the Tungusi are broad at each end; those of the people near Cook’s river, and of Oonalascha, are of the same form.

“ In burying of the dead, many of the American nations place the corpse at full length, after preparing it according to their customs; others place it in a sitting posture, and lay by it the most valuable cloathing, wampum, and other matters. The Tartars did the same: and both people agree in covering the whole with earth, so as to form a tumulus, barrow, or carnedd.

“ Some of the American nations hang their dead in trees. Certain of the Tungusi observe a similar custom.

“ We can draw some analogy from dress: conveniency in that article must have been consulted on both continents, and originally the materials must have been the same, the skins of birds and beasts. It is singular, that the conic bonnet of the Chinese should be found among the people of Nootka. I cannot give into the notion, that the Chinese contributed to the population of the New World; but we can readily admit, that a shipwreck might furnish those Americans with a pattern for that part of the dress.

“ In respect to the features and form of the human body, almost every tribe found along the western coast has some similitude to the Tartar nations, and still retain the little eyes, small noses, high cheeks, and broad faces. They vary in size, from the lusty Calmucs to the little Nogaïans. The internal Americans, such as the Five Indian nations, who are tall of body, robust in make, and of oblong faces, are derived  
from

from a variety among the Tartars themselves. The fine race of Tschutski seem to be the stock from which those Americans are derived. The Tschutski, again, from that fine race of Tartars the Kabardinski, or inhabitants of Kabarda.

“ But about Prince William’s Sound begins a race chiefly distinguished by their dress, their canoes, and their instruments of the chase, from the tribes to the south of them. Here commences the Esquimaux people, or the race known by that name in the high latitudes of the eastern side of the continent. They may be divided into two varieties. At this place they are of the largest size. As they advance northward they decrease in height, till they dwindle into the dwarfish tribes which occupy some of the coasts of the Icy Sea, and the maritime parts of Hudson’s Bay, of Greenland, and Terra de Labrador. The famous Japanese map places some islands seemingly within the Straits of Behring, on which is bestowed the title of *Ya Zue*, or the Kingdom of the Dwarfs. Does not this in some manner authenticate the chart, and give us reason to suppose that America was not unknown to the Japanese; and that they had (as is mentioned by Kämpfer and Charlevoix) made voyages of discovery, and according to the last, actually wintered on the continent? That they might have met with the Esquimaux is very probable; whom, in comparison of themselves, they might justly distinguish by the name of *dwarfs*. The reason of their low stature is very obvious: these dwell in a most severe climate, amidst penury of food; the former in one much more favourable, abundant in provisions; circumstances that tend to prevent the degeneracy of the human frame. At the island of Oonalascha, a dialect of the Esquimaux is in use, which was continued along the whole coast from thence northward.”

The continent which stocked America with the human race poured in the brute creation through the same passage. Very few quadrupeds continued in the peninsula of Kamtschatka; Mr. Pennant enumerates only 25 which are inhabitants of land: all the rest persisted in their migration, and fixed their residence in the New World. Seventeen of the Kamtschatkan quadrupeds are found in America: others are common only to Siberia or Tartary, having, for unknown causes, entirely evacuated Kamtschatka, and divided themselves between America and the parts of Asia above cited. Multitudes again have deserted the Old World even to an individual, and fixed their seats at distances most remote from the spot from which they took their departure; from mount Ararat, the resting place of the ark, in a central part of the Old World, and excellently adapted for the dispersion of the animal creation to all its parts. We need not be startled (says Mr. Pennant) at the vast journeys



journeys many of the quadrupeds took to arrive at their present seats. Might not numbers of species have found a convenient abode in the vast Alps of Asia, instead of wandering to the Cordilleras of Chili? or might not others have been contented with the boundless plains of Tartary, instead of travelling thousands of miles to the extensive flats of Pampas?—To endeavour to elucidate common difficulties is certainly a trouble worthy of the philosopher and of the divine; not to attempt it would be a criminal indolence, a neglect to

“ Vindicate the ways of God to man.”

But there are multitudes of points beyond the human ability to explain, and yet are truths undeniable: the facts are indisputable, notwithstanding the causes are concealed. In such cases, faith must be called in to our relief. It would certainly be the height of folly to deny to that Being who broke open the great fountains of the deep to effect the deluge—and afterwards, to compel the dispersion of mankind to people the globe, directed the confusion of languages—powers inferior in their nature to these. After these wondrous proofs of Omnipotency, it will be absurd to deny the possibility of infusing instinct into the brute creation. *Deus est anima brutorum*; “ God himself is the soul of brutes:” His pleasure must have determined their will, and directed several species, and even the whole genera, by impulse irresistible, to move by slow progression to their destined regions. But for that, the Lama and the Pacos might still have inhabited the heights of Armenia and some more neighbouring Alps, instead of labouring to gain the distant Peruvian Andes; the whole genus of armadillos, slow of foot, would never have quitted the torrid zone of the Old World for that of the New; and the whole tribe of monkeys would have gamboled together in the forests of India, instead of dividing their residence between the shades of Indostan and the deep forests of the Brasils. Lions and tigers might have infested the hot parts of the New World, as the first do the deserts of Africa, and the last the provinces of Asia; or the pantherine animals of South America might have remained additional scourges with the savage beasts of those ancient continents. The Old World would have been overstocked with animals; the New remained an unanimated waste! or both have contained an equal portion of every beast of the earth. Let it not be objected, that animals bred in a southern climate, after the descent of their parents from the ark, would be unable to bear the frost and snow of the rigorous north, before they reached South America, the place of their final destination. It must be considered, that the migration must have been the work of ages; that in the course of their progress each

No. III. X generation.

generation grew hardened to the climate it had reached ; and that after their arrival in America they would again be gradually accustomed to warmer and warmer climates, in their removal from north to south, as they had in the reverse, or from south to north. Part of the tigers still inhabit the eternal snows of Ararat, and multitudes of the very same species live, but with exalted rage, beneath the line, in the burning soil of Borneo or Sumatra ; but neither lions or tigers ever migrated into the New World. A few of the first are found in India and Persia, but they are found in numbers only in Africa. The tiger extends as far north as western Tartary, in lat 40. 50. but never has reached Africa."

In fine, the conjectures of the learned respecting the vicinity of the Old and New, are now, by the discoveries of our great navigators, lost in conviction ; and, in the place of imaginary hypotheses, the real place of migration is uncontrovertibly pointed out. Some (from a passage in Plato) have extended over the Atlantic, from the straits of Gibraltar to the coast of North and South America, an island equal in size to the continents of Asia and Africa ; over which had passed, as over a bridge, from the latter, men and animals ; wool-headed negroes, and lions and tigers, none of which ever existed in the New World. A mighty sea arose, and in one day and night engulfed this stupendous tract, and with it every being which had not completed its migration into America. The whole negro race, and almost every quadruped, now inhabitants of Africa, perished in this critical day. Five only are to be found at present in America ; and of these only one, the bear, in South America : Not a single custom, common to the natives of Africa and America, to evince a common origin. Of the quadrupeds, the bear, stag, wolf, fox, and weasel, are the only animals which we can pronounce with certainty to be found on each continent. The stag, fox, and weasel, have made also no farther progress in Africa than the north ; but on the same continent the wolf is spread over every part, yet is unknown in South America, as are the fox and weasel. In Africa and South America the bear is very local, being met with only in the north of the first, and on the Andes in the last. Some cause unknown arrested its progress in Africa, and impelled the migration of a few into the Chilian Alps, and induced them to leave unoccupied the vast tract from North America to the lofty Cordilleras.

Allusions have often been made to some remains on the continent of America, of a more polished and cultivated people, when compared with the tribes which possessed it on its first discovery by Europeans. Mr. Barton, in his *Observations on some parts of Natural History*, Part I. has collected the scattered hints of Kalm, Carver, and some others, and has added

added a plan of a regular work, which has been discovered on the banks of the Muskingum, near its junction with the Ohio. These remains are principally stone-walls, large mounds of earth, and a combination of these mounds with the walls, suspected to have been fortifications. In some places the ditches and the fortrefs are said to have been plainly seen; in others, furrows, as if the land had been ploughed.

The mounds of earth are of two kinds: they are artificial tumuli, designed as repositories for the dead; or they are of a greater size, for the purpose of defending the adjacent country; and with this view they are artificially constructed, or advantage is taken of the natural eminences, to raise them into a fortification.

The remains near the banks of the Muskingum, are situated about one mile above the junction of that river with the Ohio, and 160 miles below Fort Pitt. They consist of a number of walls and other elevations, of ditches, &c. altogether occupying a space of ground about 300 perches in length, and from about 150 to 25 or 20 in breadth. The town, as it has been called, is a large level, encompassed by walls, nearly in the form of a square, the sides of which are from 96 to 86 perches in length. These walls are, in general, about 10 feet in height above the level on which they stand, and about 20 feet in diameter at the base, but at the top they are much narrower; they are at present overgrown with vegetables of different kinds, and, among others, with trees of several feet diameter. The chafms, or opening in the walls, were probably intended for gate-ways: they are three in number at each side, besides the smaller openings in the angles. Within the walls there are three elevations, each about six feet in height, with regular ascents to them: these elevations considerably resemble some of the eminences already mentioned, which have been discovered near the river Mississippi. This author's opinion is, That the Tolticas, or some other Mexican nation, were the people to whom the mounts and fortifications, which he has described, owe their existence; and that those people were probably the descendants of the Danes. The former part of this conjecture is thought probable, from the similarity of the Mexican mounts and fortifications described by the Abbé Clavigero, and other authors, to those described by our author; and from the tradition of the Mexicans, that they came from the north-west: for, if we can rely on the testimony of late travellers, fortifications similar to those mentioned by Mr. Barton have been discovered as far to the north as Lake Pepin; and we find them, as we approach to the south, even as low as the coasts of Florida. The second part of our author's conjecture appears not so well supported.

**PRODUCTIONS.** This vast country produces most of the metals, minerals, plants, fruits, trees, and wood, to be met with in the other parts of the world, and many of them in greater quantities and high perfection. The gold and silver of America have supplied Europe with such immense quantities of those valuable metals, that they are become vastly more common; so that the gold and silver of Europe now bears little proportion to the high price set upon them before the discovery of America.

It also produces diamonds, pearls, emeralds, amethysts and other valuable stones, which, by being brought into Europe, have contributed likewise to lower their value. To these, which are chiefly the production of Spanish America, may be added a great number of other commodities, which, though of less price, are of much greater use; and many of them make the ornament and wealth of the British empire in this part of the world. Of these are the plentiful supplies of cochineal, indigo, anatto, logwood, brazil, fustic, pimento, lignum vitæ, rice, ginger, cocoa, or the chocolate nut, sugar, cotton, tobacco, banillas, redwood, the balsams of Tolu, Peru, and Chili, that valuable article in medicine the Jesuit's bark, mechoacan, saffraas, sarsaparilla, cassia, tamarinds, hides, furs, ambergrease, and a great variety of woods, roots, and plants; to which, before the discovery of America, we were either strangers, or forced to buy at an extravagant rate from Asia and Africa, through the hands of the Venetians and Genoese, who then engrossed the trade of the eastern world.

On this continent there grows also a variety of excellent fruits; as pine-apples, pomegranates, citrons, lemons, oranges, malicats, cherries, pears, apples, figs, grapes, great numbers of culinary, medicinal, and other herbs, roots, and plants, with many exotic productions which are nourished in as great perfection as in their native soil.

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Having given a summary account of America in general; of its first discovery by Columbus, its extent, rivers, mountains, &c. of the Aborigines, and of the first peopling this continent, we shall next turn our attention to the *Discovery and Settlement of NORTH AMERICA.*









*A*  
**General Map**  
OF  
**NORTH AMERICA**  
DRAWN FROM THE BEST SURVEYS  
By J. Rufsell,  
1794.

- References to the United States.
- |                       |                     |
|-----------------------|---------------------|
| I Vermont             | VIII New Jersey     |
| II New Hampshire      | IX Delaware         |
| III Massachusetts Bay | X Maryland          |
| IV Connecticut        | XI Virginia         |
| V Rhode Island        | XII Kentucky        |
| VI New York           | XIII North Carolina |
| VII Pennsylvania      | XIV South Carolina  |
|                       | XV Georgia          |



A SUMMARY ACCOUNT OF THE FIRST  
DISCOVERIES AND SETTLEMENTS  
OF  
NORTH AMERICA.

ARRANGED IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER.

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**N**ORTH AMERICA was discovered in the reign of Henry VII. a period when the Arts and Sciences had made very considerable progress in Europe. Many of the first adventurers were men of genius and learning, and were careful to preserve authentic records of such of their proceedings as would be interesting to posterity. These records afford ample documents for American historians. Perhaps no people on the globe can trace the history of their origin and progress with so much precision as the inhabitants of North America; particularly that part of them who inhabit the territory of the United States.

The fame which Columbus had acquired by his first discoveries on this western continent, spread through Europe and inspired many with the spirit of enterprize. As early as 1496, four years only after the first discovery of America, John Cabot, a Venetian, obtained a commission from Henry VII. to discover unknown lands and annex them to the crown.

In the spring he sailed from England with two ships, carrying with him his three sons. In this voyage, which was intended for China, he fell in with the north side of Terra Labrador, and coasted northerly as far as the 67th degree of latitude.

1497.—The next year he made a second voyage to America with his son Sebastian, who afterwards proceeded in the discoveries which his father had begun. On the 24th of June he discovered Bonavista, on the north-east side of Newfoundland. Before his return he traversed the coast from Davis's Straits to Cape Florida.

1502.—Sebastian Cabot was this year at Newfoundland; and on his return carried three of the natives of that island to Henry VII.

1513.—In the spring of 1513, John Ponce sailed from Porto Rico northerly

northerly and discovered the continent in  $30^{\circ} 8'$  north latitude. He landed in April, a season when the country around was covered with verdure, and in full bloom. This circumstance induced him to call the country *Florida*, which, for many years, was the common name for North and South America.

1516.—In 1516, Sir Sebastian Cabot and Sir Thomas Pert explored the coast as far as Brazil in South America.

This vast extent of country, the coast whereof was thus explored, remained unclaimed and unfettled by any European power, (except by the Spaniards in South America) for almost a century from the time of its discovery.

1524.—It was not till the year 1524 that France attempted discoveries on the American coast. Stimulated by his enterprizing neighbours, Francis I. who possessed a great and active mind, sent John Verrazano, a Florentine, to America, for the purpose of making discoveries. He traversed the coast from latitude  $28^{\circ}$  to  $50^{\circ}$  north. In a second voyage, some time after he was lost.

1525.—The next year Stephen Gomez, the first Spaniard who came upon the American coast for discovery, sailed from Groyn in Spain, to Cuba and Florida, thence northward to Cape Razo, in latitude  $46^{\circ}$  north, in search of a north-west passage to the East Indies.

1534.—In the spring of 1534, by the direction of Francis I. a fleet was fitted out at St. Malo's in France, with design to make discoveries in America. The command of this fleet was given to James Cartier. He arrived at Newfoundland in May of this year. Thence he sailed northerly; and on the day of the festival of St. Lawrence, he found himself in about latitude  $48^{\circ} 30'$  north, in the midst of a broad gulf, which he named St. Lawrence. He gave the same name to the river which empties into it. In this voyage, he sailed as far north as latitude  $51^{\circ}$ , expecting in vain to find a passage to China.

1535.—The next year he sailed up the river St. Lawrence 300 leagues to the great and swift *Fall*. He called the country New France; built a fort in which he spent the winter, and returned in the following spring to France.

1542.—In 1542, Francis la Roche, Lord of Robewell, was sent to Canada, by the French king, with three ships and 200 men, women and children. They wintered here in a fort which they had built, and returned in the spring. About the year 1550, a large number of adventurers sailed for Canada, but were never after heard of. In 1598, the king of France commissioned the Marquis de la Roche to conquer Canada, and other countries not possessed by any Christian prince. We do



not learn however, that la Roche ever attempted to execute his commission, or that any further attempts were made to settle Canada during this century.

1539.—On the 12th of May, 1539, Ferdinand de Soto, with 900 men, besides seamen, sailed from Cuba, having for his object the conquest of Florida. On the 30th of May he arrived at Spirito Santo, from whence he travelled northward 450 leagues from the sea. Here he discovered a river a quarter of a mile wide and 19 fathoms deep, on the bank of which he died and was buried, May 1542, aged 42 years. Alverdo his successor built seven brigantines, and the year following embarked upon the river. In 17 days he proceeded down the river 400 leagues, where he judged it to be 15 leagues wide. From the largeness of the river at that place of his embarkation, he concluded its source must have been at least 400 leagues above, so that the whole length of the river in his opinion must have been more than 800 leagues. As he passed down the river, he found it opened by two mouths into the gulph of Mexico. These circumstances led us to conclude, that this river, so early discovered, was the one which we now call the *Mississippi*.

Jan. 6, 1549. This year king Henry VII. granted a pension for life to Sebastian Cabot, in consideration of the important services he had rendered to the kingdom by his discoveries in America.

1562.—The admiral of France, Chatillon, early in this year, sent out a fleet under the command of John Ribalt. He arrived at Cape Francis on the coast of Florida, near which, on the first of May, he discovered and entered a river which he called May river. It is more than probable that river is the same which we now call St. Mary's, which forms a part of the southern boundary of the United States. As he coasted northward he discovered eight other rivers, one of which he called Port Royal, and sailed up it several leagues. On one of the rivers he built a fort and called it *Charles*, in which he left a colony under the direction of Captain Albert. The severity of Albert's measures excited a mutiny, in which, to the ruin of the colony, he was slain. Two years after, Chatillon sent Rene Laudonier, with three ships, to Florida. In June he arrived at the River *May*, on which he built a fort, and, in honour to his king, Charles IX. he called it *Carolina*.

In August, this year, Capt. Ribalt arrived at Florida the second time, with a fleet of seven vessels to recruit the colony, which, two years before, he had left under the direction of the unfortunate Capt. Albert.

The September following, Pedro Melandes, with six Spanish ships, pursued

pursued Ribalt up the river on which he had settled, and overpowering him in numbers, cruelly massacred him and his whole company. Melandes, having in this way taken possession of the country, built three forts, and left them garrisoned with 1200 soldiers. Laudonier and his colony on May River, receiving information of the fate of Ribalt, took the alarm and escaped to France.

1567.—A fleet of three ships was this year sent from France to Florida, under the command of Dominique de Gourges. The object of this expedition was to dispossess the Spaniards of that part of Florida which they had cruelly and unjustifiably seized three years before. He arrived on the coast of Florida, April 1568, and soon after made a successful attack upon the forts. The recent cruelty of Melandes and his company excited revenge in the breast of Gourges, and roused the unjustifiable principle of retaliation. He took the forts; put most of the Spaniards to the sword; and having burned and demolished all their fortresses, returned to France. During the fifty years next after this event, the French enterprized no settlements in America.

1576.—Captain Frobisher was sent this year to find out a north-west passage to the East-Indies. The first land which he made on the coast was a Cape, which, in honour to the queen, he called *Queen Elizabeth's Foreland*. In coasting northerly he discovered the straits which bear his name. He prosecuted his search for a passage into the western ocean till he was prevented by the ice, and then returned to England.

1579.—In 1579, Sir Humphrey Gilbert obtained a patent from queen Elizabeth, for lands not yet possessed by any Christian prince, provided he would take possession within six years. With this encouragement he sailed for America, and on the first of August, 1583, anchored in Conception Bay. Afterward he discovered and took possession of St. John's Harbour, and the country south. In pursuing his discoveries he lost one of his ships on the shoals of Sablon, and on his return home, a storm overtook him, in which he was unfortunately lost, and the intended settlement was prevented.

1584.—This year two patents were granted by queen Elizabeth, one to Adrian Gilbert, (Feb. 6.) the other to Sir Walter Raleigh, for lands not possessed by any Christian prince. By the direction of Sir Walter, two ships were fitted and sent out, under the command of Philip Amidas, and Arthur Barlow. In July they arrived on the coast, and anchored in a harbour seven leagues west of the Roanoke. On the 13th of July, they, in a formal manner, took possession of the country, and, in honour of their virgin queen Elizabeth, they called it *Virginia*. Till this time

time the country was known by the general name of *Florida*. After this VIRGINIA became the common name for all North America.

1585.—The next year, Sir Walter Raleigh sent Sir Richard Greenville to America, with seven ships. He arrived at Wococon Harbour in June. Having stationed a colony of more than a hundred people at Roanoke, under the direction of Capt. Ralph Lane, he coasted north-easterly as far as Chesapeake Bay, and returned to England.

The colony under Capt. Lane endured extreme hardships, and must have perished, had not Sir Francis Drake fortunately returned to Virginia, and carried them to England, after having made several conquests for the queen in the West Indies and other places.

A fortnight after, Sir Richard Greenville arrived with new recruits; and, although he did not find the colony which he had before left, and knew not but they had perished, he had the rashness to leave 50 men at the same place.

1587.—The year following, Sir Walter sent another company to Virginia, under Governor White, with a charter and twelve assistants. In July he arrived at Roanoke. Not one of the second company remained. He determined, however, to risk a third colony. Accordingly he left 115 people at the old settlement, and returned to England.

This year (Aug. 13) *Manteo* was baptized in Virginia. He was the first native Indian who received that ordinance in that part of America. On the 18th of August, Mrs. Dare was delivered of a daughter, whom she called VIRGINIA. She was the first English child that was born in North America.

1590.—In the year 1590, Governor White came over to Virginia with supplies and recruits for his colony; but, to his great grief, not a man was to be found. They had all miserably famished with hunger, or were massacred by the Indians.

1602.—In the spring of this year, Bartholomew Gosnold, with 32 persons, made a voyage to North Virginia, and discovered and gave names to Cape Cod, Martha's Vineyard, and Elizabeth Islands, and to Dover Cliff. Elizabeth Island was the place which they fixed for their first settlement. But the courage of those who were to have tarried, failing, they all went on board and returned to England. All the attempts to settle this continent which were made by the Dutch, French, and English, from its discovery to the present time, a period of 110 years, proved ineffectual. The Spaniards only, of all the European nations, had been successful. There is no account of there having been one European family, at this time, in all the vast extent of coast from Florida to Greenland.



1603.—Martin Pring and William Brown were this year sent by Sir Walter Raleigh, with two small vessels, to make discoveries in North Virginia. They came upon the coast, which was broken with a multitude of islands, in latitude  $43^{\circ} 30'$  north. They coasted southward to Cape Cod Bay; thence round the Cape into a commodious harbour in latitude  $41^{\circ} 25'$ , where they went ashore and tarried seven weeks, during which time they loaded one of their vessels with sassafras, and returned to England.

Bartholomew Gilbert, in a Voyage to South Virginia, in search of the third colony which had been left there by Governor White in 1587, having touched at several of the West-India Islands, landed near Chesapeake Bay, where, in a skirmish with the Indians, he and four of his men were unfortunately slain. The rest, without any further search for the colony, returned to England.

France, being at this time in a state of tranquility in consequence of the edict of Nantz in favour of the Protestants, passed by Henry IV. (April 1598) and of the peace with Philip king of Spain and Portugal, was induced to pursue her discoveries in America. Accordingly the king signed a patent in favour of De Mons, (1603) of all the country from the 40th to the 46th degrees of north latitude under the name 1604 of *Acadia*. The next year De Mons ranged the coast from St. Lawrence to Cape Sable, and so round to Cape Cod.

1605.—In May 1605, George's Island and Pentecost Harbour were discovered by Capt. George Weymouth. In May he entered a large river in latitude  $43^{\circ} 20'$ , (variation  $11^{\circ} 15'$  west) which Mr. Prince, in his Chronology, supposes must have been Sagadahok; but from the latitude, it was more probably the Piscataqua. Capt. Weymouth carried with him to England five of the natives.

1606.—In the Spring of this year, James I. by patent, divided Virginia into two colonies. The *southern* included all lands between the 34th and 41st degrees of north latitude. This was styled the *first colony*, under the name of South Virginia, and was granted to the London Company. The *northern*, called the second colony, and known by the general name of North Virginia, included all lands between the 38th and 45th degrees north latitude, and was granted to the Plymouth Company. Each of these colonies had a council of thirteen men to govern them. To prevent disputes about territory, the colonies were prohibited to plant within an hundred miles of each other. There appears to be an inconsistency in these grants, as the lands lying between the 38th and 41st degrees, are covered by both patents.

Both



Both the London and Plymouth companies enterprized settlements within the limits of their respective grants. With what success will now be mentioned.

Mr. Piercy, brother of the Earl of Northumberland, in the service of the London Company, went over with a colony to Virginia, and discovered Powhatan, now James River. In the mean time the Plymouth Company sent Capt. Henry Challons in a vessel of fifty-five tons to plant a colony in North Virginia; but in his voyage he was taken by a Spanish fleet and carried to Spain.

1607.—The London Company this spring, sent Capt. Christopher April 26. Newport with three vessels to South Virginia. On the 26th of April he entered Chesapeake Bay, and landed, and soon after gave to the most southern point, the name of *Cape Henry*, which it still May 13. retains. Having elected Mr. Edward Wingfield president for the year, they next day landed all their men, and began a settlement on James river, at a place which they called James-June 22. Town. This is the first town that was settled by the English in North America. The June following Capt. Newport sailed for England, leaving with the president one hundred and four persons.

August 22.—In August died Capt. Bartholomew Gosnold, the first projector of this settlement, and one of the council. The following winter James-Town was burnt.

During this time the Plymouth company fitted out two ships under the command of Admiral Rawley Gilbert. They sailed for North Virginia on the 31st of May, with one hundred planters, and Capt. George Popham for their president. They arrived in August, and settled about nine or ten leagues to the southward of the mouth of Sagadahok river. A great part of the colony, however, disheartened by the severity of the winter, returned to England in December, leaving their president, Capt. Popham, with only forty-five men.

It was in the fall of this year that the famous Mr. Robinson, with part of his congregation, who afterwards settled at Plymouth in New-England, removed from the North of England to Holland, to avoid the cruelties of persecution, and for the sake of enjoying “purity of worship and liberty of conscience.”

This year a small company of merchants at Dieppe and St. Malo's, founded Quebec, or rather the colony which they sent, built a few huts there, which did not take the form of a town until the reign of Lewis XIV.

1608.—The Sagadahok colony suffered incredible hardships after the departure of their friends in December. In the depth of winter, which

was extremely cold, their store-house caught fire and was consumed, with most of their provisions and lodgings. Their misfortunes were increased, soon after, by the death of their president. Rawley Gilbert was appointed to succeed him.

Lord Chief Justice Popham made every exertion to keep this colony alive by repeatedly sending them supplies. But the circumstance of his death, which happened this year, together with that of president Gilbert's being called to England to settle his affairs, broke up the colony, and they all returned with him to England.

The unfavourable reports which these first unfortunate adventurers propagated respecting the country, prevented any further attempts to settle North Virginia for several years after.

1609.—The London company, last year, sent Capt. Nelson, with two ships and one hundred and twenty persons, to James-Town; and this year Capt. John Smith, afterwards president, arrived on the coast of South Virginia, and by sailing up a number of the rivers, discovered the interior country. In September, Capt. Newport arrived with seventy persons, which increased the colony to two hundred souls.

Mr. Robinson and his congregation, who had settled at Amsterdam, removed this year to Leyden, where they remained more than eleven years, till a part of them came over to New England.

The council for South Virginia having resigned their old commission, requested and obtained a new one; in consequence of which they appointed Sir Thomas West, Lord De la War, general of the colony; Sir Thomas Gates, his lieutenant; Sir George Somers, admiral; Sir Thomas Dale, high marshal; Sir Ferdinand Wainman, general of the horse, and Capt. Newport, vice admiral.

June 8.—In June, Sir T. Gates, admiral Newport. and Sir George Somers, with seven ships and a ketch and pinnace, having five hundred souls on board, men, women, and children, sailed from Fal-

mouth for South Virginia. In crossing the Bahama Gulf, on the 24th of July, the fleet was overtaken by a violent storm, and separated. Four days after, Sir George Somers ran his vessel ashore on one of the Bermudas Islands, which, from this circumstance, have been called the Somer Islands. The people on board, one hundred and fifty in number, all got safe on shore, and there remained until the following May. The remainder of the fleet arrived at Virginia in August. The colony was now increased to five hundred men. Capt. Smith, then president, a little before the arrival of the fleet, had been very badly burnt by means of some powder which had accidentally caught fire. This unfortunate circumstance, together with the opposition he

met with from those who had lately arrived, induced him to leave the colony and return to England, which he accordingly did the last of September. Francis West, his successor in office, soon followed him, and George Piercy was elected president.

1610.—The year following, the South Virginia or London company, sealed a patent to Lord De la War, constituting him Governor and Captain General of South Virginia. He soon after embarked for America with Capt. Argal and one hundred and fifty men, in three ships.

The unfortunate people, who, the year before, had been shipwrecked on the Bermudas Islands, had employed themselves during the winter and spring, under the direction of Sir Thomas Gates, Sir George Somers, and admiral Newport, in building a sloop to transport themselves to the continent. They embarked for Virginia on the 10th of May, with about one hundred and fifty persons on board, leaving two of their men behind, who chose to stay, and landed at James-Town on the 23d of the same month. Finding the colony, which at the time of Capt. Smith's departure, consisted of five hundred souls, now reduced to sixty, and those few in a distressed and wretched situation, they with one voice resolved to return to England; and for this purpose, on the 7th of June, the whole colony repaired on board their vessels, broke up their settlement, and sailed down the river on their way to their native country.

Fortunately, Lord De la War, who had embarked for James-Town the March before, met them the day after they sailed, and persuaded them to return with him to James-Town, where they arrived and landed the 10th of June. The government of the colony of right devolved upon Lord De la War. From this time we may date the effectual settlement of Virginia. Its history, from this period, will be given in its proper place.

As early as the year 1608, or 1609, Henry Hudson, an Englishman, under a commission from the king his master, discovered Long Island, New York, and the river which still bears his name, and afterwards sold the country, or rather his right, to the Dutch. Their writers, however, contend that Hudson was sent out by the East-India company in 1609, to discover a north-west passage to China; and that having first discovered Delaware Bay, he came and penetrated Hudson's river as far as latitude 43°. It is said however that there was a sale, and that the English objected to it, though for some time they neglected to oppose the Dutch settlement of the country.

1610.—In 1610, Hudson sailed again to this country, then called by the Dutch *New Netherlands*, and four years after, the States-General granted



granted a patent to sundry merchants for an exclusive trade on the  
 1614 North river, who the same year, (1614) built a fort on the west  
 side near Albany. From this time we may date the settlement  
 of New York, the history of which will be annexed to a description of  
 the State.

Conception Bay, on the Island of Newfoundland, was settled in the  
 year 1610, by about forty planters under governor John Guy, to whom  
 king James had given a patent of incorporation.

Champlain, a Frenchman, had begun a settlement at Quebec, 1608,  
 St. Croix, Mount Mansel, and Port Royal were settled about the same  
 time. These settlements remained undisturbed till 1613, when the Vir-  
 ginians, hearing that the French had settled within their limits, sent  
 Captain Argal to dislodge them. For this purpose he sailed to Saga-  
 dahoc, took their forts at Mount Mansel, St. Croix, and Port Royal,  
 with their vessels, ordnance, cattle, and provisions, and carried them to  
 James-Town in Virginia. Quebec was left in possession of the French.

1614.—This year Capt. John Smith, with two ships and forty-five  
 men and boys, made a voyage to North Virginia, to make experiments  
 upon a gold and copper mine. His orders were, to fish and trade with  
 the natives, if he should fail in his expectations with regard to the mine.  
 To facilitate this business, he took with him *Tantum*, an Indian, per-  
 haps one that Capt. Weymouth carried to England in 1605. In April  
 he reached the Island Monahigan in latitude 43° 30'. Here Capt.  
 Smith was directed to stay and keep possession, with ten men, for the  
 purpose of making a trial of the whaling business, but being disappointed  
 in this, he built seven boats, in which thirty-seven men made a very  
 successful fishing voyage. In the mean time the captain himself, with  
 eight men only, in a small boat, coasted from Penobscot to Sagadahoc,  
 Acocisco, Passataquack, Tragabizanda, now called Cape Ann, thence to  
 Acomak, where he skirmished with some Indians; thence to Cape Cod  
 where he set his Indian, *Tantum*, ashore and left him, and returned to  
 Monahigan. In this voyage he found two French ships in the Bay of  
 Massachusetts, who had come there six weeks before, and during that  
 time, had been trading very advantageously with the Indians. It was  
 conjectured that there was, at this time, three thousand Indians upon  
 the Massachusetts Islands.

In July, Capt. Smith embarked for England in one of the vessels,  
 leaving the other under the command of Capt. Thomas Hunt, to equip  
 for a voyage to Spain. After Capt. Smith's departure, Hunt perfidi-  
 ciously allured twenty Indians (one of whom was *Squanto*, afterwards so  
 serviceable to the English) to come on board his ship at Patuxit, and



seven more at Naufit, and carried them to the Island of Malaga, where he sold them for twenty pounds each, to be slaves for life. This conduct, which fixes an indelible stigma upon the character of Hunt, excited in the breasts of the Indians such an inveterate hatred of the English, as that, for many years after, all commercial intercourse with them was rendered exceedingly dangerous.

Capt. Smith arrived at London the last of August, where he drew a map of the country, and called it New-England. From this time North-Virginia assumed the name of *New-England*, and the name *Virginia* was confined to the southern colony.

Between the years 1614 and 1620, several attempts were made by the Plymouth Company to settle New-England, but by various means they were all rendered ineffectual. During this time, however, an advantageous trade was carried on with the natives.

1617.—In the year 1617, Mr. Robinson and his congregation, influenced by several weighty reasons, meditated a removal to America.

Various difficulties intervened to prevent the success of their design, until the year 1620, when a part of Mr. Robinson's congregation came over and settled at Plymouth. At this time commenced the settlement of New-England.

The particulars relating to the first emigrations to this northern part of America; the progress of its settlement, &c. will be given in the history of New-England, to which the reader is referred.

In order to preserve the chronological order in which the several colonies, not grown into independent states, were first settled, it will be necessary that I should just mention, that the next year after the settlement of Plymouth, Captain John Mason obtained of the Plymouth council a grant of a part of the present state of New-Hampshire. Two years after, under the authority of this grant, a small colony fixed down near the mouth of Piscataqua river. From this period we may date the settlement of New-Hampshire.

1627.—In 1627, a colony of Swedes and Fins came over and landed at Cape Henlopen; and afterwards purchased of the Indians the land from Cape Henlopen to the Falls of Delaware on both sides the river, which they called *New Swedeland Stream*. On this river they built several forts, and made settlements.

1628. On the 19th of March, 1628, the council for New-England sold to Sir Henry Roswell, and five others, a large tract of land, lying round Massachusetts Bay. The June following, Capt. John Endicott, with his wife and company, came over and settled at Naumkeag, now called Salem. This was the first settlement which was made in Massachusetts,

chusetts Bay. Plymouth, indeed, which is now included in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, was settled eight years before, but at this time it was a separate colony, under a distinct government, and continued so until the second charter of Massachusetts was granted by William and Mary in 1691; by which Plymouth, the Province of Main and Sagadahok were annexed to Massachusetts.

*June 13, 1633.*—In the reign of Charles the First, Lord Baltimore, a Roman Catholic, applied for and obtained a grant of a tract of land upon Chesapeek Bay, about one hundred and forty miles long and one hundred and thirty broad. Soon after this, in consequence of the rigor of the laws of England against the Roman Catholics, Lord Baltimore, with a number of his persecuted brethren, came over and settled it, and in honour of queen Henrietta Maria, they called it Maryland.

The first grant of Connecticut was made by Robert, Earl of Warwick, president of the council of Plymouth, to Lord Say and Seal, to 1631 Lord Brook and others, in the year 1631. In consequence of several smaller grants made afterwards by the patentees to particular persons, Mr. Fenwick made a settlement at the Mouth of Connecticut river, and called it *Saybrook*. Four years after a number 1635 of people from Massachusetts Bay came and began settlements at Hartford, Wethersfield, and Windfor on Connecticut river. Thus commenced the English settlement of Connecticut.

Rhode Island was first settled in consequence of religious persecution. Mr. Roger Williams, who was among those who early came over to Massachusetts, not agreeing with some of his brethren in sentiment, was very unjustifiably banished the colony, and went with twelve 1635 others, his adherents, and settled at Providence in 1635. From this beginning arose the colony, now state of Rhode-Island.

1664.—On the 20th of March, 1664, Charles the Second granted to the Duke of York, what is now called New-Jersey, then a part of a large tract of country by the name of New Netherland. Some parts of New-Jersey were settled by the Dutch as early as about 1615.

1662.—In the year 1662, Charles the Second granted to Edward, Earl of Clarendon, and seven others, almost the whole territory of the three Southern states, North and South Carolinas and Georgia. 1664 Two years after he granted a second charter, enlarging their boundaries. The proprietors, by virtue of authority vested in them by their charter, engaged Mr. Locke to frame a system of laws for the government of their intended colony. Notwithstanding these 1669 preparations, no effectual settlement was made until the year 1669, (though one was attempted in 1667) when Governor Sayle came over

over with a colony, and fixed on a neck of land between Ashley and Cooper Rivers. Thus commenced the settlement of Carolina, which then included the whole territory between the 29th and 36th 30' degrees, north latitude, together with the Bahama Islands, lying between latitude 22° and 27° north.

1681.—The Royal charter for Pennsylvania was granted to William Penn on the 4th of March, 1681. The first colony came over the 1682 next year, and settled under the proprietor, William Penn, who acted as Governor from October 1682 to August 1684. The first assembly in the province of Pennsylvania was held at Chester, on the 4th of December, 1682. Thus William Penn, a Quaker, justly celebrated as a great and good man, had the honour of laying the foundation of the present populous and very flourishing State of Pennsylvania.

The proprietary government in Carolina, was attended with so many inconveniences, and occasioned such violent dissensions among the settlers, that the Parliament of Great-Britain was induced to take the province under their immediate care. The proprietors (except Lord Granville) accepted of £.22,500 sterling, from the crown for the property and jurisdiction. This agreement was ratified by act of 1729 Parliament in 1729. A clause in this act reserved to Lord Granville his eighth share of the property and arrears of quit-rents, which continued legally vested in his family till the revolution in 1776. Lord Granville's share made a part of the present state of North-Carolina. About the year 1729, the extensive territory belonging to the proprietors, was divided into North and South Carolina. They remained separate royal governments until they became independent States.

For the relief of poor indigent people of Great Britain and Ireland, and for the security of Carolina, a project was formed for planting a colony between the rivers Savannah and Alatamaha. Accordingly application being made to king George the Second, he issued letters 1732 patent, bearing date June 9th, 1732, for legally carrying into execution the benevolent plan. In honour of the king, who greatly encouraged the plan, they called the new province Georgia. Twenty-one trustees were appointed to conduct the affairs relating to the settlement of the province. The November following, one hundred and fifteen persons, one of whom was General Oglethorpe, embarked for Georgia, where they arrived, and landed at Yamacraw. In exploring the country, they found an elevated pleasant spot of ground on the bank of a navigable river, upon which they marked out a town, and from the



Indian name of the river which passed by it, called it Savannah. From this period we may date the settlement of Georgia.

The country now called Kentucky, was well known to the Indian traders many years before its settlement. They gave a description of it to Lewis Evans, who published his first map of it as early as the 1752 year 1752. James Macbride, with some others, explored this 1754 country in 1754. Col. Daniel Boon visited it in 1769.

1773.—Four years after Col. Boon and his family, with five other families, who were joined by forty men from Powle's valley, began the settlement of Kentucky\*, which is now one of the most growing colonies, perhaps, in the world, and was erected into an independent state, by act of Congress, December 6th, 1790, and received into the Union, June 1st, 1792.

The tract of country called Vermont, before the late war, was claimed both by New-York and New-Hampshire. When hostilities commenced between Great-Britain and her Colonies, the inhabitants considering themselves as in a state of nature, as to civil government, and not within any legal jurisdiction, associated and formed for themselves a constitution of government. Under this constitution, they have ever since continued to exercise all the powers of an independent State. Vermont was not admitted into union with the other states till March 4, 1791, yet we may venture to date her political existence as a 1777 separate government, from the year 1777, because, since that time, Vermont has, to all intents and purposes, been a sovereign and independent State. The first settlement in this state was made at Bennington as early as about 1764.

The extensive tract of country lying north-west of the Ohio River, within the limits of the United States, was erected into a separate *temporary* government by an Ordinance of Congress passed the 13th of 1787 July, 1787.

Thus we have given a summary view of the first discoveries and progressive settlement of North America in their chronological order. The following recapitulation will comprehend the whole in one view.

\* This settlement was made in violation of the Treaty, in 1768, at Fort Stanwix, which expressly stipulates, that this tract of country should be reserved for the western nations to hunt upon, until they and the crown of England should otherwise agree. This has been one great cause of the enmity of those Indian nations to the Virginians.



<i>Names of places.</i>	<i>When settled.</i>	<i>By whom.</i>
Quebec,	1608	By the French.
Virginia,	June 10, 1610	By Lord De la War.
Newfoundland,	June, 1610	By Governor John Guy.
New-York,	about 1614	By the Dutch.
New-Jersey,		
Plymouth,	1620	{ By part of Mr. Robinson's congregation.
New-Hampshire,	1623	{ By a small English colony near the mouth of Piscataqua river.
Delaware,	1627	By the Swedes and Fins.
Pennsylvania,		
Massachusetts Bay,	1628	By Capt. John Endicott and company.
Maryland,	1633	{ By Lord Baltimore, with a colony of Roman Catholics.
Connecticut,	1635	{ By Mr. Fenwick, at Saybrook, near the mouth of Connecticut river.
Rhode-Island,	1635	{ By Mr. Roger Williams and his persecuted brethren.
New-Jersey,	1664	{ Granted to the Duke of York by Charles II. and made a distinct government, and settled some time before this by the English.
South Carolina,	1669	By Governor Sayle.
Pennsylvania,	1682	{ By William Penn, with a colony of Quakers.
North-Carolina,	about 1728	{ Erected into a separate government, settled before by the English.
Georgia,	1732	By General Oglethorpe.
Kentucky,	1773	By Col. Daniel Boon.
Vermont,	about 1764	{ By emigrants from Connecticut and other parts of New England.
Territory N. W. } of Ohio river,	1787	By the Ohio and other companies.

The above dates are from the periods, when the first permanent settlements were made.

# NORTH AMERICA.

## BOUNDARIES AND EXTENT.

**N**ORTH AMERICA comprehends all that part of the western continent which lies north of the Isthmus of Darien, extending north and south from about the 10th degree north latitude to the north pole; and east and west from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean, between the 45th and 165th degrees west longitude from London. Beyond the 70th degree N. Lat. few discoveries have been made. In July 1779, Capt. Cook proceeded as far as lat. 71°, when he came to a solid body of ice extending from continent to continent.

**BAYS, SOUNDS, STRAITS AND ISLANDS.**—Of these (except those in the United States, which we shall describe under that head) we know little more than their names. Baffin's Bay, lying between the 70th and 80th degrees N. Lat. is the largest and most northern, that has yet been discovered in North America. It opens into the Atlantic ocean through Baffin's and Davis's Straits, between Cape Chidley, on the Labrador coast, and Cape Farewell. It communicates with Hudson's Bay to the south, through a cluster of islands. In this capacious bay or gulph is James Island, the south point of which is called Cape Bedford; and the smaller islands of Waygate and Disko. Davis's Straits separate Greenland from the American continent, and are between Cape Walsingham, on James Island, and South Bay in Greenland, where they are about 60 leagues broad, and extend from the 67th to the 71st degrees of latitude above Disko island. The most southern point of Greenland is called Cape Farewell.

Hudson's Bay took its name from Henry Hudson, who discovered it in 1610. It lies between 51 and 69 degrees of north latitude. The eastern boundary of the Bay is Terra de Labrador; the northern part has a straight coast, facing the bay, guarded with a line of isles innumerable. A vast bay, called the Archiwinnipy Sea, lies within it, and opens into Hudson's Bay, by means of gulph Hazard, through which the Beluga whales pass in great numbers. The entrance of the bay, from the Atlantic ocean, after leaving, to the north, Cape Farewell and Davis's Straits, is between Resolution isles on the north, and Button's isles, on the Labrador coast, to the south, forming the eastern extremity of Hudson's Straits.

The coasts are very high, rocky and rugged at top; in some places precipitous, but sometimes exhibit extensive beaches. The islands of Salisbury, Nottingham, and Digges are very lofty and naked. The depth of water in the middle of the bay is 140 fathoms. From Cape Churchill to the south end of the bay are regular soundings; near the shore, shallow, with muddy or sandy bottom. To the northward of Churchill, the soundings are irregular, the bottom rocky, and in some parts the rocks appear above the surface at low water.

James's Bay lies at the bottom, or most southern part of Hudson's Bay, with which it communicates, and divides New Britain from South Wales. To the northwestward of Hudson's Bay is an extensive chain of lakes, among which is Lake Menichlich, lat.  $61^{\circ}$ , long.  $105^{\circ}$  W. North of this is Lake Dobount, to the northward of which lies the extensive country of the northern Indians. West of these lakes, between the latitudes of 60 and 66 degrees, after passing a large cluster of unnamed lakes, lies the lake or sea Arathapescow, whose southern shores are inhabited by the Arathapescow Indians. North of this, and near the Arctic circle, is Lake Edlande, around which live the Dog ribbed Indians. Further north is Buffaloe lake, near which, is Copper Mine river, in lat.  $72^{\circ}$  N. and long.  $119^{\circ}$  W. of Greenwich. The Copper Mine Indians inhabit this country.

Between Copper Mine river, which, according to Mr. Herne, empties into the Northern sea, where the tide rises 12 or 14 feet, and which in its whole course is encumbered with shoals and falls, and the North-west coast of America, is an extensive tract of unexplored country. As you descend from north to south on the western coast of America, just south of the Arctic circle, you come to Cape Prince of Wales, opposite East Cape on the eastern continent; and here the two continents approach nearest to each other. Proceeding southward you pass Norton Sound, Cape Stephen's, Shoalness, Bristol Bay, Prince William's Sound, Cook's River, Admiralty Bay, and Port Mulgrave, Nootka Sound, &c. From Nootka Sound proceeding south, you pass the unexplored country of New Albion, thence to California, and New Mexico.

# DIVISIONS OF NORTH AMERICA.

THE vast tract of country, bounded west by the Pacific Ocean, south and east by California, New Mexico, and Louisiana—the United States, Canada and the Atlantic Ocean, and extending as far north as the country is habitable (a few scattered English, French, and some other European settlements excepted) is inhabited wholly by various nations and tribes of Indians. The Indians also possess large tracts of country within the Spanish, American and British dominions. Those parts of North America not inhabited by Indians, belong, if we include Greenland, to Denmark, Great Britain, the American States, and Spain. Spain claims East and West Florida, and all west of the Mississippi, and south of the northern boundaries of Louisiana, New Mexico and California. Great Britain claims all the country inhabited by Europeans, lying north and east of the United States, except Greenland, which belongs to Denmark. The remaining part is the territory of the Fifteen United States. The particular Provinces and States, are exhibited in the following table :

## T A B L E.

<i>Belong- ing to.</i>	<i>Countries, Provinces, and States.</i>	<i>Number of Inhabitants.</i>	<i>Chief Towns.</i>
United States of America,	Vermont	85,539	Windsor, Rutland
	New Hampshire	141,885	Portsmouth, Concord
	Massachusetts	387,787	Boston, Salem, Newbury Port
	District of Maine	96,540	Portland, Hallowell
	Rhode Island	68,825	Newport, Providence
	Connecticut	237,946	New Haven, Hartford
	New York	340,120	New York, Albany
	New Jersey	184,139	Trenton, Burlington, Brunswick
	Pennsylvania	434,373	Philadelphia, Lancaster
	Delaware	59,094	Dover, Wilmington, Newcastle
	Maryland	319,728	Annapolis, Baltimore
	Virginia	747,610	Richmond, Petersburg, Norfolk
	Kentucky	73,677	Lexington
	North Carolina	393,751	Newbern, Edenton, Halifax
	South Carolina	249,073	Charleston, Columbia
British Provinces,	Georgia	82,548	Savannah, Augusta
	Territory S. of Ohio	35,691	Abingdon
	Territory N. W. of Ohio		Marietta
	New Britain	unknown	
	Upper Canada	20,000	Kingston, Detroit, Niagara
Denm. Span. Provin.	Lower Canada	130,000	Quebec, Montreal
	Cape Breton I.	1,000	Sidney, Louisburgh
	New Brunswick		Fredericktown
	Nova Scotia	35,000	Halifax
	S. John's Isl. } in 1783	5,000	Charlottetown
	Newfoundland Island	7,000	Placentia, St. John's
	Greenland	10,000	New Herrnhut
	East Florida		Augustine
	West Florida		Penfacola
	Louisiana		New Orleans
	New Mexico		St. Fee
	California		St. Juan
	Mexico, or New Spain		Mexico



# THE UNITED STATES.

## SITUATION AND EXTENT.

Miles.

Degrees.

Length 1250 } Breadth 1040 }	Between {	31° and 46° North Latitude. 8° E. and 24° W. Long. from Philadelphia. 64° and 96° W. Longitude from London.
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## BOUNDARIES.

**B**OUNDED north and east by British America, or the provinces of Upper and Lower Canada, and New Brunswick; southeast, by the Atlantic Ocean; south, by East and West Florida; west, by the river Mississippi.

In the treaty of peace, concluded in 1783, the limits of the American United States are more particularly defined in the words following: "And that all disputes which might arise in future on the subject of the boundaries of the said United States may be prevented, it is hereby agreed and declared, that the following are and shall be their boundaries, viz. From the north-west angle of Nova-Scotia, viz. That angle which is formed by a line drawn due north from the source of St. Croix River to the Highlands, along the said Highlands, which divide those rivers that empty themselves into the river St. Lawrence, from those which fall into the Atlantic Ocean, to the north-westernmost head of Connecticut river; thence down along the middle of that river to the forty-fifth degree of north latitude; from thence by a line due west on the said latitude, until it strikes the river Iroquois or Cataraquy; thence along the middle of the said river into Lake Ontario, through the middle of the said Lake, until it strikes the communication by water between that lake and Lake Erie; thence along the middle of the said communication into Lake Erie, through the middle of the said lake, until it arrives at the water communication between that lake and Lake Huron; thence through the middle of the said lake to the water communication between that lake and Lake Superior; thence through Lake Superior northward of the Isles Royal and Philipeaux to the Long Lake; thence through the middle of the said Long Lake, and the water communication between it and the Lake of the Woods to the said Lake of the Woods; thence through the said lake to the most northwestern point thereof, and from thence, on a due west course, to the River Mississippi; thence by a line to be drawn along the middle of the said River Mississippi, until it shall intersect the northernmost part of the thirty-first degree of north latitude. South, by a line to be drawn due east from the determination of the line last mentioned, in the latitude of thirty-

thirty-one degrees north of the equator, to the middle of the River Apalachicola, or Catahouche; thence along the middle thereof to its junction with the Flint River; thence strait to the head of St. Mary's River; and thence down along the middle of St. Mary's River to the Atlantic Ocean; east, by a line to be drawn along the middle of the River St. Croix, from its mouth in the Bay of Fundy, to its source; and from its source directly north, to the aforesaid Highlands, which divide the rivers that fall into the Atlantic Ocean, from those which fall into the River St. Lawrence, comprehending all islands within twenty leagues of any part of the shores of the United States, and lying between lines to be drawn due east from the points where the aforesaid boundaries between Nova-Scotia on the one part, and East-Florida on the other, shall respectively touch the Bay of Fundy and the Atlantic Ocean, excepting such islands as now are, or heretofore have been, within the limits of the said province of Nova-Scotia."

*The following calculations were made from actual measurement of the best maps, by THOMAS HUTCHINS, geographer to the United States.*

The territory of the United States contains by computation a million of square miles, in which are

640,000,000 of acres

Deduct for water

51,000,000

Acres of land in the United States,

589,000,000

That part of the United States comprehended between the west boundary line of Pennsylvania on the east, the boundary line between Great-Britain and the United States, extending from the river St. Croix to the north-west extremity of the Lake of the woods on the north, the river Mississippi, to the mouth of the Ohio on the west, and the river Ohio on the south to the aforementioned bounds of Pennsylvania, contains by computation about four hundred and eleven thousand square miles, in which are

263,040,000 acres

Deduct for water

43,040,000

To be disposed of by order of Congress, }  
when purchased of the Indians.

220,000,000 of acres.

The whole of this immense extent of unappropriated western territory, containing as above stated, 220,000,000 of acres, and several large tracts south of the Ohio\*, have been, by the cession of some of the

\* Ceded by North Carolina, South Carolina and Georgia, with certain reservation for the Indians and other purposes, as will be mentioned hereafter.







AN  
ACCURATE MAP  
of the  
UNITED STATES  
of  
AMERICA  
according to the Treaty of Peace of  
1783.

95 Degrees West Longitude from London.

London, Published as the Act directs Oct 18, 1794 by H.D. Symonds 37 20 Paternoster Row.



original thirteen states, and by the treaty of peace, transferred to the federal government, and are pledged as a fund for sinking the debt of the United States. Of this territory the Indians now possess a very large proportion. Mr. Jefferson, in his report to Congress, Nov. 8, 1791, describes the boundary line between us and the Indians, as follows: "Beginning at the mouth of the Cayahogana, which falls into the southernmost part of Lake Erie, and running up the river to the portage, between that and the Tuscaroro or N. E. branch of Muskingum; then down the said branch to the forks, at the crossing place above Fort Lawrence; then westwardly, towards the portage of the Great Miami, to the main branch of that river, then down the Miami, to the fork of that river, next below the old fort, which was taken by the French in 1752; thence due west to the river De la Panse, a branch of the Wabash, and down that river to the Wabash. So far the line is precisely determined, and cleared of the claims of the Indians. The tract comprehending the whole country within the above described line, the Wabash, the Ohio, and the western limits of Pennsylvania, contains about 55,000 square miles. How far on the western side of the Wabash, the southern boundary of the Indians has been defined, we know not. It is only understood, in general, that their title to the lower country, between that river and the Illinois, was formerly extinguished by the French, while in their possession.

*Estimate of the number of acres of water, north and westward of the river Ohio, within the territory of the United States.*

	Acres.
In Lake Superior,	21,952,780
Lake of the Woods,	1,133,800
Lake Rain, &c.	165,200
Red Lake,	551,000
Lake Michigan,	10,368,000
Bay Puan,	1,216,000
Lake Huron,	5,009,920
Lake St. Clair,	89,500
Lake Erie, western part,	2,252,800
Sundry small lakes and rivers,	301,000
	<hr/> 43,040,000

*Estimate of the number of acres of water within the Thirteen United States.*

In the lakes as before mentioned	- - -	43,040,000
In Lake Erie, westward of the line extending from the north-west corner of Pennsylvania, due north, to the boundary between the British territory and the United States,	- - -	410,000
In Lake Ontario,	- - -	2,390,000
Lake Champlain,	- - -	500,000
Chesapeek bay,	- - -	1,700,000
Albemarle bay,	- - -	330,000
Delaware bay,	- - -	630,000
All the rivers within the thirteen states, including the Ohio,	- - -	2,000,000
		<hr/> 7,960,000
		<hr/> Total 51,000,000

### LAKES AND RIVERS.

It may in truth be said, that no part of the world is so well watered with springs, rivulets, rivers, and lakes, as the territory of the United States. By means of these various streams and collections of water, the whole country is chequered into islands and peninsulas. The United States, and indeed all parts of North America, seem to have been formed by nature for the most intimate union. The facilities of navigation render the communication between the ports of Georgia and New-Hampshire, far more expeditious and practicable, than between those of Provence and Picardy in France; Cornwall and Caithness, in Great-Britain; or Galicia and Catalonia, in Spain. The canals proposed between Susquehannah, and Delaware, between Pasquetank and Elizabeth rivers, in Virginia, and between the Schuylkill and Susquehannah, will open a communication from the Carolinas to the western countries of Pennsylvania and New-York. The improvements of the Potomak, will give a passage from the southern States, to the western parts of Virginia, Maryland, Pennsylvania, and even to the lakes. From Detroit, to Alexandria, on the Patomak, six hundred and seven miles, are but two carrying places, which together do not exceed the distance of forty miles. The canals of Delaware and Chesapeek will open the communication from South-Carolina to New-Jersey, Delaware, the most populous parts of Pennsylvania, and the midland counties of

New-York. Were these and the proposed canal between Ashley and Cooper rivers in South Carolina, the canals in the northern parts of the state of New York, and those of Massachusetts and New Hampshire all opened, North America would thereby be converted into a cluster of large and fertile islands, communicating with each other with ease and little expence, and in many instances without the uncertainty or danger of the seas.

There is nothing in other parts of the globe which resembles the prodigious chain of lakes in this part of the World. They may properly be termed inland seas of fresh water; and even those of the second or third class in magnitude, are of larger circuit than the greatest lake in the eastern continent. Some of the most northern lakes belonging to the United States, have never been surveyed, or even visited by the white people; of course we have no description of them which can be relied on as accurate. Others have been partially surveyed, and their relative situation determined.—The best account of them which we have been able to procure is as follows:

THE LAKE OF THE WOODS, the most northern in the United States, is so called from the large quantities of wood growing on its banks; such as oaks, pines, firs, spruce, &c. This lake lies nearly east of the south end of Lake Winnepeck, and is supposed to be the source or conductor of one branch of the river Bourbon, if there be such a river. Its length from east to west is said to be about seventy miles, and in some places it is forty miles wide. The Killistnoe Indians encamp on its borders to fish and hunt. This lake is the communication between the Lakes Winnepeck and Bourbon, and Lake Superior.

RAINY OR LONG LAKE lies east of the Lake of the Woods, and is said to be nearly an hundred miles long, and in no part more than twenty miles wide.

Eastward of this lake, lie several small ones, which extend in a string to the great carrying place, and from thence into Lake Superior. Between these little lakes are several carrying places, which render the trade to the north-west difficult, and exceedingly tedious, as it takes two years to make one voyage from Michillimakkinak to these parts.

LAKE SUPERIOR, formerly termed the Upper Lake, from its northern situation, is so called from its magnitude, it being the largest on the continent. It may justly be termed the Caspian of America, and is supposed to be the largest body of fresh water on the globe. According to the French charts it is fifteen hundred miles in circumference. A great part of the coast is bounded by rocks and uneven ground. The water is pure and transparent, and appears, generally, throughout the lake, to lie upon a bed of huge rocks. It has been remarked, in



regard to the waters of this lake, with how much truth I pretend not to say, that although their surface, during the heat of summer, is impregnated with no small degree of warmth, yet on letting down a cup to the depth of about a fathom, the water drawn from thence is cool and refreshing.

The situation of this lake, from the most accurate observations which have yet been made, lies between forty six and fifty degrees of north latitude, and between nine and eighteen degrees of west longitude, from the meridian of Philadelphia.

There are many islands in this lake, two of them have each land enough if proper for cultivation, to form a considerable province; especially Isle Royal, which is not less than an hundred miles long, and in many places forty broad. The natives suppose these islands are the residence of the Great Spirit.

Two very large rivers empty themselves into this lake, on the north and north-east side; one is called the Nipegon, which leads to a tribe of the Chipeways, who inhabit the borders of a lake of the same name, and the other is the Michipicooton river, the source of which is towards James's Bay, from whence there is but a short portage to another river, which empties itself into that bay.

Not far from the Nipegon is a small river, that just before it enters the lake, has a perpendicular fall from the top of a mountain, of more than one hundred feet. It is very narrow, and appears at a distance like a white garter suspended in the air. There are upwards of thirty other rivers, which empty themselves into this lake, some of which are of a considerable size. On the south side of it is a remarkable point or cape of about sixty miles in length, called Point Chegomegan. About a hundred miles west of this cape, a considerable river falls into the lake, the head of which is composed of a great assemblage of small streams. This river is remarkable for the abundance of virgin copper that is found on and near its banks. Many small islands, particularly on the eastern shores, abound with copper ore, lying in beds, with the appearance of copperas. This metal might be easily made a very advantageous article of commerce. This lake abounds with fish, particularly trout and sturgeon; the former weigh from twelve to fifty pounds, and are caught almost any season in the year in great plenty. Storms affect this lake as much as they do the Atlantic Ocean; the waves run as high, and the navigation is equally dangerous. It discharges its waters from the south-east corner through the Straits of St. Marie, which are about forty miles long. Near the upper end of these straits is a rapid, which though it is impossible for canoes to ascend, yet, when conducted by careful pilots, may be descended without danger.

Though

Though Lake Superior is supplied by near forty rivers, many of which are large, yet it does not appear that one tenth part of the waters which are conveyed into it by these rivers, is discharged by the abovementioned strait. Such a superabundance of water can be disposed of only by evaporation\*. The entrance into this lake from the straits of St. Marie, affords one of the most pleasing prospects in the world. On the left may be seen many beautiful little islands, that extend a considerable way before you; and on the right, an agreeable succession of small points of land, that project a little way into the water, and contribute, with the islands, to render this delightful basin calm, and secure from those tempestuous winds, by which the adjoining lake is frequently troubled.

LAKE HURON, into which you enter through the straits of St. Marie is next in magnitude to Lake Superior. It lies between  $43^{\circ} 30'$  and  $46^{\circ} 30'$  of north latitude, and between six and eight degrees west longitude. Its circumference is about one thousand miles. On the north side of this lake is an island one hundred miles in length, and no more than eight miles broad. It is called Manataulin, signifying a place of spirits, and is considered as sacred by the Indians. On the south west part of this lake is Saganaum Bay, about eighty miles in length, and about eighteen or twenty miles broad. Thunder Bay so called from the thunder that is frequently heard there, lies about half

\* That such a superabundance of water should be disposed of by evaporation is no singular circumstance. There are some seas in which there is a pretty just balance between the waters received from rivers, brooks, &c. and the waste by evaporation. Of this the Caspian Sea, in Asia, affords an instance; which, though it receives several large rivers, has no outlet. There are others, to speak in borrowed language, whose expence exceeds their income; and these would soon become bankrupt, were it not for the supplies which they constantly receive from larger collections of water, with which they are connected; such are the Black and Mediterranean seas; into the former of which there is a constant current from the Mediterranean, through the Bosphorus of Thrace; and into the latter, from the Atlantic, through the Straits of Gibraltar. Others again derive more from their tributary streams than they lose by evaporation. These give rise to large rivers. Of this kind are the Dambea in Africa, the Winipiseogee in New Hampshire, Lake Superior, and other waters in North America; and the quantity they discharge, is only the difference between the influx and the evaporation. It is observable, that on the shores the evaporation is much greater than at a distance from them on the ocean. The remarkable cluster of lakes in the middle of North America, of which Lake Superior is one, was doubtless designed, by a divine Providence, to furnish the interior parts of the country with that supply of vapours, without which, like the interior parts of Africa, they must have been a mere desert. It may be thought equally surprising that there should be any water at all discharged from them, as that the quantity should bear so small a proportion to what they receive.

way between Saganaum Bay and the north-west corner of the lake. It is about nine miles across either way. The fish are the same as in Lake Superior. At the north-west corner, this lake communicates with Lake Michigan by the Straits of Michillimackinac.

Many of the Chipeway Indians live scattered around this lake; particularly near Saganaum Bay. On its banks are found amazing quantities of sand cherries.

MICHIGAN LAKE, lies between latitude  $42^{\circ} 10'$  and  $46^{\circ} 30'$  north; and between  $11^{\circ}$  and  $13^{\circ}$  west long. from Philadelphia. Its computed length is 280 miles from north to south; its breadth from sixty to seventy miles. It is navigable for shipping of any burthen; and at the north-eastern part communicates with Lake Huron, by a strait six miles broad, on the south side of which stands fort Michillimackinac, which is the name of the strait. In this lake are several kinds of fish, particularly trout of an excellent quality, weighing from twenty to sixty pounds, and some have been taken in the Straits of Michillimackinac, of ninety pounds. Westward of this lake are large meadows, said to extend to the Mississippi. It receives a number of rivers from the west and east, among which is the river St. Joseph, very rapid and full of Islands; it springs from a number of small lakes, a little to the north-west of the Miami village, and runs north-west into the south-east part of the lake. On the north side of this river is fort St. Joseph, from which there is a road, bearing north of east, to Detroit. The Powtewatamie Indians, who have about two hundred fighting men, inhabit this river opposite fort St. Joseph.

Between Lake Michigan on the west, and Lakes Huron, St. Clair, and the west end of Erie on the east, is a fine tract of country, peninsulated, more than two hundred and fifty miles in length, and from one hundred and fifty to two hundred in breadth. The banks of the lakes, for a few miles inland, are sandy and barren, producing a few pines, shrub oaks, and cedars. Back of this, from either lake, the timber is heavy and good, and the soil luxuriant.

LAKE ST. CLARE, lies about half way between Lake Huron and Lake Erie, and is about ninety miles in circumference. It receives the waters of the three great lakes, Superior, Michigan and Huron, and discharges them through the river or strait, called Detroit, into Lake Erie. This lake is of an oval form, and navigable for large vessels. The fort of Detroit is situated on the western bank of the river of the same name, about nine miles below lake St. Clair. The settlements are extended on both sides of the strait or river for many miles towards Lake Erie, and some few above the fort.







*The falls of St. Anthony in the River Mississippi.*

LAKE ERIE, is situated between forty-one and forty-three degrees of north latitude, and between  $3^{\circ} 40'$  and  $8^{\circ}$  degrees west longitude. It is nearly three hundred miles long, from east to west, and about forty in its broadest part. A point of land projects from the north side into this lake, several miles, towards the south-east, called Long Point. The islands and banks towards the west end of the lake are so infested with rattlesnakes, as to render it dangerous to land on them. The lake is covered near the banks of the islands with the large pond-lily; the leaves of which lie on the surface of the water so thick, as to cover it entirely for many acres together; on these, in the summer season, lie myriads of water-snakes basking in the sun. Of the venomous serpents which infest this lake, the hissing snake is the most remarkable. It is about eighteen inches long, small and speckled. When you approach it, it flattens itself in a moment, and its spots, which are of various colours, become visibly brighter through rage; at the same time it blows from its mouth, with great force, a subtil wind, said to be of a nauseous smell; and if drawn in with the breath of the unwary traveller, will infallibly bring on a decline, that in a few months must prove mortal. No remedy has yet been found to counteract its baneful influence. This lake is of a more dangerous navigation than any of the others, on account of the craggy rocks which project into the water, in a perpendicular direction; many miles together from the northern shore, affording no shelter from storms.

Presque Isle is on the south-east shore of this lake, about lat.  $42^{\circ} 10'$ . From this to Fort Le Beuf, on French Creek, is a portage of fifty-one miles and a half. About twenty miles north-east of this another portage of nine miles and a quarter, between Chatoughque Creek, emptying into Lake Erie, and Chatoughque Lake, a water of Allegany river.

Fort Erie stands on the northern shore of Lake Erie, and the west bank of Niagara river, in Upper Canada. This lake at its north-east end, communicates with Lake Ontario by the river Niagara, which runs from south to north, about thirty miles, including its windings, embracing in its course Grand Island and receiving Tonewanto Creek, from the east. About the middle of this river are the celebrated falls of Niagara, which are reckoned one of the greatest natural curiosities in the world. The waters which supply the river Niagara rise near two thousand miles to the north-west, and passing through the lakes Superior, Michigan, Huron and Erie, receiving in their course, constant accumulations; at length, with astonishing grandeur, rush down a stupendous precipice of one hundred and fifty feet perpendicular; and in a strong rapid, that extends to the distance of eight or nine miles below, fall near as much more: the river then loses itself in Lake Ontario. The



noise of these falls, in a clear day and fair wind, may be heard between forty and fifty miles. When the water strikes the bottom, its spray rises a great height in the air, occasioning a thick cloud of vapours, on which the sun, when it shines, paints a beautiful rainbow. Fort Niagara is situated on the east side of Niagara river, at its entrance into Lake Ontario. This fort, and that at Detroit, contrary to the treaty of 1783, are yet in possession of the British Government.

LAKE ONTARIO, is situated between forty-three and forty-five degrees north latitude, and between one and five west longitude. Its form is nearly oval. Its greatest length is from south-west to north-east, and in circumference about six hundred miles. It abounds with fish of an excellent flavour, among which are the Oswego bass, weighing three or four pounds. It receives the waters of the Chenessee river from the south, and of Onondago, at Fort Oswego, from the south-east, by which it communicates, through Lake Oneida and Wood Creek, with Mohawk river. On the north-east, this lake discharges itself through the river Cataraqui, which at Montreal, takes the name of St. Lawrence, into the Atlantic Ocean.

About eight miles from the west end of Lake Ontario is a curious cavern, which the Messisaugas Indians call *Manito' ah wigwam*, or *house of the Devil*. The mountains which border on the lake, at this place, break off abruptly, and form a precipice of two hundred feet perpendicular descent; at the bottom of which the cavern begins. The first opening is large enough for three men conveniently to walk abreast. It continues of this bigness for seventy yards in a horizontal direction. Then it falls almost perpendicularly fifty yards, which may be descended by irregular steps from one to four feet distant from each other.. It then continues forty yards horizontally, at the end of which is another perpendicular descent, down which there are no steps. The cold here is intense. In spring and autumn, there are, once in about a week, explosions from this cavern, which shake the ground for sixteen miles round.

LAKE CHAMPLAIN, is next in size to Lake Ontario, and lies nearly east from it, forming a part of the dividing line between the state of New York and the state of Vermont. It took its name from a French governor, whose name was Champlain, who was drowned in it. It was before called Corlaer's Lake. It is about eighty miles in length from north to south, and in its broadest part, fourteen. It is well stored with fish, and the land on its borders and on the banks of its rivers, is good. Crown Point and Ticonderoga are situated on the banks of this lake, near the southern part of it.

LAKE GEORGE, lies to the southward of Champlain, and is a most clear, beautiful collection of water, about thirty-six miles long and from one to seven miles wide. It embosoms more than two hundred islands, some say three hundred and sixty-five; very few of which are any thing more than barren rock, covered with heath, and a few cedar, spruce, and hemlock trees, and shrubs, that harbor abundance of rattlesnakes. On each side it is skirted by prodigious mountains, from which large quantities of red cedar are every year carried to New York, for ship timber. The lake is full of fishes, and some of the best kind; among which are the black Oswego bass and large speckled trouts. The water of this lake is about one hundred feet above the level of Lake Champlain. The portage between the two lakes is one mile and a half; but with a small expence might be reduced to sixty yards; and with one or two locks might be made navigable through for batteaux. This lake, in the French charts, is called Lake St. Sacrament; and it is said that the Roman Catholics, in former times, were at the pains to procure this water for sacramental uses in all their Churches in Canada: hence probably it derived its name.

The MISSISSIPPI RIVER, is the great reservoir of the waters of the Ohio and Illinois, and their numerous branches from the east; and of the Missouri and other rivers from the west. These mighty streams united, are borne down with increasing impetuosity, through vast forests and meadows, and discharged into the Gulf of Mexico. The great length and uncommon depth of this river, and the excessive muddiness and salubrious quality of its waters, after its junction with the Missouri, are very singular\*. The direction of the channel is so crooked, that from New Orleans to the mouth of the Ohio, a distance which does not exceed four hundred and sixty miles in a strait line, is about eight hundred and fifty-six by water. It may be shortened at least two hundred and fifty miles, by cutting across eight or ten necks of land, some of which are not thirty yards wide. Charlevoix relates that in the year 1722, at Point Coupeé, or Cut Point, the river made a great turn, and some Canadians, by deepening the channel of a small brook, diverted the waters of the river into it. The impetuosity of the stream was so violent, and

\* In a half pint tumbler of this water has been found a sediment of one inch. It is, notwithstanding, extremely wholesome and well tasted, and very cool in the hottest seasons of the year; the rowers, who are there employed, drink of it when they are in the strongest perspiration, and never receive any bad effects from it. The inhabitants of New Orleans use no other water than that of this river, which, by being kept in jars, becomes perfectly clear.

the soil, of so rich and loose a quality, that, in a short time, the point was entirely cut through, and travellers saved fourteen leagues of their voyage. The old bed has no water in it, the times of the periodical overflowings only excepted. The new channel has been since founded with a line of thirty fathoms, without finding a bottom. Several other points, of great extent, have, in like manner, been since cut off, and the river diverted into new channels.

In the spring floods the Mississippi is very high, and the current so strong, that it is with difficulty it can be ascended; but this disadvantage is in part compensated by eddies or counter-currents, which are found in the bends close to the banks of the river, which runs with nearly equal velocity against the stream, and assist the ascending boats. The current at this season descends at the rate of about five miles an hour. In autumn, when the waters are low, it does not run faster than two miles, but it is rapid in such parts of the river, as have clusters of islands, shoals, and sand-banks. The circumference of many of these shoals being several miles, the voyage is longer, and in some parts more dangerous than in the spring. The merchandize necessary for the commerce of the upper settlements on or near the Mississippi, is conveyed in the spring and autumn in batteaux, rowed by eighteen or twenty men, and carrying about forty tons. From New Orleans to the Illinois, the voyage is commonly performed in eight or ten weeks. A prodigious number of islands, some of which are of great extent, intersperse this mighty river. Its depth increases as you ascend it. Its waters, after overflowing its banks below the river Ibberville on the east, and the river Rouge on the west, never return within them again, there being many outlets or streams, by which they are conducted into the bay of Mexico, more especially on the west side of the Mississippi, dividing the country into numerous islands. These singularities distinguish it from every other known river in the world. Below the Ibberville, the land begins to be very low on both sides of the river across the country, and gradually declines as it approaches nearer to the sea. The island of New Orleans, and the lands opposite, are to all appearance of no long date; for in digging ever so little below the surface, you find water and great quantities of trees. The many beaches and breakers, as well inlets, which have arisen out of the channel within the last half century, at the several mouths of the river, are convincing proofs that this peninsula was wholly formed in the same manner. And it is certain that when La Salle sailed down the Mississippi to the sea, the opening of that river was very different from what it is at present.



The nearer you approach to the sea, this truth becomes more striking. The bars that cross most of these small channels opened by the current, have been multiplied by means of the trees carried down with the streams; one of which stopped by its roots or branches in a shallow part, is sufficient to obstruct the passage of thousands more, and to fix them at the same place. Astonishing collections of trees are daily seen in passing between the Balize and the Missouri. No human force being sufficient for removing them, the mud carried down by the river serves to bind and cement them together. They are gradually covered, and every inundation not only extends their length and breadth, but adds another layer to their height. In less than ten years time, canes, shrubs, and aquatic timber grow on them, and form points and islands, which forcibly shift the bed of the river.

Nothing can be asserted with certainty, respecting the length of this river. Its source is not known, but supposed to be upwards of three thousand miles from the sea, as the river runs. We only know, that from St. Anthony's falls, in lat.  $45^{\circ}$ , it glides with a pleasant, clear current, and receives many large and very extensive tributary streams before its junction with the Missouri, without greatly increasing the breadth of the Mississippi, though they do its depth and rapidity. The muddy waters of the Missouri discolour the lower part of the river, till it empties itself into the bay of Mexico. The Missouri is a longer, broader, and deeper river than the Mississippi, and affords a more extensive navigation; it is, in fact, the principal river, contributing more to the common stream than does the Mississippi. It has been ascended by French traders about twelve or thirteen hundred miles, and from the depth of water, and breadth of the river at that distance, it appeared to be navigable many miles further.

From the Missouri river, to nearly opposite the Ohio, the western bank of the Mississippi, is, some few places excepted, higher than the eastern. From Mine au fer, to the Ibberville, the eastern bank is higher than the western, on which there is not a single discernible rising or eminence for the distance of seven hundred and fifty miles. From the Ibberville to the sea there are no eminences on either side, though the eastern bank appears rather the highest of the two, as far as the English turn. Thence the banks gradually diminish in height to the mouths of the river, where they are not more than two or three feet higher than the common surface of the water.

The slime which the annual floods of the river Mississippi leaves on the surface of the adjacent shores, may be compared with that of the Nile,

which deposits a similar manure, and for many centuries past has insured the fertility of Egypt. When its banks shall have been cultivated as the excellency of its soil and temperature of the climate deserve, its population will equal that of any other part of the world. The trade, wealth, and power of America, may, at some future period, depend, and perhaps centre, upon the Mississippi. This also resembles the Nile in the number of its mouths, all issuing into a sea, that may be compared to the Mediterranean, which is bounded on the north and south by the two continents of Europe and Africa, as the Mexican Bay is by North and South America. The smaller mouths of this river might be easily stopped up, by means of those floating trees with which the river, during the floods, is always covered. The whole force of the channel being united, the only opening then left would probably grow deep, and the bar be removed.

Whoever for a moment will cast his eye over a map of the town of New Orleans, and the immense country around it, and view its advantageous situation, must be convinced that it, or some place near it, must, in process of time, become one of the greatest marts in the world.

The falls of St. Anthony, in about latitude  $45^{\circ}$ , received their name from Father Lewis Hennipin, a French missionary, who travelled into these parts about the year one thousand six hundred and eighty, and was the first European ever seen by the natives. The whole river, which is more than two hundred and fifty yards wide, falls perpendicularly about thirty feet, and forms a most pleasing cataract. The rapids below, in the space of three hundred yards, render the descent considerably greater; so that when viewed at a distance, they appear to be much higher than they really are. In the middle of the falls is a small island, about forty feet broad, and somewhat longer, on which grow a few cragged hemlock and spruce trees; and about half way between this island and the eastern shore is a rock, lying at the very edge of the fall, in an oblique position, five or six feet broad, and thirty or forty long. These falls are peculiarly situated, as they are approachable without the least obstruction from any intervening hill or precipice, which cannot be said of any other considerable fall, perhaps, in the world. The country around is exceedingly beautiful. It is not an uninterrupted plain where the eye finds no relief, but composed of many gentle ascents, which in the spring and summer are covered with verdure, and interspersed with little groves, that give a pleasing variety to the prospect.

A little distance below the falls, is a small island of about an acre and an half, on which grow a great number of oak trees, almost all the  
branches

branches of which, able to bear the weight, are, in the proper season of the year, loaded with eagles nests. Their instinctive wisdom has taught them to choose this place, as it is secure, on account of the rapids above from the attacks either of man or beast.

From the best accounts that can be obtained from the Indians, we learn that the four most capital rivers on the continent of North America, viz. the St. Lawrence, the Mississippi, the river Bourbon, and the Oregon, or the river of the West, have their sources in the same neighbourhood. The waters of the three former, are said to be within thirty miles of each other; the latter is rather farther west.

This shews that these parts are the highest lands in North America; and it is an instance not to be paralleled in the other three quarters of the globe, that four rivers of such magnitude should take their rise together, and each, after running separate courses, discharge their waters into different oceans, at the distance of more than two thousand miles from their sources. For in their passage from this spot to the bay of St. Lawrence, east; to the bay of Mexico, south; to Hudson's Bay, north; and to the bay at the straits of Annian, west; where the river Oregon is supposed to empty itself, each of them traverses upwards of two thousand miles.

The Ohio is the most beautiful river on earth: its current gentle, waters clear, and bosom smooth and unbroken by rocks and rapids, a single instance only excepted. It is one quarter of a mile wide at Fort Pitt: five hundred yards at the mouth of the Great Kanaway: twelve hundred yards at Louisville; and the rapids, half a mile, in some few places below Louisville: but its general breadth does not exceed six hundred yards. In some places its width is not four hundred, and in one place particularly, far below the rapids, it is less than three hundred. Its breadth in no one place exceeds twelve hundred yards, and at its junction with the Mississippi, neither river is more than nine hundred yards wide.

Its length, as measured according to its meanders by Capt. Hutchins, is as follows:

	Miles.		Miles.
1 From Fort Pitt		9 Muskingum	25 $\frac{1}{2}$
2 To Log's Town	18 $\frac{1}{2}$	10 Little Kanaway	12 $\frac{1}{4}$
3 Big Beaver Creek	10 $\frac{3}{4}$	11 Hockhocking	16
4 Little Beaver Creek	13 $\frac{1}{2}$	12 Great Kanaway	82 $\frac{1}{2}$
5 Yellow Creek	11 $\frac{3}{4}$	13 Guindot	43 $\frac{3}{4}$
6 Two Creeks	21 $\frac{3}{4}$	14 Sandy Creek	14 $\frac{1}{2}$
7 Long Reach	53 $\frac{3}{4}$	15 Sioto	48 $\frac{3}{4}$
8 End Long Reach	16 $\frac{1}{2}$		

To



16 To Little Miami	126 $\frac{1}{4}$	23 Buffalo River	64 $\frac{1}{2}$
17 Licking Creek	8	24 Wabash	97 $\frac{1}{4}$
18 Great Miami	26 $\frac{1}{4}$	25 Big Cave	42 $\frac{1}{4}$
19 Big Bones	32 $\frac{1}{2}$	26 Shawanee River	52 $\frac{1}{2}$
20 Kentucky	44 $\frac{1}{4}$	27 Cherokee River	13
21 Rapids	77 $\frac{1}{4}$	28 Massac	11
22 Low Country	155 $\frac{1}{4}$	29 Mississippi	46

In common winter and spring floods, it affords thirty or forty feet water to Louisville, twenty-five or thirty feet to La Tartes's rapids, forty miles above the mouth of the Great Kanaway, and a sufficiency at all times for light batteaux and canoes to Fort Pitt. The rapids are in latitude  $28^{\circ} 8'$ . The inundations of this river begin about the last of March, and subside in July, although they frequently happen in other months, so that boats which carry three hundred barrels of flour, from the Monongahela, or Youhiogany, above Pittsburg, have seldom long to wait for water only. During these floods a first rate man of war may be carried from Louisville to New Orleans, if the sudden turns of the river and the strength of its current will admit a safe steerage; and it is the opinion of Col. Morgan, who has had all the means of information, that a vessel properly built for the sea, to draw 12 feet water, when loaded, and carrying from twelve to sixteen hundred barrels of flour, may be more easily, cheaply, and safely navigated from Pittsburgh to the sea, than those now in use; and that this matter only requires one man of capacity and enterprize to ascertain it. He observes, that a vessel intended to be rigged as a brigantine, snow, or ship, should be double decked, take her masts on deck, and be rowed to the Ibberville, below which are no islands, or to New Orleans, with twenty men, so as to afford reliefs of ten and ten in the night.—Such a vessel, without the use of oars, he says, would float to New Orleans, from Pittsburg, twenty times in twenty-four hours. If this be so, what agreeable prospects are presented to those who have fixed their residence in the western country.

The rapids at Louisville descend about ten feet in a length of a mile and a half. The bed of the river there is a solid rock, and is divided by an island into two branches, the southern of which is about two hundred yards wide, but impassable in dry seasons, about four months in the year. The bed of the northern branch is worn into channels by the constant course of the water, and attrition of the pebble stones carried on with it, so as to be passable for batteaux through the greater

part of the year. Yet it is thought that the southern arm may be the most easily opened for constant navigation. The rise of the waters in these rapids does not exceed twenty or twenty-five feet. The Americans have a fort, situated at the head of the falls. The ground on the south side rises very gradually.

At Fort Pitt the river Ohio loses its name, branching into the Monongahela and Allegany.

The Monongahela is four hundred yards wide at its mouth. From thence is twelve or fifteen miles to the mouth of Yohogany, where it is three hundred yards wide. Thence to Redstone by water is fifty miles, by land thirty. Then to the mouth of Cheat river by water forty miles, by land twenty-eight, the width continuing at three hundred yards, and the navigation good for boats. Thence the width is about two hundred yards to the western fork, fifty miles higher, and the navigation frequently interrupted by rapids; which however with a swell of two or three feet, become very passable for boats. It then admits light boats, except in dry seasons, sixty-five miles further to the head of Tygart's valley, presenting only some small rapids and falls of one or two feet perpendicular, and lessening in its width to twenty yards. The western fork is navigable in the winter ten or fifteen miles towards the northern of the Little Kanaway, and will admit a good waggon road to it. The Yohogany is the principal branch of this river. It passes through the Laurel mountain, about thirty miles from its mouth; is so far, from three hundred to one hundred and fifty yards wide, and the navigation much obstructed in dry weather by rapids and shoals. In its passage through the mountain it makes very great falls, admitting no navigation for ten miles to the Turkey foot. Thence to the great crossing, about twenty miles, it is again navigable, except in dry seasons, and at this place is two hundred yards wide. The sources of this river are divided from those of the Potomak by the Allegany mountains. From the falls, where it intersects the Laurel mountain, to Fort Cumberland, the head of the navigation on the Potomak, is forty miles of very mountainous road. Wills's creek, at the mouth of which was Fort Cumberland, is thirty or forty yards wide, but affords no navigation as yet. Cheat river, another considerable branch of the Monongahela, is two hundred yards wide at its mouth, and one hundred yards at the Dunkard's settlement, fifty miles higher. It is navigable for boats, except in dry seasons. The boundary between Virginia and Pennsylvania crosses it about three or four miles above its mouth.

The Allegany river, with a slight swell, affords navigation for light batteaus to Venango, at the mouth of French creek, where it is two hundred yards wide; and it is practised even to Le Boeuf, from whence there

there is a portage of fifteen miles and a half to Pesque Isle on Lake Erie.

The country watered by the Mississippi and its eastern branches, constitutes five-eighths of the United States; two of which five-eighths are occupied by the Ohio and its waters; the residuary streams, which run into the Gulf of Mexico, the Atlantic, and the St. Lawrence, water the remaining three-eighths.

Before we quit the subject of the western waters, we will take a view of their principal connections with the Atlantic. These are four, the Hudson's river, the Potomak, St. Lawrence, and the Mississippi. Down the last will pass all the heavy commodities. But the navigation through the Gulf of Mexico is so dangerous, and that up the Mississippi so difficult and tedious, that it is thought probable that European merchandize will not be conveyed through that channel. It is most likely that flour, timber, and other heavy articles will be floated on rafts, which will themselves be an article for sale as well as their loading, the navigators returning by land, as at present. There will therefore be a competition between the Hudson, the Potomak, and the St. Lawrence rivers for the residue of the commerce of all the country westward of Lake Erie, on the waters of the lakes, of the Ohio, and upper parts of Mississippi. To go to New-York, that part of the trade which comes from the lakes or their waters must first be brought into Lake Erie. Between Lake Superior and its waters and Huron are the rapids of St. Marie, which will permit boats to pass, but not larger vessels. Lakes Huron and Michigan afford communication with Lake Erie by vessels of eight feet draught. That part of the trade which comes from the waters of the Mississippi must pass from them through some portage into the waters of the lakes. The portage from the Illinois river into a water of Michigan is of one mile only. From the Wabash, Miami, Muskingum, or Allegany, are portages into the waters of Lake Erie, of from one to fifteen miles. When the commodities are brought into, and have passed through Lake Erie, there is between that and Ontario an interruption by the falls of Niagara, where the portage is of eight miles; and between Ontario and the Hudson's river are portages of the falls of Orondago, a little above Oswego, of a quarter of a mile; from Wood creek to the Mohawks river two miles; at the little falls of the Mohawks river half a mile, and from Schenectady to Albany sixteen miles. Besides the increase of expence occasioned by frequent change of carriage, there is an increased risk of pillage produced by committing merchandize to a greater number of hands successively. The Potomak offers itself under the following circumstance. For the trade of the lakes and their waters westward of Lake Erie, when it shall have



have entered that lake, it must coast along its southern shore, on account of the number and excellence of its harbours, the northern, though the shortest, having few harbours, and these unsafe. Having reached Cayahoga, to proceed on to New-York it will have eight hundred and twenty-five miles, and five portages: whereas it is but four hundred and twenty-five miles to Alexandria, its emporium on the Potomak, if it turns into the Cayahoga, and passes through that, Bigbeaver, Ohio, Yahogany, or Monongalia and Cheat, and Potomak, and there are but two portages; the first of which between Cayahoga and Beaver may be removed by uniting the sources of these waters, which are lakes in the neighbourhood of each other, and in a champaign country; the other from the waters of Ohio to the Potomak will be from fifteen to forty miles, according to the trouble which shall be taken to approach the two navigations. For the trade of the Ohio, or that which shall come into it from its own waters or the Mississippi, it is nearer through the Potomak to Alexandria than to New-York, by five hundred and eighty miles, and it is interrupted by one portage only. There is another circumstance of difference too. The lakes themselves never freeze, but the communications between them freeze, and the Hudson's river is itself shut up by the ice three months in the year: whereas the channel to the Chesapeake leads directly into a warmer climate. The southern parts of it very rarely freeze at all, and whenever the northern do, it is so near the sources of the rivers, that the frequent floods to which they are there liable break up the ice immediately, so that vessels may pass through the whole winter, subject only to accidental and short delays. Add to all this, that in case of a war with their neighbours of Canada, or the Indians, the route to New-York becomes a frontier through almost its whole length, and all commerce through it, ceases from that moment. But the channel to New-York is already known to practice; whereas the upper waters of the Ohio and the Potomak, and the great falls of the latter, are yet to be cleared of their fixed obstructions.

The rout by St. Lawrence is well known to be attended with many advantages, and some disadvantages. But there is a fifth rout, which the enlightened and enterprising Pennsylvanians contemplate, which, if effected, will be the easiest, cheapest, and surest passage from the lakes, and the Ohio river; by means of the Susquehannah, and a canal from thence to Philadelphia. The latter part of this plan, viz. the canal between Susquehannah and the Schuylkill rivers, is now actually in execution. Should they accomplish their whole scheme, and they appear confident of success, Philadelphia in all probability will become, in some future period, the largest city that has ever yet existed.

Particular descriptions of the other rivers in the United States, are reserved to be given in the geographical account of the states, through which they respectively flow. One general observation respecting the rivers will, however, be naturally introduced here, and that is, that the entrances into almost all the rivers, inlets and bays, from New-Hampshire to Georgia, are from south-east to north-west.

### BAYS.

The coast of the United States is indented with numerous bays, some of which are equal in size to any in the known world. Beginning at the north-easterly part of the continent, and proceeding south-westerly, you first find the bay or gulf of St. Lawrence, which receives the waters of the river of the same name. Next are Chedabukto and Cebukto Bays, in Nova-Scotia, the latter distinguished by the loss of a French fleet in a former war between France and Great-Britain. The bay of Fundy, between Nova-Scotia and New-Brunswick, is remarkable for its tides, which rise to the height of fifty or sixty feet, and flow so rapidly as to overtake animals which feed upon the shore. Passamaquody, Penobscot, Broad and Casco Bays, lie along the coast of the district of Maine. Massachusetts-Bay spreads eastward of Boston, and is comprehended between Cape Ann on the north, and Cape Cod on the south. The points of Boston harbour are Nahant and Alderton points. Passing by Narraganset and other bays in the state of Rhode-Island, you enter Long-Island Sound, between Montauk-point and the Main. This *Sound*, as it is called, is a kind of inland sea, from three to twenty-five miles broad, and about one hundred and forty miles long, extending the whole length of the island, and dividing it from Connecticut. It communicates with the ocean at both ends of Long-Island, and affords a very safe and convenient inland navigation.

The celebrated strait, called *Hell-Gate*, is near the west end of this sound, about eight miles eastward of New-York city, and is remarkable for its whirlpools, which make a tremendous roaring at certain times of tide. These whirlpools are occasioned by the narrowness and crookedness of the pass, and a bed of rocks which extend quite across it; and not by the meeting of the tides from east to west, as has been conjectured, because they meet at Frogs-point, several miles above. A skilful pilot may with safety conduct a ship of any burden through this strait with the tide, or at still water with a fair wind\*.

\* The following ingenious geological remarks of Dr. Mitchell's, on certain maritim parts of the state of New York, deserve a place in this connection:

Delaware Bay is sixty miles long, from the Cape to the entrance of the river Delaware at Bombay-hook; and so wide in some parts, as that a ship, in the middle of it, cannot be seen from the land. It opens into the Atlantic north-west and south-east, between Cape Henlopen on the right, and Cape May on the left. These Capes are eighteen or twenty miles apart.

The Chesapeake is one of the largest bays in the known world. Its entrance is nearly E. N. E. and S. S. W. between Cape Charles, lat.  $37^{\circ} 12'$ , and Cape Henry lat.  $37^{\circ}$ , in Virginia, it is twelve miles wide, and extends two hundred and seventy miles to the northward, dividing Virginia and Maryland. It is from seven to eighteen miles broad, and generally as much as nine fathoms deep; affording many commodious

“ From the survey of the fossils in these parts of the American coast one becomes convinced, that the principal share of them is GRANITICAL, composed of the same sorts of materials with the highest Alps, Pyrenees, Caucasus, and Andes, and like them destitute of metals and petrefactions.

The occurrence of no horizontal strata, and the frequency of vertical layers, lead us further to suppose that these are not secondary collections of minerals, but are certainly in a state of primeval arrangement.

The Steatites, Amiantus, Shoerl, Feldspath, Mica, Garnet, Jasper, Sphist, Asbestos, and Quartz, must all be considered as primitive fossils, and by no means of an alluvial nature.

What inference remains now to be drawn from this statement of facts, but that the fashionable opinion of considering these maritime parts of our country as flats, hove up from the deeps by the sea, or brought down from the heights by the rivers, stands unsupported by reason, and contradicted by experience?

A more probable opinion is, that Long Island, and the adjacent continent, were in former days contiguous, or only separated by a small river, and that the strait which now divides them, was formed by successive inroads of the sea from the eastward and westward in the course of ages. This conjecture is supported by the facts which follow, to wit: 1. The fossil bodies on both shores have a near resemblance. 2. The rocks and islands lying between are formed of similar materials. 3. In several places, particularly at White-Stone and Hell-Gate, the distance from land to land is very small. 4. Wherever the shore is not composed of solid rock, there the water continues to make great inroads, and to cause the high banks to tumble down, not only here, but at Moncton, Newton, and elsewhere, at this very day. 5. The rocky piles in the Sound, called Execution, and Stepping-Stones, and those named Hurtleberry Island, Pea Island, Heart Island, and many more that lie up and down, are strong circumstances in favour of this opinion; for from several of them all the earthy matter, as far as the highest tides can reach, has long since been carried away, and from the rest, the sand and gravel continue to be removed by daily attrition; as is the case with the Brothers, Ryker's, Blackwell's, and other islands. 6. There is a tradition among that race of men, who, previous to the Europeans, possessed this tract of country; that at some distant period, in former times, their ancestors could step from rock to rock, and cross this arm of the sea on foot at Hell-Gate.”



harbours, and a safe and easy navigation. It receives the waters of the Susquehannah, Potomak, Rappahannok, York and James river, which are all large and navigable.

### FACE OF THE COUNTRY.

The tract of country belonging to the United States, is happily variegated with plains and mountains, hills and vallies. Some parts are rocky, particularly New-England, the north parts of New York, and New-Jersey, and a broad space, including the several ridges of the long range of mountains which run south-westward through Pennsylvania, Virginia, North-Carolina, and part of Georgia, dividing the waters which flow into the Atlantic, from those which fall into the Mississippi. In the parts, east of the Allegany mountains, in the southern states, the country for several hundred miles in length, and sixty or seventy, and sometimes more, in breadth, is level and entirely free of stone. It has been a question agitated by the curious, whether the extensive tract of low, flat country, which fronts the several states south of New-York, and extends back to the hills, has remained in its present form and situation ever since the flood: or whether it has been made by the particles of earth which have been washed down from the adjacent mountains, and by the accumulation of soil from the decay of vegetable substances; or by earth washed out of the bay of Mexico by the gulf stream, and lodged on the coast; or by the recess of the ocean, occasioned by a change in some other part of the earth. Several phenomena deserve consideration in forming an opinion on this question.

1. It is a fact, well known to every person of observation who has lived in, or travelled through the southern states, that marine shells and other substances which are peculiar to the sea-shore, are almost invariably found by digging eighteen or twenty feet below the surface of the earth. A gentleman of veracity has asserted; that in sinking a well many miles from the sea, he found, at the depth of twenty feet, every appearance of a salt marsh; that is, marsh grass, marsh mud, and brackish water. In all this flat country until you come to the hilly land, wherever you dig a well, you find the water, at a certain depth, fresh and tolerably good; but if you exceed that depth two or three feet, you come to a saltish or brackish water that is scarcely drinkable, and the earth dug up, resembles, in appearance and smell, that which is dug up on the edges of the salt marshes.

2. On and near the margin of the rivers are frequently found sand hills, which appear to have been drifted into ridges by the force of water. At the bottom of some of the banks in the rivers, fifteen or twenty feet below the surface of the earth, are washed out from the solid ground,

logs, branches, and leaves of trees; and the whole bank, from bottom to top, appears streaked with layers of logs, leaves and sand. These appearances are seen far up the rivers, from eighty to one hundred miles from the sea, where, when the rivers are low, the banks are from fifteen to twenty feet high. As you proceed down the rivers toward the sea, the banks decrease in height, but still are formed of layers of sand, leaves and logs, some of which are entirely found, and appear to have been suddenly covered to a considerable depth.

3. It has been observed, that the rivers in the southern States frequently vary their channels; that the swamps and low grounds are constantly filling up; and that the land in many places annually infringes upon the ocean. It is an authenticated fact, that no longer ago than 1771, at Cape Look-out on the coast of North-Carolina, in about latitude  $34^{\circ} 50'$ , there was an excellent harbour, capacious enough to receive an hundred sail of shipping at a time, in a good depth of water: it is now entirely filled up, and is solid ground. Instances of this kind are frequent along the coast.

It is observable, likewise, that there is a gradual descent of about eight hundred feet, by measurement, from the foot of the mountains to the sea board. This descent continues, as is demonstrated by soundings, far into the sea.

4. It is worthy of observation, that the soil on the banks of the rivers is proportionably coarse or fine according to its distance from the mountains. When you first leave the mountains, and for a considerable distance, it is observable, that the soil is coarse, with a large mixture of sand and shining heavy particles. As you proceed toward the sea, the soil is less coarse, and so on; in proportion as you advance, the soil is finer and finer, until, finally, is deposited a soil so fine, that it consolidates into perfect clay; but a clay of a peculiar quality, for a great part of it, has intermixed with it reddish streaks and veins, like a species of *ochre*; brought probably from the *red-lands* which lie up towards the mountains. This clay, when dug up and exposed to the weather, will dissolve into a fine mould, without the least mixture of sand or any gritty substance whatever. Now we know that running waters, when turbid, will deposit, first, the coarsest and heaviest particles, mediately, those of the several intermediate degrees of fineness, and ultimately, those which are the most light and subtle; and such in fact is the general quality of the soil on the banks of the southern rivers.

5. It is a well-known fact, that on the banks of Savannah river, about ninety miles from the sea in a direct line, and one hundred and fifty or two hundred, as the river runs, there is a very remarkable collection of  
oyster

oyster shells of an uncommon size. They run in a north-east and south-west direction, nearly parallel to the sea coast, in three distinct ridges, which together occupy a space of seven miles in breadth. The ridges commence at Savannah river, and have been traced as far south as the northern branches of the Alatamaha river. They are found in such quantities, as that the indigo planters carry them away in large boat loads, for the purpose of making lime water, to be used in the manufacture of indigo. There are thousands and thousands of tons still remaining \*. The question is, how came they here? It cannot be supposed that they were carried by land. Neither is it probable that they were conveyed in canoes, or boats, to such a distance from the place where oysters are now found. The uncivilized natives, agreeable to their roving manner of living, would rather have removed to the sea shore, than have been at such immense labour in procuring oysters. Besides, the difficulties of conveying them would have been insurmountable. They would not only have had a strong current in the river against them, an obstacle which would not have been easily overcome by the Indians, who have ever had a great aversion to labour; but could they have surmounted this difficulty, oysters conveyed such a distance, either by land or water, in so warm a climate, would have spoiled on the passage, and have become useless. The circumstance of these shells being found in such quantities, at so great a distance from the sea, can be rationally accounted for in no other way, than by supposing that the sea shore was formerly near this bed of shells, and that the ocean has since, by the operation of certain causes not yet fully investigated, receded.

\* “ On the Georgia side of the river, about 15 miles below Silver Bluff, the high road crosses a ridge of high-swelling hills of uncommon elevation, and perhaps 70 feet higher than the surface of the river. These hills are from three feet below the common vegetative surface, to the depth of 20 or 30 feet, composed entirely of fossil oyster shells, internally of the colour and consistency of clear white marble: they are of an incredible magnitude, generally 15 or 20 inches in length; from 6 to 8 wide, and from 2 to 4 in thickness, and their hollows sufficient to receive an ordinary man's foot. They appear all to have been opened before the period of petrification; a transmutation they seem evidently to have suffered. They are undoubtedly very ancient, and perhaps antediluvian. The adjacent inhabitants burn them to lime, for building, for which purpose they serve well; and will undoubtedly afford an excellent manure, when their lands require it, these hills now being remarkably fertile. The heaps of shells lie upon a *stratum* of yellowish sand mould, of several feet in depth, upon a foundation of soft white rocks, that has the outward appearance of free-stone, but on strict examination is really a testaceous concrete, or composition of sand and pulverised sea shells. In short, this testaceous rock approaches near in quality and appearance to the Bahama or Bermudian White Rock.”

*Bartram's Travels*, p. 318.



These phenomena, it is presumed, will authorize this conclusion, that a great part of the flat country which spreads easterly of the Allegany mountains, had, in some past period, a superincumbent sea; or rather, that the constant accretion of soil from the various causes before hinted at, has forced it to retire.

### MOUNTAINS.

The tract of country east of Hudson's river, comprehending part of the State of New York, the four New England States, and Vermont, is rough, hilly, and in some parts mountainous. These mountains will be more particularly described under New England. In all parts of the world, and particularly on this western continent, it is observable, that as you depart from the ocean, or from a river, the land gradually rises; and the height of land, in common, is about equally distant from the water on either side. The Andes, in South America, form the height of land between the Atlantic and Pacific oceans. The high lands between the district of Maine and the province of Lower Canada, divide the rivers which fall into the St. Lawrence, north, and into the Atlantic, south. The Green Mountains, in Vermont, divide the waters which flow easterly into Connecticut river, from those which fall westerly into Lake Champlain, Lake George, and Hudson's River.

Between the Atlantic, the Mississippi, and the lakes, runs a long range of mountains, made up of a great number of ridges. These mountains extend north-easterly and south-westerly, nearly parallel to the sea coast, about nine hundred miles in length, and from sixty to one hundred and fifty and two hundred miles in breadth. Mr. Evans observes, with respect to that part of these mountains which he travelled over, viz. in the back part of Pennsylvania, that scarcely one acre in ten is capable of culture. This, however, is not the case in all parts of this range. Numerous tracts of fine arable and grazing land intervene between the ridges. The different ridges which compose this immense range of mountains, have different names in different states.

As you advance from the Atlantic, the first ridge in Pennsylvania, Virginia, and North Carolina, is the Blue Ridge, or South Mountain, which is from one hundred and thirty to two hundred miles from the sea. Between this and the North Mountain spreads a large fertile vale; next lies the Allegany ridge; next beyond this is the Long Ridge, called the Laurel Mountains, in a spur of which, about latitude  $36^{\circ}$ , is a spring of water fifty feet deep, very cold, and it is said, to be as blue as indigo. From these several ridges proceed innumerable nameless branches or spurs.

The

The Kittatinny mountains run through the northern parts of New Jersey and Pennsylvania. All these ridges, except the Allegany, are separated by rivers, which appear to have forced their passages through solid rocks.

The principal ridge is the Allegany, which has been descriptively called the *back-bone* of the United States. The general name for these mountains, taken collectively, seems not yet to have been determined. Mr. Evans calls them the *Endless Mountains*: others have called them the Appalachian Mountains, from a tribe of Indians who live on a river which proceeds from this mountain, called the Appalachicola. But the most common name is the Allegany Mountains, so called, either from the principal ridge of the range, or from their running nearly parallel to the Allegany or Ohio river; which, from its head waters, till it empties into the Mississippi, is known and called by the name of Allegany River, by the Seneca and other tribes of the Six Nations, who once inhabited it. These mountains are not confusedly scattered and broken, rising here and there into high peaks, overtopping each other, but stretch along in uniform ridges, scarcely half a mile high. They spread as you proceed south, and some of them terminate in high perpendicular bluffs. Others gradually subside into a level country, giving rise to the rivers which run southerly into the Gulf of Mexico.

They afford many curious phenomena, from which naturalists have deduced many theories of the earth. Some of them have been whimsical enough; Mr. Evans supposes that the most obvious of the theories which have been formed of the earth is, that it was originally made out of the ruins of another. "Bones and shells which escaped the fate of softer animal substances, we find mixed with the old materials, and elegantly preserved in the loose stones and rocky bases of the highest of these hills." With deference, however, to Mr. Evans's opinion, these appearances have been much more rationally accounted for by supposing the reality of the flood, of which Moses has given us an account. Mr. Evans thinks this too great a miracle to obtain belief. But whether is it a greater miracle for the Creator to alter a globe of earth by a deluge, when made, or to create one new from the ruins of another? The former certainly is not less credible than the latter. "These mountains," says our author, "existed in their present elevated height before the deluge, but not so bare of soil as now." How Mr. Evans came to be so circumstantially acquainted with these pretended facts, is difficult to determine, unless we suppose him to have been an Antediluvian, and to have surveyed them accurately before the convulsions of the deluge; and until we can be fully assured of this, we must be excused in not assenting to

his opinion, and in adhering to the old philosophy of Moses and his advocates. We have every reason to believe that the primitive state of the earth was totally metamorphosed by the first convulsion of nature at the time of the deluge; that *the fountains of the great deep were indeed broken up*, and that the various *strata* of the earth were dissevered, and thrown into every possible degree of confusion and disorder. Hence those vast piles of mountains which lift their craggy cliffs to the clouds, were probably thrown together from the floating ruins of the earth: and this conjecture is remarkably confirmed by the vast number of fossils and other marine *exuviae* which are found imbedded on the tops of mountains, in the interior parts of continents remote from the sea, in all parts of the world hitherto explored. The various circumstances attending these marine bodies leave us to conclude, that they were actually generated, lived, and died in the very beds wherein they are found, and therefore these beds must have originally been at the bottom of the ocean, though now in many instances elevated several miles above its surface. Hence it appears that mountains and continents were not primary productions of nature, but of a very distant period of time from the creation of the world; a time long enough for the *strata* to have acquired their greatest degree of cohesion and hardness; and for the testaceous matter of marine shells to become changed to a stony substance; for in the fissures of the lime-stone and other strata, fragments of the same shell have been frequently found adhering to each side of the cleft, in the very state in which they were originally broken; so that if the several parts were brought together, they would apparently tally with each other exactly. A very considerable time therefore must have elapsed between the chaotic state of the earth and the deluge, which agrees with the account of Moses, who makes it a little upwards of sixteen hundred years. These observations are intended to shew, in one instance out of many others, the agreement between revelation and reason, between the account which Moses gives us of the creation and deluge, and the present appearances of nature.

### SOIL AND VEGETABLE PRODUCTIONS.

In the United States are to be found every species of soil that the earth affords. In one part of them or another, they produce all the various kinds of fruits, grain, pulse, and hortuline plants and roots, which are found in Europe, and have been thence transplanted to America, and besides these, a great variety of native vegetable productions.



The natural history of the American States, particularly of New England, is yet in its infancy. Several ingenious foreigners, skilled in botany, have visited the southern, and some of the middle states, and Canada; and these states have also had ingenious botanists of their own, who have made considerable progress in describing the productions of those parts of America which they have visited; but New England seems not to have engaged the attention either of foreign or American botanists. There never was an attempt to describe botanically, the vegetable productions of the eastern states, till the Rev. Dr. Cutler, of Ipswich, turned his attention to the subject. The result of his first enquiries has been published in the first volume of the "Memoirs of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences." Since that period, the Doctor has paid very particular attention to this, his favourite, study; and the public may shortly expect to be gratified and improved by his botanical descriptions and discoveries.

The productions of the southern states are likewise far from being well described, by any one author, in a work professedly for that purpose; but are mostly intermixed with the productions of other parts of the world; in the large works of European botanists. This renders it difficult to select and to give an accurate and connected account of them. To remedy this inconvenience, and to rescue the republic from the reproach of not having any authentic and scientific account of its natural history, Dr. Cutler, who has already examined nearly all the vegetables of New England, intends, as soon as his leisure will admit, to publish a botanical work, of considerable magnitude, confined principally to the productions of the New England states. Dr. Barton, of Philadelphia, I am informed, is collecting materials for a work of a similar nature, to comprehend the middle and southern states: so that both together will form a complete Natural History of the American States. As far as possible to take advantage of these, as well as of other works of a similar kind, the Natural History of the vegetables, animals, birds, reptiles, insects, fishes, &c. peculiar to the American continent, will be separately considered in the last volume of this Work; to which the reader is referred.

### POPULATION.

According to the census, taken by order of Congress, in 1790, the number of inhabitants in the United States of America, was three millions nine hundred and thirty thousand, nearly. In this number, none of the inhabitants of the territory N. W. of the River Ohio, are included. These added, would undoubtedly have increased the number to three  
millions

millions nine hundred and fifty thousand, at the period the census was taken. The increase since, on supposition that the inhabitants of the United States double once in twenty years, has been about four hundred thousand: so that now, 1794, they are, increased to four millions three hundred and fifty thousand. To these must be added, the vast influx of inhabitants into the States, from the different countries of Europe; with their natural increase; which taken at a moderate calculation will make the number at least five millions of souls.

The American republic is composed of almost all nations, languages, characters, and religions, which Europe can furnish; the greater part, however, are descended from the English; and all may, perhaps with propriety, be distinguishingly denominated Federal Americans.

It has generally been considered as a fact, that, of the human race, more males than females are born into the world. The proportion commonly fixed on, is as thirteen to twelve. Hence an argument has been derived against Polygamy. The larger number of males has been believed to be a wise appointment of Providence, to balance the destruction of the males in war, by sea, and by other occupations more hazardous to life than the domestic employment of the female sex. The following table, formed from the census of the United States, in which the males and females are numbered in different columns, furnishes a new proof of the truth of the common opinion, as it respects the United States\*:

T A B L E.

	Males.	Females.	Excess.	Sex.
Vermont - -	44,763	40,505	4,258 †	Males.
New Hampshire - -	70,937	70,160	777	do.
District of Maine †				
Massachusetts - -	182,742	190,582	7,840	Females.
Rhode Island - -	31,818	32,652	834	do.
Connecticut - -	114,926	117,448	2,522	do.
New York - - -	161,822	152,320	9,502	Males.
New Jersey - -	86,667	83,287	3,380	do.
Pennsylvania - -	217,736	206,263	11,373	do.
Delaware - -	23,926	22,384	1,540	do.

\* Mr. Bruce, in his Travels, affirms, that in that tract of country from the Isthmus of Suez to the Straits of Babelmandel, which contains the three Arabias, the proportion is full *four women to one man*.

† In the columns of the census, in which are noted *all other free persons and slaves*, the males and females are not distinguished, and are therefore not regarded in this table.

‡ The males and females are not distinguished in the district of Maine, in the late census.

	Males.	Females.	Excess.	Sex.
Maryland	107,254	101,395	5,859	Males.
Virginia	227,071	215,046	12,025	do.
Kentucky	32,211	28,922	3,289	do.
North Carolina	147,494	140,710	6,784	do.
South Carolina	73,298	66,880	6,418	do.
Georgia	27,147	25,739	1,408	do.
Territory S. of Ohio	16,548	15,365	1,183	do.

It is remarkable, that the excess in all the States is on the side of males, except in Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Connecticut. In these States the females are considerably the most numerous. This difference is obviously to be ascribed to the large migrations from all these States to Vermont, the northern and western parts of New York, the territory N. W. of Ohio, Kentucky, and Pennsylvania, and some to almost all the southern States. A great proportion of these migrants were males; and while they have served to increase the proportion of males in the States where they have settled, as is strikingly the case in Vermont and Kentucky, to which the migrations have been most numerous, and where the males are to the females nearly as *ten to nine*, they have served to lessen the proportion of males in the States from whence they emigrated.

The number of slaves, in 1790, in all the States, was six hundred ninety-seven thousand six hundred and ninety-seven. The increase of this number since, owing to salutary laws, in several of the States, and the humane exertions of the government in favour of their emancipation and the prevention of any further importation, has happily been small, and will be less in future.

### CHARACTER AND MANNERS.

FEDERAL AMERICANS, collected together from various countries, of ferent habits, formed under different governments, have yet to form their national character, or we may rather say, it is in a forming state. They have not yet existed as a nation long enough for us to form an idea of what will be, in its maturity, its prominent features. Judging, however, from its present promising infancy, we are encouraged to hope, that, at some future period, not far distant, it will, in every point of view, be respectable.

Until the revolution, which was accomplished in 1783, Europeans were strangely ignorant of America and its inhabitants. They concluded, that the new world *must* be inferior to the old. The Count de Buffon supposed, that even the animals in that country were uniformly less than in Europe, and thence concluded that, “on that side the Atlantic there



there is a tendency in nature to belittle her productions." The Abbe Raynal, in a former edition of his works, supposed this *belittling* tendency, or influence, had its effects on the race of whites transplanted from Europe, and thence had the presumption to assert, that "America had not yet produced one good poet, one able mathematician, nor one man of genius, in a single art or science." Had the Abbe been justly informed respecting the Americans, we presume he would not have made an assertion so ungenerous and injurious to their genius and literary character. This assertion drew from Mr. Jefferson the following reply:

"When we shall have existed as a people as long as the Greeks did before they produced a Homer, the Romans a Virgil, the French a Racine and Voltaire, the English a Shakespeare and Milton, should this reproach be still true, we will inquire from what unfriendly causes it has proceeded, that the other countries of Europe and quarters of the earth, shall not have inscribed any name in the roll of poets. In war we have produced a Washington, whose memory will be adored while liberty shall have votaries, whose name will triumph over time, and will in future ages assume its just station among the most celebrated worthies of the world, when that wretched philosophy shall be forgotten, which would arrange him among the degeneracies of nature. In physics we have produced a Franklin, than whom no one of the present age has made more important discoveries, nor has enriched philosophy with more, or more ingenious solutions of the phænomena of nature. We have supposed Mr. Rittenhouse second to no astronomer living: that in genius he must be the first, because he is self-taught. As an artist, he has exhibited as great proofs of mechanical genius as the world has ever produced.—He has not indeed made a world; but he has, by imitation, approached nearer its Maker than any man who has lived from the creation to this day. As in philosophy and war, so in government, in oratory, in painting, in the plastic art, we might shew that America, though but a child of yesterday, has already given hopeful proofs of genius, as well of the nobler kinds, which arouse the best feelings of man, which call him into action, which substantiate his freedom, and conduct him to happiness, as of the subordinate, which serve to amuse him only. We therefore suppose, that this reproach is as unjust as it is unkind; and that, of the geniuses which adorn the present age, America contributes its full share. For comparing it with those countries, where genius is most cultivated, where are the most excellent models for art, and scaffoldings for the attainment of science, as France and England, for instance, we calculate thus: the United States contain three millions of inhabitants, France twenty millions, and the British islands ten. We produce a Washington, a Frank-

lin,

lin, a Ritterhouse. France then should have half a dozen in each of these lines, and Great Britain half that number equally eminent. It may be true that France has; we are but just becoming acquainted with her, and our acquaintance so far gives us high ideas of the genius of her inhabitants. It would be injuring too many of them to name particularly a Voltaire, a Buffon, the constellation of Encyclopedists, the Abbe Raynal, himself, &c. &c. We therefore have reason to believe she can produce her full quota of genius."

The two late important revolutions in America, which have been scarcely exceeded since the memory of man, I mean that of the declaration and establishment of independence, and that of the adoption of a new form of government without bloodshed, have called to historic fame many noble and distinguished characters who might otherwise have slept in oblivion.

But while we exhibit the fair side of the character of the FEDERAL AMERICANS, we would not be thought blind to their faults.

"If there be an object truly ridiculous in nature, it is an American patriot, signing resolutions of independency with one hand, and with the other brandishing a whip over his affrighted slaves."

Much has been written to shew the injustice and iniquity of enslaving the Africans; so much, as to render it unnecessary here to say any thing on that part of the subject. We cannot, however, forbear introducing a few observations respecting the influence of slavery upon policy, morals, and manners. From calculations on the subject, it has been found, that the expence of maintaining a slave, especially if the purchase money be included, is much greater than that of maintaining a free man: this, however, is disputed by some; but suppose the expence in both cases be equal, it is certain that the labour of the free man, influenced by the powerful motive of gain, is, at least, twice as profitable to the employer as that of the slave. Besides, slavery is the bane of industry. It renders labour, among the whites, not only unfashionable, but disreputable. Industry is the offspring of necessity rather than of choice. Slavery precludes this necessity; and indolence, which strikes at the root of all social and political happiness, is the unhappy consequence. These observations, without adding any thing upon the injustice of the practice, shew that slavery is impolitic.

Its influence on manners and morals is equally pernicious. The negro wench, in many instances, are nurses to their mistresses children. The infant babe, as soon as it is born, is delivered to its black nurse, and perhaps seldom or never tastes a drop of its mother's milk. The children, by being brought up, and constantly associating with the negroes, too

often imbibe their low ideas, and vitiated manners and morals, and contract a *negroish* kind of accent and dialect, which they often carry with them through life.

To these I shall add the observations of a native \* of a state which contains a greater number of slaves than any of the others. Although his observations upon the influence of slavery were intended for a particular state, they will apply equally well to all places where this pernicious practice in any considerable degree prevails.

“There must doubtless,” he observes, “be an unhappy influence on the manners of our people, produced by the existence of slavery among us. The whole commerce between master and slave is a perpetual exercise of the most boisterous passions, the most unremitting despotism on the one part, and degrading submissions on the other. Our children see this, and learn to imitate it; for man is an imitative animal. This quality is the germ of all education in him. From his cradle to his grave, he is learning to do what he sees others do. If a parent could find no motive either in his philanthropy or his self-love, for restraining the intemperance of a passion towards his slave, it should always be a sufficient one, that his child is present. But generally it is not sufficient. The parent storms, the child looks on, catches the lineaments of wrath, puts on the same airs in the circle of smaller slaves, gives a loose to his worst of passions, and thus nursed, educated, and daily exercised in tyranny, cannot but be stamped by it with odious peculiarities. The man must be a prodigy who can retain his manners and morals undepraved by such circumstances. And with what execration should the statesman be loaded, who, permitting one half of the citizens thus to trample on the rights of the other, transforms those into despots, and these into enemies; destroys the morals of the one part, and the *amor patriæ* of the other. For if a slave can have a country in this world, it must be any other in preference to that in which he is born to live and labour for another: in which he must lock up the faculties of his nature, contribute, as far as depends on his individual endeavour, to the evanishment of the human race, or entail his own miserable condition on the endless generations proceeding from him. With the morals of the people, their industry also is destroyed. For in a warm climate, no man will labour for himself who can make another labour for him. This is so true, that of the proprietors of slaves a very small proportion indeed are ever seen to labour. And can the liberties of a nation be thought secure when we have removed their only firm basis, a conviction in the minds of

\* Mr. Jefferson.



the people that these liberties are the gift of God? That they are not to be violated but with His wrath? Indeed I tremble for my country when I reflect that God is just: that his justice cannot sleep for ever: that considering numbers, nature, and natural means only, a revolution of the wheel of fortune, an exchange of situation, is among possible events: that it may become probable by supernatural inference!—The Almighty has no attribute which can take side with us in such a contest. But it is impossible to be temperate and to pursue this subject through the various considerations of policy, of morals, of history, natural and civil. We must be contented to hope they will force their way into every one's mind. I think a change already perceptible, since the origin of the present revolution. The spirit of the master is abating, that of the slave rising from the dust, his condition mollifying, the way I hope preparing, under the auspices of Heaven, for a total emancipation, and that this is disposed, in the order of events, to be with the consent of their masters, rather than by their extirpation."

Under the Federal government, from the measures already adopted, we have reason to believe that all slaves in the United States, will in time be emancipated, in a manner most consistent with their own happiness, and the true interest of their proprietors. Whether this will be effected by transporting them back to Africa; or by colonizing them in some part of the American territory, and extending to them their alliance and protection, until they shall have acquired strength sufficient for their own defence; or by incorporation with the whites; or in some other way, remains to be determined.

In the middle and northern States, there are comparatively but few slaves; and of course there is less difficulty in giving them their freedom. In Massachusetts alone, and we mention it to their distinguished honour, there are NONE. Societies for the manumission of slaves have been instituted in Philadelphia New York, and other places, and laws have been enacted, and other measures taken, in the New England States, to accomplish the same purpose. The FRIENDS, commonly call Quakers, have evinced the propriety of their name, by their goodness in originating, and their vigorous exertions in executing, this truly humane and benevolent design.

The English Language is universally spoken in the United States, and in it business is transacted, and the records are kept. It is spoken with great purity, and pronounced with propriety in New England, by persons of education; and, excepting some few corruptions in pronunciation, by all ranks of people. In the middle and southern States, where they have had a great influx of foreigners, the language, in many instances, is corrupted

rupted, especially in pronunciation. Attempts are making to introduce an uniformity of pronunciation throughout the States, which for political, as well as other, reasons, it is hoped will meet the approbation and encouragement of all literary and influential characters.

Intermingled with the Americans, are the Dutch, Scotch, Irish, French, Germans, Swedes, and Jews; all these, except the Scotch and Irish, retain in a greater or less degree, their native language, in which they perform their public worship, converse and transact their business with each other.

The time, however, is anticipated, when all improper distinctions shall be abolished; and when the language, manners, customs, political and religious sentiments of the mixed mass of people who inhabit the United States, shall become so assimilated, as that all nominal distinctions shall be lost in the general and honourable name of AMERICANS.

### GOVERNMENT.

UNTIL the fourth of July, 1776, the present United States were British colonies. On that memorable day, the Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress assembled, made a solemn declaration, in which they assigned their reasons for withdrawing their allegiance from the King of Great Britain. Appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of their intentions, they did, in the name and by the authority of the good people of the colonies, solemnly publish and declare, That these United Colonies were, and of right ought to be, Free and Independent States; that they were absolved from all allegiance to the British crown, and that all political connection between them and Great Britain, was, and ought to be, totally dissolved; and that as Free and Independent States, they had full power to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, establish commerce, and do all other acts and things, which Independent States may of right do. For the support of this declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of divine Providence, the delegates then in Congress, fifty-five in number, mutually pledged to each other their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honour.

At the same time they published articles of Confederation and Perpetual Union between the States, in which they took the title of "The United States of America," and agreed, that each State should retain its sovereignty, freedom, and independence, and every power, jurisdiction, and right, not expressly delegated to Congress by the confederation. By these articles, the Thirteen United States severally entered into a firm league of friendship with each other for their common defence, the se-

curity of their liberties, and their mutual and general welfare, and bound themselves to assist each other, against all force, offered to, or attacks that might be made upon all, or any of them, on account of religion, sovereignty, commerce, or any other pretence whatever. But for the more convenient management of the general interests of the United States, it was determined, that Delegates should be annually appointed, in such manner as the Legislature of each State should direct, to meet in Congress the first Monday in November of every year; with a power reserved to each State to recall its delegates, or any of them, at any time within the year, and to send others in their stead for the remainder of the year. No State was to be represented in Congress by less than two, or more than seven members; and no person could be a delegate for more than three years, in any term of six years, nor was any person, being a delegate, capable of holding any office under the United States, for which he, or any other for his benefit, should receive any salary, fees, or emolument of any kind. In determining questions in Congress, each State was to have one vote. Every State was bound to abide by the determinations of Congress in all questions which were submitted to them by the confederation. The articles of confederation were to be invariably observed by every State, and the Union to be perpetual: nor was any alteration at any time afterwards to be made in any of the articles, unless such alterations were agreed to in Congress, and afterwards confirmed by the legislatures of every State. The articles of confederation were ratified by Congress, July 9th, 1778.

These articles of confederation being found inadequate to the purposes of a federal government, for reasons hereafter mentioned, delegates were chosen in each of the United States, to meet and fix upon the necessary amendments. They accordingly met in convention at Philadelphia, in the summer of 1787, and agreed to propose the following constitution for the consideration of their constituents:

### CONSTITUTION.

WE, the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish, this Constitution for the United States of America.

#### ARTICLE I.

SECT. I. ALL legislative powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress of the United States, which shall consist of a Senate and House of Representatives.

SECT. II.

SECT. II. The House of Representatives shall be composed of members chosen every second year by the people of the several states, and the electors in each state shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the state legislature.

No person shall be a representative who shall not have attained to the age of twenty-five years, and been seven years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that state in which he shall be chosen.

Representatives and direct taxes, shall be apportioned among the several states which may be included within this Union, according to their respective numbers, which shall be determined by adding to the whole number of free persons; including those bound to service for a term of years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three-fifths of all other persons. The actual enumeration shall be made within three years after the first meeting of the Congress of the United States, and within every subsequent term of ten years, in such manner as they shall by law direct. The number of representatives shall not exceed one for every thirty thousand, but each state shall have at least one representative; and until such enumeration shall be made, the state of New-Hampshire shall be entitled to choose three, Massachusetts eight, Rhode-Island and Providence Plantations one, Connecticut five, New-York six, New-Jersey four, Pennsylvania eight, Delaware one, Maryland six, Virginia ten, North-Carolina five, South-Carolina five; and Georgia three.

When vacancies happen in the representation of any state, the executive authority thereof, shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies.

The House of Representatives shall choose their Speaker and other officers; and shall have the sole power of impeachment.

SECT. III. The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two senators from each state, chosen by the legislature thereof, for six years; and each senator shall have one vote.

Immediately after they shall be assembled, in consequence of the first election, they shall be divided as equally as may be into three classes. The seats of the senators of the first class shall be vacated at the expiration of the second year; of the second class at the expiration of the fourth year; and of the third class at the expiration of the sixth year, so that one third may be chosen every second year; and if vacancies happen by resignation, or otherwise, during the recess of the legislature of any state, the executive power thereof may make temporary appointments until the next meeting of the legislature, which shall then fill such vacancies.

No person shall be a senator who shall not have attained to the age of



thirty years, and been nine years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that state for which he shall be chosen.

The vice-president of the United States shall be president of the senate, but shall have no vote, unless they be equally divided.

The senate shall choose their other officers, and also a president *pro tempore*, in the absence of the vice-president, or when he shall exercise the office of president of the United States.

The senate shall have the sole power to try all impeachments. When sitting for that purpose, they shall be on oath or affirmation. When the president of the United States is tried, the chief justice shall preside: And no person shall be convicted, without the concurrence of two-thirds of the members present.

Judgment in cases of impeachment, shall not extend further than to removal from office, and disqualification to hold and enjoy any office of honour, trust, or profit under the United States; but the party convicted shall nevertheless be liable and subject to indictment, trial, judgment, and punishment according to law.

SECT. IV. The times, places, and manner of holding elections for senators and representatives, shall be subscribed in each state by the legislature thereof; but the Congress may at any time by law, make or alter such regulations, except as to the places of choosing senators.

The Congress shall assemble at least once in every year, and such meeting shall be on the first Monday in December, unless they shall by law appoint a different day.

SECT. V. Each house shall be the judge of the elections, returns, and qualifications of its own members, and a majority of each shall constitute a quorum to do business; but a smaller number may adjourn from day to day, and may be authorised to compel the attendance of absent members, in such manner, and under such penalties as each house may provide.

Each house may determine the rules of its proceedings, punish its members for disorderly behaviour, and, with the concurrence of two-thirds, expel a member.

Each house shall keep a journal of its proceedings, and from time to time publish the same, excepting such parts as may in their judgment require secrecy; and the yeas and nays of the members of either house, on any question, shall at the desire of one fifth of those present, be entered on the journal.

Neither house, during the session of Congress, shall, without the consent

sent of the other, adjourn for more than three days, nor to any other place than that in which the two houses shall be sitting.

SECT. VI. The Senators and Representatives shall receive a compensation for their services, to be ascertained by law, and paid out of the treasury of the United States. They shall, in all cases, except treason, felony, and breach of the peace, be privileged from arrest during their attendance at the session of their respective houses, and in going to and returning from the same; and for any speech or debate in either house, they shall not be questioned in any other place.

No senator or representative shall, during the time for which he was elected, be appointed to any civil office under the authority of the United States, which shall have been created, or the emoluments whereof shall have been increased during such time; and no person holding any office under the United States, shall be a member of either House during his continuance in office.

SECT. VII. All bills for raising revenue shall originate in the House of Representatives; but the Senate may propose or concur with amendments, as on other bills.

Every bill which shall have passed the House of Representatives and the Senate, shall, before it becomes a law, be presented to the President of the United States; if he approve, he shall sign it, but if not, he shall return it, with his objections, to that house in which it originated, who shall enter the objections at large on their journal, and proceed to reconsider it. If, after such re-consideration, two thirds of that house shall agree to pass the bill, it shall be sent, together with the objections, to the other house, by which it shall likewise be re-considered, and if approved by two thirds of that house, it shall become a law. But in all such cases the votes of both houses shall be determined by yeas and nays, and the names of the persons voting for and against the bill shall be entered on the journal of each house respectively. If any bill shall not be returned by the President within ten days, Sundays excepted, after it shall have been presented to him, the same shall be a law, in like manner as if he had signed it, unless the Congress, by their adjournment, prevent its return, in which case it shall not be a law.

Every order, resolution, or vote, to which the concurrence of the Senate and House of Representatives may be necessary (except on a question of adjournment) shall be presented to the President of the United States; and before the same shall take effect, shall be approved by him, or, being disapproved by him, shall be re-passed by two thirds of the Senate and House of Representatives, according to the rules and limitations prescribed in the case of a bill.

SECT. VIII. The Congress shall have power,

To lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises; to pay the debts and provide for the common defence and general welfare of the United States; but all duties, imposts, and excises shall be uniform throughout the United States;

To borrow money on the credit of the United States;

To regulate commerce with foreign nations, and among the several States, and with the Indian tribes;

To establish an uniform rule of naturalization, and uniform laws on the subject of bankruptcies throughout the United States;

To coin money, regulate the value thereof, and of foreign coin, and fix the standard of weights and measures;

To provide for the punishment of counterfeiting the securities and current coin of the United States;

To establish post offices and post roads;

To promote the progress of science and useful arts, by securing for limited times, to authors and inventors, the exclusive right to their respective writings and discoveries;

To constitute tribunals inferior to the supreme court;

To define and punish piracies and felonies committed on the high seas, and offences against the law of nations;

To declare war, grant letters of marque and reprisal, and make rules concerning captures on land and water;

To raise and support armies, but no appropriation of money to that use shall be for a longer term than two years;

To provide and maintain a navy;

To make rules for the government and regulation of the land and naval forces;

To provide for calling forth the militia to execute the laws of the union, suppress insurrections, and repel invasions;

To provide for organizing, arming, and disciplining the militia, and for governing such part of them as may be employed in the service of the United States, reserving to the States respectively, the appointment of the officers, and the authority of training the militia according to the discipline prescribed by Congress;

To exercise exclusive legislation in all cases whatsoever, over such district, not exceeding ten miles square, as may by cession of particular States, and the acceptance of Congress, become the seat of government of the United States; and to exercise like authority over all places purchased by the consent of the legislature of the State in which the same

shall be, for the erection of forts, magazines, arsenals, dock-yards, and other needful buildings:—And

To make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers, and all other powers vested by this constitution in the government of the United States, or in any department or officer thereof.

SECT. IX. The migration or importation of such persons, as any of the States now existing shall think proper to admit, shall not be prohibited by the Congress prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight, but a tax or duty may be imposed on such importation, not exceeding ten dollars for each person.

The privilege of the writ of habeas corpus shall not be suspended, unless when, in cases of rebellion or invasion, the public safety may require it.

No bill of attainder or ex post facto law shall be passed.

No capitation, or other direct tax, shall be laid, unless in proportion to the census, or enumeration, herein before directed to be taken.

No tax or duty shall be laid on articles exported from any State.—No preference shall be given by any regulation of commerce or revenue to the ports of one State over those of another; nor shall vessels bound to or from one State, be obliged to enter, clear, or pay duties in another.

No money shall be drawn from the treasury, but in consequence of appropriations made by law; and a regular statement and account of the receipts and expenditures of all public money shall be published from time to time.

No title of nobility shall be granted by the United States.—And no person holding any office of profit or trust under them, shall, without the consent of Congress, accept of any present, emolument, office, or title of any kind whatever, from any king, prince, or foreign state.

SECT. X. No State shall enter into any treaty, alliance, or confederation; grant letters of marque and reprisal; coin money; emit bills of credit; make any thing but gold and silver coin a tender in payment of debts; pass any bill of attainder, ex post facto law, or law impairing the obligation of contracts, or grant any title of nobility.

No State shall, without the consent of the Congress, lay any imposts or duties on imports or exports, except what may be absolutely necessary for executing its inspection laws; and the net produce of all duties and imposts, laid by any State on imports or exports, shall be for the use of the Treasury of the United States; and all such laws shall be subject to the



the revision and controul of the Congress. No State shall, without the consent of Congress, lay any duty of tonnage, keep troops, or ships of war, in time of peace, enter into any engagement or compact with another State, or with a foreign power, or engage in war, unless actually invaded, or in such imminent danger as will not admit of delay.

## ARTICLE II.

SECT. I. THE executive power shall be vested in a President of the United States of America. He shall hold his office during the term of four years, and, together with the Vice-President, chosen for the same term, be elected as follows :

Each State shall appoint, in such manner as the legislature thereof may direct, a number of electors, equal to the whole number of senators and representatives to which the State may be intitled in the Congress: but no senator or representative, or person holding an office of trust or profit under the United States, shall be appointed an elector.

The electors shall meet in their respective States, and vote by ballot for two persons, of whom one at least shall not be an inhabitant of the same State with themselves. And they shall make a list of all the persons voted for, and of the number of votes for each; which list they shall sign, certify and transmit, sealed, to the seat of the government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate. The President of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representative, open all the certificates, and the votes shall then be counted. The person having the greatest number of votes shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if there be more than one who have such majority, and have an equal number of votes, than the House of Representatives shall immediately choose, by ballot, one of them for President; and if no person have a majority, then from the five highest on the list, the said house shall in like manner choose the President. But in choosing the President, the votes shall be taken by States, the representations from each State having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two thirds of the States, and a majority of all the States shall be necessary to a choice. In every case, after the choice of the President, the person having the greatest number of votes of the electors shall be the Vice-President. But if there should remain two or more who have equal votes, the Senate shall choose from them by ballot the Vice-President.

The Congress may determine the time of choosing the electors, and the

the day on which they shall give their votes; which day shall be the same throughout the United States.

No person, except a natural-born citizen, or a citizen of the United States at the time of the adoption of this constitution, shall be eligible to the office of President; neither shall any person be eligible to that office who shall not have attained to the age of thirty-five years, and been fourteen years a resident within the United States.

In case of the removal of the President from office, or of his death, resignation, or inability to discharge the powers and duties of the said office, the same shall devolve on the Vice-President, and the Congress may by law provide for the case of removal, death, resignation, or inability, both of the President and Vice-President, declaring what officer shall then act as President, and such officer shall act accordingly, until the disability be removed, or a President shall be elected.

The President shall, at stated times, receive for his services, a compensation, which shall neither be increased or diminished during the period for which he shall have been elected, and he shall not receive within that period any other emolument from the United States, or any of them.

Before he enters on the execution of his office, he shall take the following oath or affirmation:

"I do solemnly swear (or affirm), that I will faithfully execute the office of President of the United States, and will, to the best of my ability, preserve, protect, and defend the constitution of the United States."

SEC. 2. The President shall be commander in chief of the army and navy of the United States, and of the militia of the several States, when called into the actual service of the United States; he may require the opinion, in writing, of the principal officer in each of the executive departments, upon any subject relating to the duties of their respective offices, and he shall have power to grant reprieves and pardons for offences against the United States, except in cases of impeachment.

He shall have power, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, to make treaties, provided two thirds of the senators present concur; and he shall nominate, and by and with the advice and consent of the Senate shall appoint ambassadors, other public ministers, and consuls, judges of the supreme court, and all other officers of the United States, whose appointments are not herein otherwise provided for, and which shall be established by law. But the Congress may by law vest the appointment of such inferior officers, as they think proper, in the President alone, in the courts of law, or in the heads of departments.

The president shall have power to fill up all vacancies that may happen during the recess of the senate, by granting commissions which shall expire at the end of their next session.

SECT. 3. He shall from time to time give to the Congress information of the state of the union, and recommend to their consideration such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient; he may, on extraordinary occasions, convene both houses, or either of them, and in case of disagreement between them, with respect to the time of adjournment, he may adjourn them to such time as he shall think proper; he shall receive ambassadors and other public ministers; he shall take care that the laws be faithfully executed, and shall commission all the officers of the United States.

SECT. 4. The President, Vice-President, and all civil officers of the United States, shall be removed from office on impeachment for, and conviction of, treason, bribery, or other high crimes and misdemeanors.

#### ARTICLE III.

SECT. 1. The judicial power of the United States shall be vested in one supreme court, and in such inferior courts, as the Congress may from time to time ordain and establish. The judges, both of the supreme and inferior courts, shall hold their offices during good behaviour, and shall, at stated times, receive for their services, a compensation, which shall not be diminished during their continuance in office.

SECT. 2. The judicial power shall extend to all cases, in law and equity, arising under this constitution, the laws of the United States, and treaties made, or which shall be made, under their authority; to all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers, and consuls; to all cases of admiralty and maritime jurisdiction; to controversies to which the United States shall be a party; to controversies between two or more States, between a State and citizens of another State, between citizens of different States, between citizens of the same State claiming lands under grants of different States, and between a State, or the citizens thereof, and foreign States, citizens, or subjects.

In all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers, and consuls, and those in which a State shall be party, the supreme court shall have original jurisdiction. In all the other cases before mentioned, the supreme court shall have appellate jurisdiction, both as to law and fact, with such exceptions, and under such regulations as the Congress shall make.

The trial of all crimes, except in cases of impeachment, shall be by jury; and such trial shall be held in the State where the said crime shall have been committed; but when not committed within any State, the

trial shall be at such place or places as the Congress may by law have directed.

SECT. 3. Treason against the United States shall consist only in levying war against them, or in adhering to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort. No person shall be convicted of treason, unless on the testimony of two witnesses to the same overt act, or on confession in open court.

The Congress shall have power to declare the punishment of treason, but no attainder of treason shall work corruption of blood, or forfeiture, except during the life of the person attainted.

#### ARTICLE IV.

SECT. 1. Full faith and credit shall be given in each State to the public acts, records, and judicial proceedings of every other State. And the Congress may by general laws prescribe the manner in which such acts, records, and proceedings shall be proved, and the effect thereof.

SECT. 2. The citizens of each State shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States.

A person charged in any State with treason, felony, or other crime, who shall flee from justice, and be found in another State, shall, on demand of the executive authority of the State from which he fled, be delivered up, to be removed to the State having jurisdiction of the crime.

No person held to service or labour in one State, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labour, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labour may be due.

SECT. 3. New States may be admitted by the Congress into this union, but no new State shall be formed or erected within the jurisdiction of any other State; nor any State be formed by the junction of two or more States, or parts of States, without the consent of the legislatures of the States concerned as well as of the Congress.

The Congress shall have power to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory or other property belonging to the United States; and nothing in this constitution shall be so construed as to prejudice any claims of the United States, or of any particular State.

SECT. 4. The United States shall guarantee to every State in this union a republican form of government, and shall protect each of them against invasion; and on application of the legislature, or of the executive, when the legislature cannot be convened, against domestic violence.

#### ARTICLE V.

The Congress, whenever two thirds of both houses shall deem it necessary,



cessary, shall propose amendments to this constitution, or, on the application of the legislatures of two thirds of the several States, shall call a convention for proposing amendments, which, in either case, shall be valid to all intents and purposes, as part of this constitution, when ratified by the legislatures of three fourths of the several States, or by conventions in three fourths thereof, as the one or the other mode of ratification may be proposed by the Congress: provided, that no amendment which may be made prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight, shall in any manner affect the first and fourth clauses in the ninth section of the first article; and that no State, without its consent, shall be deprived of its equal suffrage in the Senate.

#### ARTICLE VI.

All debts contracted, and engagements entered into before the adoption of this constitution, shall be as valid against the United States under this constitution, as under the confederation.

This constitution, and the laws of the United States, which shall be made in pursuance thereof; and all treaties made, or which shall be made, under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme law of the land; and the judges in every State shall be bound thereby, any thing in the constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding.

The Senators and Representatives before mentioned, and the Members of the several State Legislatures, and all Executive and Judicial Officers, both of the United States and of the several States, shall be bound by oath or affirmation to support this constitution; but no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the United States.

#### ARTICLE VII.

The ratification of the conventions of nine States shall be sufficient for the establishment of this constitution, between the States so ratifying the same.

*DONE in Convention, by the unanimous consent of the States present, the seventeenth day of September, in the year of our Lord One Thousand Seven Hundred and Eighty-seven, and of the Independence of the United States of America the Twelfth. In Witness whereof, we have hereunto subscribed our names.*

GEORGE WASHINGTON, *President.*

*Signed also by all the Delegates which were present from twelve States.*

*Attest.*

WILLIAM JACKSON, *Secretary.*

*In CONVENTION, Monday, September 17, 1787.*

P R E S E N T,

*The States of New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Mr. Hamilton from New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia.*

RESOLVED, That the preceding constitution be laid before the United States in Congress assembled, and that it is the opinion of this Convention, that it should afterwards be submitted to a Convention of Delegates, chosen in each State by the people thereof, under the recommendation of its legislature, for their assent and ratification; and that each Convention assenting to, and ratifying the same, should give notice thereof to the United States in Congress assembled.

RESOLVED, That it is the opinion of this Convention, that as soon as the conventions of nine States shall have ratified this constitution, the United States in Congress assembled should fix a day on which electors should be appointed by the States which shall have ratified the same, and a day on which the electors should assemble to vote for the President, and the time and place for commencing proceedings under this Constitution. That after such publication, the electors should be appointed, and the senators and representatives elected; that the electors should meet on the day fixed for the election of the president, and should transmit their votes certified, signed, sealed, and directed, as the constitution requires, to the Secretary of the United States in Congress assembled; that the senators and representatives should convene at the time and place assigned; that the senators should appoint a president of the senate, for the sole purpose of receiving, opening, and counting the votes for president; and that after he shall be chosen, the Congress, together with the president, should, without delay, proceed to execute this constitution.

*By the unanimous order of the Convention,*

GEORGE WASHINGTON, *President.*

WILLIAM JACKSON, *Secretary.*

*In CONVENTION, September 17, 1787.*

SIR,

WE have now the honour to submit to the consideration of the United States in Congress assembled, that constitution which has appeared to us the most adviseable.

The friends of our country have long seen and desired, that the power of making war, peace, and treaties, that of levying money and regulating commerce, and the correspondent executive and judicial authorities, should be fully and effectually vested in the general government of the union; but the impropriety of delegating such extensive trust to one body

body of men is evident. Hence results the necessity of a different organization.

It is obviously impracticable, in the federal government of these States, to secure all rights of independent sovereignty to each, and yet provide for the interest and safety of all. Individuals entering into society must give up a share of liberty to preserve the rest. The magnitude of the sacrifice must depend as well on situation and circumstances, as on the object to be attained. It is at all times difficult to draw with precision the line between those rights which must be surrendered, and those which may be reserved; and on the present occasion this difficulty was increased by a difference among the several States as to their situation, extent, habits, and particular interests.

In all our deliberations on this subject, we kept steadily in our view, that which appears to us the greatest interest of every true American, the consolidation of our union, in which is involved our prosperity, felicity, safety, perhaps our national existence. This important consideration, seriously and deeply impressed on our minds, led each State in the convention to be less rigid on points of inferior magnitude, than might have been otherwise expected; and thus the constitution, which we now present, is the result of a spirit of amity, and of that mutual deference and concession which the peculiarity of our political situation rendered indispensable.

That it will meet the full and entire approbation of every State is not perhaps to be expected: but each will doubtless consider, that had her interests been alone consulted, the consequences might have been particularly disagreeable or injurious to others: that it is liable to as few exceptions as could reasonably have been expected, we hope and believe: that it may promote the lasting welfare of that country so dear to us all, and secure her freedom and happiness, which is our most ardent wish.

With great respect, we have the honour to be, Sir, your Excellency's most obedient, and humble servants,

GEORGE WASHINGTON, *President.*

*By unanimous order of the Convention.*

His Excellency the President of the Congress.

The conventions of a number of the States, having at the time of their adopting the constitution expressed a desire, in order to prevent misconstruction or abuse of its powers, that further declaratory and restrictive clauses should be added: and as extending the ground of public confidence in the government will best ensure the beneficent ends of its institution, it was

RESOLVED by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States

States of America in Congress assembled, two-thirds of both houses concurring, That the following articles be proposed to the legislatures of the several States, as amendments to the constitution of the United States, all or any of which articles, when ratified by three-fourths of the said legislatures, to be valid to all intents and purposes, as part of the said constitution: viz.

ART. I. After the first enumeration required by the first article of the constitution, there shall be one representative for every thirty thousand; until the number shall amount to one hundred, after which the proportion shall be so regulated by Congress, that there shall be not less than one hundred representatives, nor less than one representative for every forty thousand persons, until the number of representatives shall amount to two hundred, after which the proportion shall be so regulated by Congress, that there shall not be less than two hundred representatives, nor more than one representative for every fifty thousand persons.

ART. II. No law varying the compensation for the services of the senators and representatives shall take effect, until an election of representatives shall have intervened.

ART. III. Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the government for a redress of grievances.

ART. IV. A well-regulated militia being necessary to the security of a free state, the right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed.

ART. V. No soldier shall in time of peace be quartered in any house without the consent of the owner, nor in time of war, but in a manner to be prescribed by law.

ART. VI. The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated, and no warrants shall issue, but upon probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized.

ART. VII. No person shall be held to answer for a capital, or otherwise infamous crime, unless on a presentment or indictment of a grand jury, except in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the militia when in actual service, in time of war or public danger; nor shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself, nor be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law;



law; nor shall private property be taken for public use without just compensation.

ART. VIII. In all criminal prosecutions the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury of the State and district wherein the crime shall have been committed, which district shall have been previously ascertained by law, and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation; to be confronted with the witnesses against him; to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favour; and to have the assistance in counsel for his defence.

ART. IX. In suits at common law, where the value in controversy shall exceed twenty dollars, the right of trial by jury shall be preserved, and no fact, tried by a jury, shall be otherwise re-examined in any court of the United States, than according to the rules of the common law.

ART. X. Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.

ART. XI. The enumeration in the constitution, of certain rights, shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people.

ART. XII. The powers not delegated to the United States by the constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people.

The following States have ratified all the foregoing articles of amendment to the constitution of the United States, viz. Maryland, North Carolina, South Carolina, New York, Virginia, and Vermont. New Hampshire, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania reject the second article; and Delaware rejects the first article. No official returns, to our knowledge, have been made from the other States.

AGAINST this constitution, thus ratified, organized and established, objections may no doubt be urged, and defects pointed out; it may be said that it contains no declaration of rights, and that the laws of the general government being paramount to the laws and constitutions of the several States, the declarations of rights in the several state constitutions are no security—nor are the people secured even in the enjoyment of the benefits of the common law.

Owing to the small number of members in the house of representatives, there is not the substance, but the shadow only of representation, which can never produce proper information in the legislature, or inspire confidence in the people—the laws will therefore be generally made by men little concerned in, and unacquainted with, their effects and consequences.

The Senate have the power of altering all money bills, and of originating appropriations of money, although they are not the immediate representatives of the people, or amenable to them, these and their other great powers, viz. their power in the appointment of Ambassadors, and all public officers, in making treaties, and trying all impeachments; their influence upon, and connection with, the supreme executive. From these circumstances, their duration of office, and their being a constant existing body, almost continually sitting, joined with their being one complete branch of the Legislature, will destroy any and every balance in the government, and enable them to accomplish what usurpation they please upon the rights and liberties of the people.

The Judiciary of the United States is so constructed and extended as to absorb and destroy the Judiciaries of the several States, thereby rendering law *tedious, intricate, and expensive*, and justice in consequence *unattainable* by a great part of the community, *as in*, thus enabling the rich, to oppress the poor.

The President of the United States has no constitutional Council—a thing unknown in any safe and regular Government—he will therefore be unsupported by proper information and advice, and will generally be directed by minions and favourites, or he will become a tool to the Senate; or a Council of State will grow out of the principal officers of the great departments, the worst and most dangerous of all ingredients for such a Council in a free country; for they may be induced to join in any dangerous or oppressive measures to shelter themselves, and prevent an inquiry into their own misconduct in office: whereas, had a constitutional Council been formed, as was said to have been proposed, of six Members, viz. two from the Eastern, two from the Middle, and two from the Southern States, to be appointed by vote of the States in the House of Representatives, with the same duration and rotation of office as the Senate, the executive would always have had safe and proper information and advice; the President of such a Council might have acted as Vice President of the United States, *pro tempore*, upon any vacancy or disability of the Chief Magistrate, and the long-continued sessions of the Senate would, in a great measure, have been prevented. From this fatal defect of a constitutional Council, has arisen the improper power of the Senate in the appointment of public officers, and the alarming dependence and connection between that branch of the legislature and the executive. Hence also sprung that unnecessary and dangerous office of the Vice President, who, for want of other employment, is made President of the Senate, thereby dangerously blending the legislative and executive

powers; besides always giving to some one of the States an unnecessary and unjust pre-eminence over the others.

The President of the United States has the unrestrained power of granting pardon for treasons, which may be sometimes exercised to screen from punishment, those whom he had secretly instigated to commit the crime, and thereby prevent the discovery of his own guilt.

By declaring all treaties supreme laws of the land, the executive and senate have, in many cases, an exclusive power of legislation, which might have been avoided by proper distinctions with respect to treaties, and requiring the assent of the House of Representatives, were it could be done with safety.

Under their own construction of the general clause at the end of the enumerated powers, the Congress may grant monopolies in trade and commerce—constitute new crimes—inflict unusual and severe punishments, and extend their power as far as they shall think proper—so that the State Legislatures have no security for the powers now presumed to remain to them, or the people for their rights.

There is no declaration for preserving the liberty of the press, the trial by jury in civil causes, nor against the danger of standing armies in time of peace.

WE admit these objections in part to be just, and view them as unanswerable; but we consider them as deducting but little from the beauty and order of the whole system; they may all be corrected by the application of the same principles on which the Constitution is founded, and if all circumstances are considered we shall, perhaps, rather be astonished that its defects are so few and of so little importance.

To form a good system of government, for a single city or state, however limited as to territory, or inconsiderable as to numbers, has been thought to require the strongest efforts of human genius. With what conscious diffidence, then, must the members of the convention have revolved in their minds, the immense undertaking which was before them. Their views could not be confined to a small or a single community, but were expanded to a great number of states; several of which contain an extent of territory, and resources of population, equal to those of some of the most respectable kingdoms on this side of the Atlantic. Nor were even these the only objects to be comprehended within their deliberations. Numerous states yet unformed: Myriads of the human race, who will inhabit regions hitherto uncultivated, were to be affected by the result of their proceedings. It was necessary, therefore, to form their calculations, on a scale commensurate to so large a portion of the globe.

Thus

Thus a very important difficulty arose from comparing the extent of the country to be governed, with the kind of government which it would be proper to establish in it. It has been an opinion, countenanced by high authority, "that the natural property of small states is to be governed as a republic; of middling ones, to be subject to a monarch; and of large empires, to be swayed by a despotic prince; and that the consequence is, that, in order to preserve the principles of the established government, the state must be supported in the extent it has acquired; and that the spirit of the state will alter in proportion as it extends or contracts its limits \*." This opinion seems to be supported rather than contradicted, by the history of the governments in the old world. Here then the difficulty appeared in full view. On one hand, the United States containing an immense extent of territory, according to the foregoing opinion, a despotic government was best adapted to that extent. On the other hand, it was well known, that, however the citizens of the United States might, with pleasure, submit to the legitimate restraints of a republican constitution, they would reject, with indignation, the fetters of despotism. What then was to be done? The idea of a confederate republic presented itself. A kind of constitution which has been thought to have "all the internal advantages of a republican, together with the external force of a monarchical government."

Its description is, "a convention, by which several states agree to become members of a larger one, which they intend to establish. It is a kind of assemblage of societies, that constitute a *new one*, capable of increasing by means of farther association †." The *expanding* quality of such a government is peculiarly fitted for the United States, the greatest part of whose territory is yet uncultivated.

But while this form of government enabled them to surmount the difficulty last mentioned, it conducted them to another. It left them almost without precedent or guide; and consequently, without the benefit of that instruction, which, in many cases, may be derived from the constitution, history and experience of other nations. Several associations have frequently been called by the name of confederate states, which have not, in propriety of language, deserved it. The Swiss Cantons are connected only by alliances. The United Netherlands are indeed an assemblage of societies; but this assemblage constitutes *no new one*; and therefore, it does not correspond with the full definition of a confederate republic. The Germanic body is composed of such disproportioned and

\* Montesquieu, b. 8. c. 20.

† Montesquieu, b. 9. c. 1.



discordant materials, and its structure is so intricate and complex, that little useful knowledge could be drawn from it. Ancient history discloses, and barely discloses to our view, some confederate republics—the Achæan league—the Lycian confederacy, and the Amphyctyonic council. But the facts recorded concerning their constitutions are so few and general, and their histories are so unmarked and defective, that no satisfactory information can be collected from them concerning many particular circumstances; from an accurate discernment and comparison of which alone, legitimate and practical inferences can be made from one constitution to another. Besides, the situation and dimensions of those confederacies, and the state of society, manners and habits in them, were so different from those of the United States, that the most correct descriptions could have supplied but a very small fund of applicable remarks. Thus, in forming this system, they were deprived of many advantages, which the history and experience of other ages and other countries would, in other cases, have afforded them.

We may add, in this place, that the science of government itself, seems yet to be almost in its state of infancy. Governments, in general, have been the result of force, of fraud, and of accident. After a period of six thousand years has elapsed, since the creation, the United States exhibit to the world, the first instance, as far as we can learn, of a nation, unattacked by external force, unconvulsed by domestic insurrections, assembling voluntarily, deliberating fully, and deciding calmly, concerning that system of government, under which they would wish that they and their posterity should live. The ancients, so enlightened on other subjects, were very uninformed with regard to this. They seem scarcely to have had any idea of any other kind of governments, than the three simple forms, designed by the epithets, monarchial, aristocratical and democratical. Much and pleasing ingenuity has been exerted, in modern times, in drawing entertaining parallels between some of the ancient constitutions and some of the mixed governments that have since existed in Europe. But on strict examination, the instances of resemblance will be found to be few and weak; to be suggested by the improvements, which, in subsequent ages, have been made in government, and not to be drawn immediately from the ancient constitutions themselves, as they were intended and understood by those who framed them. One thing is very certain, that the doctrine of representation in government was altogether unknown to the ancients. The knowledge and practice of which, is essential to every system, that can possess the qualities of freedom, wisdom and energy.

Representation is the chain of communication between the people, and those, to whom they have committed the exercise of the powers of government. This chain may consist of one or more links; but in all cases it should be sufficiently strong and discernable.

To be left without guide or precedent was not the only difficulty, in which the convention were involved, by proposing to their constituents a plan of a confederate republic. They found themselves embarrassed with another, of peculiar delicacy and importance; I mean that of drawing a proper line between the national government, and the governments of the several states. It was easy to discover a proper and satisfactory principle on the subject. Whatever object of government is confined in its operation and effects within the bounds of a particular state, should be considered as belonging to the government of that state; whatever object of government extends, in its operation or effects, beyond the bounds of a particular state, should be considered as belonging to the government of the United States; but though this principle is sound and satisfactory, its application to particular cases would be accompanied with much difficulty; because in its application, room must be allowed for great discretionary latitude of construction of the principle. In order to lessen, or remove the difficulty, arising from discretionary construction on this subject, an enumeration of particular instances, in which the application of the principle ought to take place, has been attempted, with much industry and care. It is only in mathematical science that a line can be described with mathematical precision. But upon the strictest investigation, the enumeration will be found to be safe and unexceptionable; and accurate too in as great a degree as accuracy can be expected, in a subject of this nature.

After all, it was necessary, that, on a subject so peculiarly delicate as this, much prudence, much candour, much moderation and much liberality, should be exercised and displayed, both by the federal government and by the governments of the several states. And it is to be hoped, that these virtues will continue to be exercised and displayed, when we consider, that the powers of the federal government and those of the state governments are drawn from sources equally pure. If a difference can be discovered between them, it is in favor of the federal government, because that government is founded on a representation of the *whole* union; whereas the government of any particular state is founded only on the representation of a part, inconsiderable when compared with the whole. Is it not more reasonable to suppose, that the counsels of the whole will embrace the interest of every part, than that the counsels of any part will embrace the interests of the whole?

Having

Having enumerated some of the difficulties, which the convention were obliged to encounter in the course of their proceedings, let us view the end, which they proposed to accomplish.

In forming this system, it was proper to give minute attention to the interest of all the parts; but there was a duty of still higher import—to feel and to shew a predominating regard to the superior interests of the whole. If this great principle had not prevailed, the plan before us would never have made its appearance.

The aim of the convention, was to form a system of good and efficient government on the more extensive scale of the United States. In this, and in every other instance, the work should be judged with the same spirit, with which it was performed. A principle of duty as well as candour demands this.

It has been remarked, that civil government is necessary to the perfection of society: We remark that civil liberty is necessary to the perfection of civil government. Civil liberty is natural liberty itself, divested only of that part, which, placed in the government, produces more good and happiness to the community, than if it had remained in the individual. Hence it follows, that civil liberty, while it resigns a part of natural liberty, retains the free and generous exercise of all the human faculties, so far as it is compatible with the public welfare.

In considering and developing the nature and end of the system before us, it is necessary to mention another kind of liberty, which may be distinguished by the appellation of *federal liberty*. When a single government is instituted, the individuals, of which it is composed, surrender to it a part of their natural independence, which they before enjoyed as men. When a confederate republic is instituted, the communities, of which it is composed, surrender to it a part of their political independence, which they before enjoyed as states. The principles, which directed, in the former case, what part of the natural liberty of the man ought to be given up, and what part ought to be retained, will give similar directions in the latter case. The states should resign, to the national government, that part, and that part only, of their political liberty, which placed in that government, will produce more good to the whole, than if it had remained in the several states. While they resign this part of their political liberty, they retain the free and generous exercise of all their other faculties as states, so far as it is compatible with the welfare of the general and superintending confederacy.

Since *states* as well as *citizens* are represented in the constitution before us, and form the objects on which that constitution is proposed to operate,

operate, it was necessary to notice and define *federal* as well as *civil* liberty.

We now see the great end which they proposed to accomplish. It was to frame, for their constituents, one federal and national constitution—a constitution, that would produce the advantages of good, and prevent the inconveniencies of bad government—a constitution, whose beneficence and energy would pervade the whole union; and bind and embrace the interests of every part—a constitution, that would ensure peace, freedom and happiness, to the states and people of America.

We are now naturally led to examine the means, by which they proposed to accomplish this end. But previously to our entering upon it, it will not be improper to state some general and leading principles of government, which will receive particular application in the course of our investigations.

There necessarily exists in every government, a power from which there is no appeal; and which, for that reason, may be termed supreme, absolute and uncontrollable. Where does this power reside? To this question, writers on different governments will give different answers. According to Blackstone, in this country, this power is lodged in the British parliament, and the parliament may alter the form of government; and its power is absolute without control. The idea of a constitution, limiting and superintending the operations of legislative authority, seems not to have been accurately understood in this kingdom. There are, at least no traces of practice, conformable to such a principle.

To control the power and conduct of the legislature by an over-ruling constitution, was an improvement in the science and practice of government, reserved to the American states.

Perhaps some politician, who has not considered, with sufficient accuracy, their political systems, would answer, that in their governments, the supreme power was vested in the constitutions. This opinion approaches a step nearer to the truth; but does not reach it. The truth is, that, in the American governments, the supreme, absolute and uncontrollable power *remains* in the people. As their constitutions are superior to their legislatures; so the people are superior to their constitutions. Indeed the superiority, in this last instance, is much greater; for the people possess, over their constitutions, control in *act*, as well as in right.

The consequence is, that the people may change the constitutions, whenever, and however they please. This is a right, of which no positive institution can ever deprive them.

These important truths, are far from being merely speculative: To their operation, we are to ascribe the scene, hitherto unparalleled, which

America



America now exhibits to the world—a gentle, a peaceful, a voluntary and a deliberate transition from one constitution of government to another. In other parts of the world, the idea of revolutions in government is, by a mournful and indissoluble association, connected with the idea of wars, and all the calamities attendant on wars. But happy experience teaches us to view such revolutions in a very different light—to consider them only as progressive steps in improving the knowledge of government, and increasing the happiness of society and mankind.

With silent pleasure and admiration we view the force and prevalence of this sentiment throughout the United States, that the supreme power resides in the people; and that they never can part with it. It may be called the *Panacea* in politics. There can be no disorder in the community but may here receive a radical cure. If the error be in the legislature, it may be corrected by the constitution: If in the constitution, it may be corrected by the people. There is a remedy, therefore, for every distemper in government; if the people are not wanting to themselves. For a people wanting to themselves, there is no remedy: From their power, there is no appeal: To their error, there is no superior principle of correction.

The leading principle in politics, and that which pervades the American constitutions, is, that the supreme power resides in the people; their constitution opens with a solemn and practical recognition of this principle; “WE, THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, &c. DO ORDAIN AND ESTABLISH this constitution, for the United States of America.” It is announced in their name, it receives its political existence from their authority—they ordain and establish: What is the necessary consequence?—those who ordain and establish, have the power, if they think proper, to repeal and annul.—A proper attention to this principle may satisfy the minds of some, who contend for the necessity of a bill of rights.

Its establishment, I apprehend, has more force, than a volume written on the subject—it renders this truth evident, that the people have a right to do what they please, with regard to the government.

Therefore, even in a single government, if the powers of the people rest on the same establishment, as is expressed in this constitution, a bill of rights is by no means a necessary measure. In a government possessed of enumerated powers, such a measure would be not only unnecessary, but preposterous and dangerous: whence come this notion, that in the United States there is no security without a bill of rights? Have the citizens of South Carolina no security for their liberties? they have no bill of rights. Are the citizens on the eastern side of the Delaware less free, or less secured in their liberties, than those on the western side?

The

The state of New-Jersey has no bill of rights.—The state of New-York has no bill of rights.—The states of Connecticut and Rhode-Island have no bill of rights. I know not whether I have exactly enumerated the states who have thought it unnecessary to add a bill of rights to their constitutions: but this enumeration will serve to shew by experience, as well as principle, that even in single governments, a bill of rights is not an essential or necessary measure.—But in a government, consisting of enumerated powers, such as is adopted by the United States, a bill of rights would not only be unnecessary, but, in my humble judgment, highly imprudent. In all societies, there are many powers and rights, which cannot be particularly enumerated. A bill of rights annexed to a constitution, is an enumeration of the powers reserved. If we attempt an enumeration, every thing that is not enumerated, is presumed to be given. The consequence is, that an imperfect enumeration would throw all implied power into the scale of the government; and the rights of the people would be rendered incomplete. On the other hand; an imperfect enumeration of the powers of government, reserves all implied power to the people; and, by that means the constitution becomes incomplete; but of the two, it is much safer to run the risk on the side of the constitution; for an omission in the enumeration of the powers of government, is neither so dangerous, nor important, as an omission in the enumeration of the rights of the people.

In this constitution, the citizens of the United States appear dispensing a part of their original power, in what manner and in what proportion they think fit. They never part with the whole; and they retain the right of re-calling what they part with. When, therefore, they possess, the fee-simple of authority, why should they have recourse to the minute and subordinate remedies, which can be necessary only to those, who pass the fee, and reserve only a rent-charge?

To every suggestion concerning a bill of rights, the citizens of the United States may always say, WE RESERVE THE RIGHT TO DO WHAT WE PLEASE.

This observation naturally leads to a more particular consideration of the government before us. In order to give permanency, stability and security to any government, it is of essential importance, that its legislature should be restrained; that there should not only be, what we call a *passive*, but an *active* power over it; for of all kinds of despotism, this is the most dreadful, and the most difficult to be corrected.

It is therefore proper to have efficient restraints upon the legislative body. These restraints arise from different sources: In the American constitution they are produced in a very considerable degree, by a divi-

tion of the power in the legislative body itself. Under this system, they may arise likewise from the interference of those officers, who are introduced into the executive and judicial departments. They may spring also from another source; the election by the people; and finally, under this constitution, they may proceed from the great and last resort—from the PEOPLE themselves.

In order to secure the president from any dependence upon the legislature, as to his salary, it is provided, that he shall, at stated times, receive for his services, a compensation that shall neither be increased nor diminished, during the period for which he shall have been elected, and that he shall not receive, within that period, any other emolument from the United States, or any of them individually.

To secure to the judges independence, it is ordered that they shall receive for their services, a compensation which shall not be diminished during their continuance in office. The congress may be restrained, by the election of its constituent parts. If a legislature shall make a law contrary to the constitution, or oppressive to the people, they have it in their power, every second year, in one branch, and every sixth year in the other, to displace the men, who act thus inconsistent with their duty; and if this is not sufficient, they have still a farther power; they may assume into their own hands, the alteration of the constitution itself—they may revoke the lease, when the conditions are broken by the tenant.

There is still a further restraint upon the legislature—the qualified negative of the president. This will be attended with very important advantages, for the security and happiness of the people of the United States. The president, will not be a stranger to the country, to its laws, or its wishes. He will, under this constitution, be placed in office as the president of the whole union, and be chosen in such a manner that he may justly be stiled THE MAN OF THE PEOPLE; being elected by the different parts of the United States, he will consider himself as not particularly interested for any one of them, but will watch over the whole with paternal care and affection. This will be his natural conduct, to recommend himself to those who placed him in that high chair, and it is a very important advantage, that such a man must have every law presented to him, before it can become binding upon the United States. He will have before him the fullest information of their situation, he will avail himself not only of records and official communications, foreign and domestic, but he will have also the advice of the executive officers in the different departments of the general government.

If in consequence of this information and advice, he exercise the  
authority



authority given to him, the effect will not be lost—he returns his objections, together with the bill, and unless two thirds of both branches of the legislature are *now* found to approve it, it does not become a law. But even if his objections do not prevent its passing into a law, they will not be useless; they will be kept together with the law, and, in the archives of congress, will be valuable and practical materials, to form the minds of posterity for legislation—if it is found that the law operates inconveniently, or oppressively, the people may discover in the president's objections, the source of that inconvenience or oppression. Further, when objections shall have been made, it is provided, in order to secure the greatest degree of caution and responsibility, that the votes of both houses shall be determined by yeas and nays, and the names of the persons, voting for and against the bill, shall be entered in the journal of each house respectively. Thus much, with regard to the Constitution itself, the distribution of the legislative authority, and the restraints under which it is exercised.

On the whole, though there are some parts of the constitution which we cannot approve; and which no doubt, by the powers vested in congress, and the legislatures of the different states, for that purpose, will in due time be altered or corrected, as prudence shall dictate; yet there is much, that entitles it to the respect of every friend to the freedom and happiness of mankind:—the people retain the supreme power, and exercise it by representation:—the legislative, executive and judicial powers, are kept independent and distinct from each other;—the executive power, is so settled as to secure VIGOUR and ENERGY with ACTUAL RESPONSIBILITY, in the person of the president, who so far from being above the laws, is amenable to them, in his private character, of a citizen.—The line is drawn with accuracy between the powers of the general government, and the government of the particular states, so that no distrust can arise to disturb the harmony of their union while the powers of both DERIVED BY REPRESENTATION FROM THE PEOPLE, must effectually prevent any disagreement or discontent from taking place.—Thus a principle of democracy being carried into every part of the constitution, and representation, and direct taxation, going hand in hand, the prosperity of the country and the stability of its government, will keep pace with each other.

We cannot take leave of this subject, better than in the energetic and elegant language of Dr. Ramsey, with whose sentiments we agree, and with whose wishes we unite.

“ Citizens of the United States! you have a well-balanced constitution established by general consent, which is an improvement on all re-



publican forms of government heretofore established. It possesses the freedom and independence of a popular assembly, acquainted with the wants and wishes of the people, but without the capacity of doing those mischiefs which result from uncontrouled power in one assembly. The end and object of it is public good. If you are not happy it will be your own fault. No knave or fool can plead an hereditary right to sport with your property or your liberties. Your laws and your law-givers must all proceed from yourselves. You have the experience of nearly six thousand years, to point out the rocks on which former republics have been dashed to pieces. Learn wisdom from their misfortunes. Cultivate justice both public and private. No government will or can endure, which does not protect the rights of its subjects. Unless such efficient regulations are adopted, as will secure property as well as liberty, one revolution will follow another. Anarchy, monarchy, or despotism, will be the consequence. By just laws and the faithful execution of them, public and private credit will be restored, and the restoration of credit will be a mine of wealth to this young country. It will make a fund for agriculture, commerce, and manufactures, which will soon enable the United States to claim an exalted rank among the nations of the earth. Such are the resources of your country, and so trifling are your debts, compared with your resources, that proper systems, wisely planned and faithfully executed, will soon fill your extensive territory with inhabitants, and give you the command of such ample capitals, as will enable you to run the career of national greatness, with advantages equal to the oldest kingdoms of Europe. What they have been slowly growing to, in the course of near two thousand years, you may hope to equal within one century. If you continue under one government, built on the solid foundations of public justice, and public virtue, there is no point of national greatness to which you may not aspire with a well-founded hope of speedily attaining it. Cherish and support a reverence for government, and cultivate an union between the East and South, the Atlantic and the Mississippi. Let the greatest good of the greatest number, be the pole-star of your public and private deliberations. Shun wars, they beget debt, add to the common vices of mankind, and produce others, which are almost peculiar to themselves. Agriculture, manufactures, and commerce, are your proper business. Seek not to enlarge your territory by conquest; it is already sufficiently extensive. You have ample scope for the employment of your most active minds, in promoting your own domestic happiness. Maintain your own rights, and let all others remain in quiet possession of theirs. Avoid discord, faction, luxury, and the other vices which have been the bane of commonwealths.

monwealths. Cherish and reward the philosophers, the statesmen, and the patriots, who devote their talents and time, at the expence of their private interests, to the toils of enlightening and directing their fellow citizens, and thereby rescue citizens and rulers of republics from the common, and too often merited, charge of ingratitude. Practise industry, frugality, temperance, moderation, and the whole lovely train of republican virtues. Banish from your borders the liquid fire of the West-Indies, which, while it entails poverty and disease, prevents industry, and foment private quarrels. Venerate the plough, the hoe, and all the implements of agriculture. Honour the men, who with their own hands maintain their families, and raise up children who are inured to toil, and capable of defending their country. Reckon the necessity of labour not among the curses, but the blessings of life. Your towns will probably ere long be engulfed in luxury and effeminacy. If your liberties and future prospects depended on them, your career of liberty would probably be short; but a great majority of your country, must, and will be yeomanry, who have no other dependence than on Almighty God for his usual blessing on their daily labour. From the great excess of the number of such independent farmers in these States, over and above all other classes of inhabitants, the long continuance of your liberties may be reasonably presumed."

"Let the hapless African sleep undisturbed on his native shore, and give over wishing for the extermination of the ancient proprietors of this land. Universal justice is universal interest. The most enlarged happiness of one people, by no means requires the degradation or destruction of another. It would be more glorious to civilise one tribe of savages, than to exterminate or expel a score. There is territory enough for them and for you. Instead of invading their rights, promote their happiness, and give them no reason to curse the folly of their fathers, who suffered your's to sit down on a soil which the common Parent of us both had previously assigned to them: but above all, be particularly careful that your own descendents do not degenerate into savages. Diffuse the means of education, and particularly of religious instruction, through your remotest settlements. To this end, support and strengthen the hands of your public teachers. Let your voluntary contributions confute the dishonourable position, that religion cannot be supported but by compulsory establishments. Remember that there can be no political happiness without liberty; that there can be no liberty without morality; and that there can be no morality without religion."

"It is now your turn to figure on the face of the earth, and in the annals of the world. You possess a country which in less than a century will

will probably contain fifty millions of inhabitants. You have, with a great expence of blood and treasure, rescued yourselves and your posterity from the domination of Europe. Perfect the good work you have begun, by forming such arrangements and institutions, as bid fair for ensuring, to the present and future generations, the blessings for which you have successfully contended."

"May the Almighty Ruler of the Universe, who has raised you to independence, and given you a place among the nations of the earth, make the American Revolution an era in the history of the world, remarkable for the progressive increase of human happiness!"

Having considered the Constitution in its theory, it now remains to contemplate it as reduced to practice; or rather the government arising out of it: and here the United States present to our view, a picture very different, from any we behold in the various countries of Europe.

In the United States we see the people raised to their due importance, resorting to first principles, asserting their own independence and forming a government for themselves; and when eleven years experience had convinced them of its insufficiency to secure the important ends for which they designed it, we again behold them laying it aside, and discarding the contemptible arguments that would render innovation formidable, raising a new and more perfect system in its place, publishing it in their own name and giving it energy and effect, by their own willing submission to the laws and regulations it enjoins—here then we contemplate the government springing from its right source; originating with the people, and exercised under the guidance of a constitution formed agreeable to their sovereign will. On the contrary, if we carefully examine the Constitutions, or what are so called, in Europe, we shall find that they have had their origin in governments, prior formed by conquest and usurpation; and that what appearance of order they have assumed, what portion the people possess in them, or what provision they make for the security of their liberties or property, have all been gradually procured by the people, struggling against the severity and oppression of the feudal system. Such was the origin of our Magna Charta, Habeas Corpus Act, and Bill of Rights, and such has been the origin of the small portion of liberty, which the other European nations possess. It is to America we must look for the first and bright example, of a nation sitting down in peace, causing a defective government to pass away without a groan, and erecting another in its stead more beneficial, and more congenial with its wishes.

The goodness of a government, must be estimated by the share which the people at large have in it, the benefits they derive from it, and the

small portion of individual liberty and property surrendered for its support. If we apply this criterion to the government of the American Empire, we shall find that it has a strong claim to our approbation, the whole of it may justly be considered as in the hands of the people. Its beneficial influence, may be fairly concluded from the rising importance, and rapid improvements of the United States; and the small portion of property surrendered for its support will appear evident, if we consider the following estimates laid before the House of Representatives.

## EXPENDITURE.

*Estimate of the Expenditure for the CIVIL LIST of the United States, together with the Incidental and Contingent Expences of the several Departments and Offices, for the Year 1794.*

## PRESIDENTS.

	Dols.	Dols.
For compensation to the President of the United States	25,000	
Ditto to the Vice President	5,000	
	<hr/>	30,000

## JUDGES.

Compensation to the Chief Justice	4,000	
Ditto, to five associate Judges, at 3,500 dollars per annum each	17,500	
Ditto, to the Judges of the following districts, viz.		
Maine	1,000	
New Hampshire	1,000	
Vermont	800	
Massachusetts	1,200	
Rhode Island	800	
Connecticut	1,000	
New York	1,500	
New Jersey	1,000	
Pennsylvania	1,600	
Delaware	800	
Maryland	1,500	
Virginia	1,800	
Kentucky	1,000	
North Carolina	1,500	
South Carolina	1,800	
Georgia	1,500	
Attorney General	1,900	
	<hr/>	43,200



## MEMBERS OF THE SENATE AND HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, AND THEIR OFFICERS.

*Compensation to the Members of Congress, estimating the attendance of the whole for six months.*

Speaker of the House of Representatives, at twelve dollars per day	2,190
One hundred and thirty-four members, at six dollars per day	146,730
Travelling expenses to and from the seat of government	25,000
Secretary of the Senate, for one years salary	1,500
Additional allowance estimated for six months, at two dollars per day	365
	1,865
Principal clerk to the Secretary of the Senate, for 365 days, at three dollars per day	1,095
Two engrossing clerks to ditto, at two dollars per day each, for 365 days	1,460
Chaplain to the Senate, estimated for six months, at 500 dols. per annum	250
Door-keeper to the Senate, one year's salary	500
Assistant door-keeper, do. do.	450
Clerk to the House of Representatives, one year's salary	1,500
Additional allowance, estimated for six months, at two dollars per day	365
	1,865
Principal clerk in the office of the clerk of the House of Representatives, for 365 days, at 3 dols. per day	1,095
Two engrossing clerks at two dollars per day each, for 365 days	1,460
Chaplain to the House of Representatives, estimated for six months, at 500 dollars per ann.	250
Serjeant at Arms for the same time, at four dols. per day	730
Door-keeper to the House of Representatives, one year's salary	500
Assistant door-keeper do. do.	450
	185,890

## TREASURY DEPARTMENT.

Secretary of the Treasury	3,500
Two principal clerks at 800 dollars each	1,600
Five clerks, at 500 dols. each	2,500
Messenger and office-keeper	250
	<hr/> 7,850
Comptroller of the Treasury	2,650
Principal clerk	800
Thirteen clerks, at 500 dollars each	6,500
Messenger and office-keeper	250
	<hr/> 10,200
Treasurer	2,400
Principal clerk	600
Two clerks, at 500 dollars each	1,000
Messenger and office-keeper	100
	<hr/> 4,100
Auditory of the Treasury	2,400
Principal clerk	800
Fourteen clerks, at 500 dollars each	7,000
Salary of the messenger	250
	<hr/> 10,450
Commissioner of the revenue	2,400
Principal and six other clerks, on the business of the revenue, light houses, general returns, and statements, &c.	3,500
Messenger and office-keeper	250
	<hr/> 6,150
Register of the treasury	2,000
Three clerks on the impost, tonnage, and excise accounts	1,500
Two ditto, on the books and records relative to the receipt and expenditures of public monies	1,000
Two ditto, on the duties assigned to the register, by the acts concerning the registering and recording, enrolling and licensing ships or vessels	1,000
Three ditto, for drawing out, checking, and issuing, and taking receipts for certificates of the domestic and assumed debts	1,500
Three ditto on the books of the general and particular loan offices, comprehending the interest, accounts, and claimed dividends, at the several loan offices	1,500

	Dols.
Six clerks on the books and records which relate to the public creditors, on the several descriptions of stock and transfers - - - - -	3,000
Two ditto, on the books and records of registered debt, including the payment of its interest -	1,000
One ditto, to complete the arrangement of the public securities in books prepared for their reception in numerical order - - - - -	500
Two ditto, on the books of the late government	1,000
One transcribing clerk - - - - -	500
Two office-keepers, incident to the several offices of record, at 250 dollars per annum each -	500
	<hr/> 15,000
	<hr/> 53,750

## DEPARTMENT OF STATE.

The Secretary of State - - - - -	3,500
Chief Clerk - - - - -	800
Four clerks, at 500 dollars each - - - - -	2,000
Clerk for foreign languages - - - - -	250
Office-keeper and Messenger - - - - -	250
	<hr/> 6,800

## MINT OF THE UNITED STATES.

Director of the Mint - - - - -	2,000
Affayer - - - - -	1,500
Chief coiner - - - - -	1,500
Engraver - - - - -	1,500
* Three clerks, at 500 dollars each - - - - -	1,500
The Director estimates ten or twelve workmen at 65 dollars per week - - - - -	3,385
	<hr/> 11,285

\* The director observes, that three clerks are estimated to provide against a contingency; but of the three estimated for last year, only one had been employed, and the at 400 dollars per annum, excepting three months last winter, for which one other was paid at the rate of 500 dollars per annum.

Dols. Dols.

## DEPARTMENT OF WAR.

The Secretary of the department	-	-	3,000	
Principal clerk	-	-	800	
Six clerks, at 500 dollars each	-	-	3,000	
Messenger and office-keeper	-	-	250	
			<hr/>	7,050
Accomptant of the war department	-	-	1,200	
Seven clerks, at 500 dollars each	-	-	3,500	
			<hr/>	4,700
				<hr/>
				11,750

## LAND OFFICERS.

For New Hampshire	-	-	650	
Massachusetts	-	-	1,500	
Rhode Island	-	-	600	
Connecticut	-	-	1,000	
New York	-	-	1,500	
New Jersey	-	-	700	
Pennsylvania	-	-	1,500	
Delaware	-	-	600	
Maryland	-	-	1,000	
Virginia	-	-	1,500	
North Carolina	-	-	1,000	
South Carolina	-	-	1,000	
Georgia	-	-	700	
			<hr/>	13,250

## GOVERNMENT OF THE WESTERN TERRITORY.

*District North West of the River Ohio.*

Governor, for his salary as such, and for discharging the duties of Superintendent of Indian Affairs,

Northern Department	-	-	2,000	
The Secretary of the said district	-	-	750	
Three Judges at 800 dols. each	-	-	2,400	
Stationary, office-rent, &c.	-	-	350	
			<hr/>	5,500



Dols. Cts.

*District South-West of the River Ohio.*

Governor, for his salary as such, and for discharging the duties of Superintendent of Indian Affairs, Southern Department	2,000
Secretary of the said district	750
Three Judges at 800 dols. each	2,400
Stationary, office-rent, &c.	350
	<hr/> 5,500

## PENSIONS GRANTED BY THE LATE GOVERNMENT.

Isaac Van Voert, John Paulding, and David Williams, each a pension of 200 dols. per annum pursuant to an act of Congress of 23d Nov. 1780	600
Dominique L'Eglize, per act of Congress of 8th August, 1792	120
Joseph Traverse per ditto	120
Youngest children of the late major-general Warren, per act of the 1st July, 1780	450
Samuel M'Kenzie, Joseph Brussels, and John Jordan, per act of 10th Sep. 1783, entitled to a pension of forty dols. each per annum	120
Eliz. Bergen, per act of 21st August, 1781	53 33
Joseph De Beauleau, per act of 5th August, 1782	100
Richard Gridley, per acts of 17th Nov. 1775, and 26th Feb. 1781	444 40
Lieut. Col. Toufard, per act of 27th Oct. 1788	360
	<hr/> 2,367 73

## GRANT TO BARON STEUBEN, &amp;c.

His annual allowance per act of Congress	2,500
Annual allowance to the widow and orphan children of Col. John Harding, per act of 27th Feb. 1793	450
Annual allowance to the orphan children of Major Alexander Trueman, per same act	300
Annual allowance for the education of Hugh Mercer, son of the late major-general Mercer, per act dated 2d March, 1793	400
	<hr/> 3,650

FOR THE INCIDENTAL AND CONTINGENT EXPENSES RELATIVE TO THE CIVIL LIST ESTABLISHMENT \*.

Secretary of the Senate, his estimate	3,000
Clerk of the House of Representatives, his do.	7,000
	<hr/> 10,000

## TREASURY DEPARTMENT.

Secretary of the Treasury, per estimate	500
Comptroller of the Treasury, per do.	800
Treasurer, per do.	400
Commissioner of the Revenue, per do.	300
Auditor of the Treasury, per do.	500
Register of the Treasury (including books for the public stocks) per do.	2,000
Rent of the Treasury	650
Ditto, of a house taken for a part of the office of the Register	240
Ditto, of a house for the office of the Commissioner of the Revenue, and for part of the office of the Comptroller, and part of the office of the Auditor	266 66
Rent of a house for the office of the Auditor, and a small store for public papers	440
Wood for the department (Treasurers excepted) candles, &c.	1,200
	<hr/> 7,296 66

## DEPARTMENT OF STATE.

Including the expense which will attend the publication of the laws of the first session of the third Congress, and for printing an edition of the same to be distributed according to law	<hr/> 2,061 67
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## MINT OF THE UNITED STATES.

The Director estimates for the several expenses of the mint, including the pay of a refiner, when employed, for gold, silver and copper, and for the completion of the melting furnaces	<hr/> 2,700
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\* Under this head are comprehended fire-wood and stationary, together with printing work, and all the contingent expenses of the two houses of Congress, rent and office expenses of the three several departments, viz. Treasury, State and War, and also for the Mint of the United States,

## DEPARTMENT OF WAR.

		Dols.	Cts.
Secretary at War, per statement	800		
Accomptant to the war department	400		
	<hr/>		
	1,200		
	<hr/>		
		23,258	33
		<hr/>	
Total Dollars		397,201	6
		<hr/>	

*An additional Estimate, for making good deficiencies for the support of the Civil List establishment, for aiding the fund appropriated for the payments of certain officers of the Courts, Jurors and Witnesses, for the support of the Lighthouses, and for other purposes.*

Dols. Cts.

To make good deficiencies for the support of the  
Civil List for the year 1793.

Extra clerk-hire, in the office of the Secretary of

State, in preparing documents for Congress 600

For an index to the laws of the 2d Congress 200

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800

The Secretary at War, his estimates to make good  
so much short, estimated, for contingent ex-  
pences for the year 1793

205 76

Additional compensation from 1st Oct. 1793, to  
31st December following, to certain public  
officers, by act passed the second of March,  
1793\*.

Auditor of the Treasury, at 500 dols. per ann. 125 300

Commissioners of the Revenue, ditto 125

Comptroller of the Treasury, at 500 dols. per  
annum 62 50

Register of the Treasury, ditto 62 50

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375

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1,380 76

\* By the said act, this additional compensation commenced the first of April, 1793, the two quarters preceding the first Oct. 1793, were paid out of the sum of 5,169 dollars, granted in the appropriation of 1,539,044 75-100 dollars for the purpose of discharging claims admitted in due course of settlement at the Treasury.

The

*Expences of Commissioners of Loans for Clerk-hire and Stationary, from 1<sup>st</sup> March, 1793, to 31<sup>st</sup> December, 1794.*

The accounts of many of the said commissioners having been transmitted to the treasury, under an idea that legislative provision will be made for defraying the said expences, the following statement, extracted from their said accounts, so far as the same have been rendered, will shew the amount thereof at each loan-office, viz.

	Dols.	Cts.
NEW-HAMPSHIRE, Estimate	697	1
MASSACHUSETTS,		
Account rendered in the month of March -	326	12
Do. from 1 <sup>st</sup> April to 30 <sup>th</sup> June -	816	97
Do. from 1 <sup>st</sup> July to 30 <sup>th</sup> Sept -	865	85
Estimate from 1 <sup>st</sup> October to 31 <sup>st</sup> December, the same as the preceding quarter -	865	85
	<hr/>	2,874 79
RHODE-ISLAND.		
Account rendered from 1 <sup>st</sup> March to 31 <sup>st</sup> ditto -	68	83
Ditto from 1 <sup>st</sup> April to 30 <sup>th</sup> June -	190	74
Estimate from 1 <sup>st</sup> July to 31 <sup>st</sup> Dec. -	381	48
	<hr/>	641 5
CONNECTICUT.		
Account rendered from 1 <sup>st</sup> March to 30 <sup>th</sup> June -	408	94
Do. from 1 <sup>st</sup> July to 30 <sup>th</sup> Sept. -	256	52
Estimate from 1 <sup>st</sup> Oct. to 31 <sup>st</sup> Dec. -	256	52
	<hr/>	921 98
NEW-YORK.		
Account rendered from 1 <sup>st</sup> March to 31 <sup>st</sup> March	515	
Do. from 1 <sup>st</sup> April to 30 <sup>th</sup> June -	1,430	38
Do. from 1 <sup>st</sup> July to 30 <sup>th</sup> Sept. -	1,303	81
Estimate from 6 <sup>th</sup> Oct. to 31 <sup>st</sup> Dec. -	1,303	81
	<hr/>	4,553
NEW-JERSEY.		
Account rendered from 1 <sup>st</sup> March to 31 <sup>st</sup> March -	26	
Do. from 1 <sup>st</sup> April to 30 <sup>th</sup> June -	8	
Do. from 1 <sup>st</sup> July to 30 <sup>th</sup> Sept -	54	52
Estimate from 1 <sup>st</sup> Oct. to 31 <sup>st</sup> Dec. -	54	52
	<hr/>	221 4



## PENNSYLVANIA.

Dols. Cts.

Account rendered from 1st March to 31st do.	-	154	16	
Estimate from 1st April to 31st Dec.	-	1,317	44	
				<hr/> 1,541 62

## DELAWARE.

Account rendered from 1st March to 31st do.	-	25		
Estimate from 1st April to 31st Dec.	-	225		
				<hr/> 250

## MARYLAND.

Account rendered from 1st to 31st March	-	110	50	
Estimate from 1st April to 31st Dec.	-	991	50	
				<hr/> 1,102

## VIRGINIA.

Account rendered from 1st to 31st March	-	227	16	
Do. from 1st April to 30th June	-	741	19	
Do. from 1st July to 30th September	-	649	5	
Estimate from 1st Oct. to 31st Dec.	-	649	5	
				<hr/> 2,266 45

## NORTH CAROLINA.

Estimate from 1st March to 31st December, 1793				800
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## SOUTH CAROLINA.

Account rendered from 1st to 31st March	-	127	47	
Dit. from 1st April to 30th June	-	377	50	
Do. from 1st July to 30th September	-	380	43	
Estimate from 1st Oct. to 31st December	-	380	43	
				<hr/> 1,265 83

## GEORGIA.

Estimate from 1st March to 31st Decem. 1793				240
For clerk-hire and stationary of the several state commissioners of loans, from 1st January, 1794, to the 31st of December following, estimated on a reference to the claims exhibited and referred to in the above statement, at	-	-	-	22,622 25

40,000

## CLERKS OF COURTS, JURIES, WITNESSES, &amp;c.

The fund arising from fines, forfeitures and penalties, having last year proved insufficient for the discharge of the accounts of clerks, &c. to

which they were appointed, a sum for the present year is estimated, in order to provide against a similar contingency, of	Dols.	Dols.
		12,000
For the maintenance and support of light-houses, beacons, public piers and steakage of channels, bars, and shoals, and for occasional improvements in the construction of lanterns, and of the lamps and materials used therein	20,000	
To make good a deficiency in the estimate for 1792, for the same objects	4,000	
		<u>24,000</u>
For the expences towards the safe-keeping and prosecuting of persons committed for offences against the United States	4,000	
For the purchase of hydrometers for the use of the officers of the Customs and Inspectors of the Revenue, for the year 1794	1,500	
		<u>5,500</u>

FOR THE COINAGE OF COPPER AT THE MINT OF  
THE UNITED STATES.

To replace so much advanced at the Bank of the United States, for the purpose of an importation of copper, under the superintendence of the Director of the Mint	10,000	
To pay for copper purchased in the year 1793	7,350	
For the purchase of ditto 1794	7,350	
		<u>24,700</u>
Arrears of Pension due to the Widow and Orphan children of Col. John Harding,		
For their allowance from 1st of July 1792, to the 31st of Dec. 1793, per act of Congress, dated Feb. 27, 1793, at 450 dollars per annum	675	
Arrears of Pension due to the Orphan children of major Alexander Truman		
For the allowance from 1st July, 1792, to the 31st Dec. 1793, per act of Congress, dated 27th Feb. 1793, at 300 dollars per annum	450	
For the indemnification of the estimate of the late major general Green, for certain bonds entered into by him, during the late war, upon the principles of the act of Congress for that purpose, dated 27th April, 1792		<u>1,125</u>

For a balance stated by the Auditor of the Treasury to be due to said estate, in which is included interest due on bonds from their dates, to 12th April, 1793	Dols.	Dols.
		33,187
To defray the expences incident to the stating and printing the public accounts for the year 1793, in compliance with the order of the House of Representatives, of 30th Dec. 1791		800
For the discharge of such demands against the United States, not otherwise provided for, as shall have been ascertained and admitted in due course of settlement at the treasury, and which are of a nature according to the usage thereof to require payment in specie		5,000
		5,800
Total		147,689,78

*Estimate of the Expences of the War Department, for the year, 1794.*

AMOUNT OF PAY.

	Dols.	Cts.
General Staff	14,772	
The first sub-legion	72,228	
second sub-legion	72,228	
third sub-legion	72,228	
fourth sub-legion	72,228	
Subsistence	312,567	75
Forage	31,632	
Cloathing	112,000	
Equipments for the Cavalry	7,314	5
Horses for the Cavalry	16,000	
Bounty	5,000	
Hospital department	20,000	

ORDNANCE DEPARTMENT.

For the salaries of store-keepers at the different Arsenals	3,912
Rents	1,083
Labourers, &c.	1,720
The expences of new carriages for 230 pieces of brass field artillery, at the different arsenals of the United States, averaged at 140 dollars each	32,100

The

	Dols.	Cts.
The expences of new carriages for 134 iron cannon, with garrison carriages, averaged at 50 dollars each	6,700	
The expence of 20 mortar beds, at 40 dollars each	800	
Repairs of 14,000 arms at two dollars each	28,000	
Clearing of 12,000 do. at 25 cents, in the different arsenals	3,000	
Repairs of fortifications at West Point	10,000	
The expence of casting 50 brass field pieces out of the use- less mortars	2,500	
One hundred tons of lead, at 8. 2-3 dollars per hundred	17,333	34
Seventy-five tons of gun-powder, at 20 dollars per hundred	30,000	
One thousand rifled muskets, at 12 dollars each	12,000	
Equipments for Cavalry	8,250	
Ten thousand knapsacks, at 50 cents each	5,000	
Ten thousand cartridge boxes, at one dollar each	10,000	
Two thousand tents, at 10 dollars each	20,000	
One hundred horseman's tents, at 20 dollars each	2,000	
Twenty officers marquees, at 150 dollars each	3,000	
For a magazine and buildings proper to constitute a maga- zine and arsenal above Albany, in the state of New York	5,000	
For the purchase of ground for ditto	1,000	
For the same objects in a suitable position above the falls of Delaware	6,000	
Defensive protection of the frontiers	130,000	
For defraying the expences of the Indian department	50,000	
Quarter Master's department	150,000	
Contingencies of War Department	30,000	
Invalid Pensioners	80,239	55
Total. Dollars	1,457,835	69

Circumstances having rendered it necessary to attend to the defence of the frontiers, as well as the fortification of the principal ports of the United States, a considerable addition must be made to this estimate for the present year.

## TOTAL EXPENDITURE.

On the first of these estimates relating to the civil list, or expenditure for the support of government during the year 1794, including the incidental and contingent expences of the several departments and offices

397,201 6



Dols. Cts.

On the second relating to certain deficiencies in former appropriations for the support of government, to a provision in aid of the fund heretofore established for the compensation of certain officers of the courts, jurors, witnesses, &c. to the maintenance of light-houses, beacons, buoys and public piers, and to certain other purposes therein specified—

147,689 78

The third relating to the department of war, comprehending the probable expenditure of that department for the year 1794, including certain extraordinaries for buildings, repairs, arms and military stores, amounting to 202,783 dollars and 34 cents, and a sum of 80,239 dollars and 55 cents, for pensions to invalids

1,457,835 69

Total amount 2,002,741 53

## FINANCES.

The funds, out of which appropriations may be made for the foregoing purposes, are—1st. The sum of 600,000 dollars reserved annually for the support of government, out of the duties on imports and tonnage, by the act making provision for the debt of the United States, and which will accrue in the year 1794.—2d. The surplus of revenue and income beyond the appropriations heretofore charged thereupon, to the end of the same year 1794. The statement herewith submitted, shews a surplus to the end of 1793, of 2,534,212 dollars, and 82 cents, which it is believed may be relied upon.

*Statement of the Revenue of the United States, and Appropriations charged thereon to the end of the year 1793.*

## REVENUE.

Dols. Cts.

Proceeds of the duties on imports and tonnage, and of fines, penalties and forfeitures, from the commencement of the present government to the 31st of Dec. 1791

6,534,263 84

Proceeds of duties on spirits distilled within the United States, for a half year, ending the 31st of Dec. 1791, agreeable to accounts settled at the treasury

141,849 98

Proceeds

Dols. Cts.

Proceeds of duties on imports and tonnage, and of fines, penalties, and forfeitures for the year 1792, agreeable to accounts settled at the treasury	4,615,559
Proceeds of duties on spirits distilled within the United States in the year 1792, agreeable to accounts settled at the Treasury 294,344 35, to which add the difference between the said sum, and the amount estimated for 1792, for accounts remaining to be settled 105,655 dollars and 65 cents	400,000
Proceeds of duties on imports and tonnage, and of fines penalties and forfeitures for the year 1793, estimated at nearly the same as for the year 1792	4,617,510
Proceeds of duties on spirits distilled within the United States, in the year 1793, estimated at the same as for the year 1792	400,000
Cash received in the Treasury to the end of the year 1791, from fines, penalties and forfeitures, and for balances	11,335 93
Cash received into the Treasury to the end of the year 1792, for arms and accoutrements sold, fines and penalties, balance of accounts settled, and on account of the dividend declared by the bank of the United States to June 30, 1792	21,860 87
Cash received into the Treasury during the year 1793, on account of patents, 630 dollars of cents and half cents coined at the mint 1,154 3-100 dollars, balances due under the government 8,448, 58-100 dollars; and on account of dividends declared by the bank of the United States, from the 1st of July, 1792, to the 30th June, 1793, 38,500 dollars	48,732 61
Estimated product of the dividend to be declared from the 1st of July to the 31st of Dec. 1793, beyond the interest payable to the bank on the loan of two millions	10,000
	<hr/> 16,801,142 23

## APPROPRIATIONS.

Dates of Acts.	Dols. Cts.
1789, Aug. 20. For treaties with the Indians	20,000
Sept. 29. For the service of the year 1789	693,000
1790, Mar. 26. For the support of government for the year 1790	754,658 99
	July

Dols. Cts.

1790, July 1.	For intercourse with foreign nations, for the years 1790, 1791, and 1792	120,000
	For satisfying the claims of John M'Cord	1,309 71
July 22.	For treaties with certain Indian tribes	20,000
Aug. 4.	For interest on the debts, foreign and domestic, for the year 1791, esti- mated at	2,060,861 40
	For ditto ditto 1792	2,849,194 73
	For ditto ditto 1793	2,849,194 73
	For the establishment of cutters	10,000
10.	For finishing the light-house on Port- land-head	1,500
	For the relief of disabled foldiers and seamen, and certain other persons	548 57
12.	For sundry objects	233,219 97
	For the reduction of the public debt, being surplus of revenue to the end of the year 1790	1,374,656 40
1791, Feb. 11.	For the support of government during the year 1791, and for other purposes	740,232 60
March 3.	For a recognition of the treaty with Morocco	20,000
	For compensations to the officers of the judicial courts, jurors, and witnesses, and for other purposes; being net pro- ceeds of fines, penalties and forfei- tures to the end of the year 1791	4,055 33
	For raising and adding another regi- ment to the military establishment, and for making farther provision for the protection of the frontiers	312,686 20
Dec. 23.	For the support of government for the year 1792	1,059,222 81
1792, April 2.	For finishing the light-house on Bald- head	4,000
	For the mint establishment	7,000
13.	For compensating the corporation of trustees of the public grammar school and academy of Wilmington	2,533 64
		May

May ..	For the protection of the frontiers, and other purposes	673,500
	For interest on 400,000 dollars received on account of a loan from the bank of the United States of 523,500 dollars, to Dec. 31, 1793	28,753 41
8.	For fundry objects	84,497 90
	For compensating the services of the late Col. George Gibson	1,000
	For an advance on account of the claim of John Brown Cutting	2,000
1793, Feb. 9.	For intercourse with foreign nations for the year 1793	40,000
28.	For the service of the year 1793	1,589,044 72
	For interest on a loan of 800,000 dollars from the bank of the United States, to 31st Dec. 1793	18,333
	For defraying the expence of clerks of courts, jurors and witnesses, being the net proceeds of fines, penalties and forfeitures, to the end of the year 1792	301 46
March 2.	For treaties with the Indian tribes north west of the river Ohio	100,000
	For the relief of Elijah Bostwick	145 42
	For defraying certain specific demands	59,107 41
		<hr/>
		14,266,899 41
	Balance being the estimated surplus of revenue to the end of the year 1793, collected and to be collected, beyond the appropriations charged thereon	2,534,212 82
		<hr/>
		Dols. 16,801,112 23

The product of the duties on imports and tonnage, for the present year, is estimated, according to the ascertained amount, in the preceding year. This estimate is justified by the abstract herewith also submitted, exhibiting the product for the two first quarters of the present year, as founded on returns received at the treasury, being 2,568, 870 dollars and



and 22 cents. The product for the two remaining quarters is not computed as high as that of the two first, because circumstances and information render it probable, that it will be less, and that the drawbacks payable within the last, will be more considerable than those payable within the first half year. The ascertained product of 1792, the rates of duty being the same, is deemed the safest guide. Some savings upon the sum appropriated for different purposes may render this estimated surplus more considerable than is stated: but while the extent of these savings cannot be deemed very great, their amount (these purposes not being yet fully satisfied) cannot be pronounced. If the product of the year 1794, should equal that of the present year, the fund will be more than sufficient for the appropriation proposed to be charged upon it. If this cannot entirely be counted upon, it is hoped that a reliance may be entertained of its proving at least adequate.

*Abstract of the New Amount of Duties on Imports and Tonnage, which have accrued in the United States during the first and second Quarters of the Year 1793.*

STATES.	1 <sup>st</sup> Qr. Ending 31 <sup>st</sup> March 1793.		2 <sup>d</sup> Qr. ending 30 <sup>th</sup> June.		Total amount.	
	Dolls.	Cents.	Dolls.	Cents.	Dolls.	Cents.
N. Hampshire	-	-	26,393	26	26,393	26
Massachusetts	7,823	52 3-4	340,621	5 3-4	348,444	58 1-2
Rhode Island	1,665	52	67,078	93	68,744	45
Connecticut	26,394	47	70,507	84	96,902	31
Vermont	-	-	-	-	-	-
New York	122,419	49	532,542	45	654,961	94
New Jersey	924	31	1,879	4	2,803	35
Pennsylvania	157,523	93	586,000	-	743,523	93
Delaware	129	7	2,319	71	2,448	78
Maryland	49,512	54 3-4	161,987	28 3-4	211,499	83 1-2
Virginia	40,993	15	104,182	62 1-2	145,175	77 1-2
Kentucky	-	-	-	-	-	-
N. Carolina	25,371	75 3-4	16,696	93	42,068	68 3-4
S. Carolina	91,040	54	106,547	64	197,588	18
Georgia	27,923	23	2,367	67	30,290	90
	551,721	54 1-4	2,019,124	44	2,570,845	98 1-4
Deduct N. Hamp.	1,893	42 1-2	-	-	-	-
Vermont.	-	-	82	33	1,975	75 1-22
Net amount	549,828	11 3-4	2,019,042	11	2,568,870	22 3-4

But there is a provision also to be made for the payment of interest on the balances found by the commissioners for settling accounts between the

the United and individual States, in favour of certain states. The annual sum of interest upon those balances, is 128,978 dollars and 8 cents, computed according to the proportions by which interest is adjusted on the assumed debt. If Congress shall think proper to make the requisite provision out of the duties on imports and tonnage, it will be necessary to its efficacy, that a priority be secured to it: an object which will require attention in making the appropriations above contemplated. It is considered, that there will be still no hazard of deficiency; and if there should be any, it would seem most proper, that it should fall on the appropriation for the current service, to be supplied, till further provision can be made, by a loan.

A provision for paying, during the year 1794, interest on such part of the domestic debt, as may remain unsubscribed, will come under a like consideration.

It appears proper, likewise, to notice, that no provision has yet been made, for paying the yearly interest, on the two million loan had of the bank of the United States. The bank has hitherto discounted the amount of that interest out of its dividends on the stock belonging to the United States, but for want of an approbation the business cannot receive a regular adjustment at the treasury. An appropriation of so much of the dividends as may be necessary towards the payment of the interest will obviate the difficulty.—The second instalment of that loan has been comprised in the foregoing view; because it is imagined that Congress may judge it expedient to provide for its payment out of the foreign fund, as they did with regard to the first instalment. The statement herewith also communicated, exhibits the present situation of that fund, shewing a balance unexpended of five hundred and seventy-seven thousand, two hundred and eighty-four dollars, and fifty-six cents, liable to the observation at the bottom thereof.

STATE OF MONIES transferred to the United States, out of the proceeds  
of Foreign Loans.

To this sum paid to France for the use of St.	Dr.
Domingo - - - - - Dols.	726,020
Payment to France of 3 millions of livres, pursuant to an agreement with M. Ternaat -	544,500
Ditto for miscellaneous purposes paid to M. Tenant - - - - -	49,400
Instalment due to France, September 3d, 1793,	
1,500,000 livres - - - - -	272,250
No. V. L1	Instalment

Instalment due to France November 5th, 1793,

1,000,000 livres.

On which there has been paid Dols. 178,879 35

Balance to be paid - - - 2,620 65

181,500

Payment made to foreign of-

ficers - - - Dols. 66,089 77

Referred to be paid - - - 125,227 13

191,316 90

This sum expended in pur-  
chases of the public debt,

viz.

1793, Feb. 4, Dols. 50,000

Ditto 19, 234,901 89

Sept. 2, 5,000

334,901 89

Instalment to the bank of the United States 200,000

Balance subject to further disposition 577,284 56

Dols. 3,077,173 35

By this sum drawn by the treasurer on the commissioners in Amster-  
dam.

Cr.

Florins 5,649,621 8—2,305,769 13

From which deduct

the amount of bills

fold to the bank of

the United States,

afterwards surren-

dered 495,000 — 200,000

5,154,621 2-8 1,105,769 13

By this sum applied in Europe to the payment of  
interest, for which provision was made out of  
domestic funds, and thereby virtually drawn to  
the United States, viz.

Interest from the 1st

of Feb. 1791, to

the 1st of Dec.

1793, paid and to

be paid, Florins 2,940,790 13  
 From which deduct  
 this sum remitted  
 from hence 536,565 4

Florins 2,404,225 9\* at 36 4-11 971,404, 22

Dols. 3,077,173, 35

But in judging of the expediency of making the provision intimated, it is necessary to take into consideration, that on the first of June 1794, a second instalment of 1,000,000 of florins, of the capital of the Dutch debt, became payable; for which, by the last advices, it appeared problematical, owing to the situation of the affairs of Europe, whether provision could be made by a further loan. This circumstance is an obstacle to the immediate application of the residue of the foreign fund according to its destination—that being the only resource yet provided, out of which the instalment of the Dutch debt can be paid, if a farther loan cannot be procured in time. More decisive information on the point may every day be expected.

In the mean time, no inconvenience can ensue from applying a portion of that residue to the payment of the instalment of the two million loan—the degree in which it will intrench upon the means in possession for satisfying the ensuing instalment of the Dutch debt, being easily susceptible of a substitute. And there will be time enough for providing one, if a loan should not be obtained.

By an arrangement made with the bank, the interest of the first instalment ceased the last of December 1792, though the payment could not legally be consummated till July following.

A provision for payment on the second instalment at the end of the present year will continue this desirable course, and work a public saving; though, owing to the long credits given for the duties, anticipations of their proceeds, by temporary loans, may be necessary to the being prepared for the exigences of the current service.

Thus the present eligible situation of the United States, compared to that of Great Britain, or Europe at large, as it respects taxes or contributions, for the payment of all public charges, appears manifest.

\* The precise account of sums thus paid for interest, cannot be definitively pronounced till the completion of the settlement of foreign accounts, now going on at the treasury.



In the United States, the average proportion of his earnings, which each citizen pays per annum, for the support of the civil, military, and naval establishments, and for the discharge of the interest of the public debts of his country, &c. is about one dollar and a quarter. In Great Britain, the taxes of these objects, on an average, amount to above two guineas per annum to each person. Hence it appears, that in the United States they enjoy the blessings of a free government and mild laws, of personal liberty, and protection of property, for nearly one tenth part of the sum which is paid in England for the purchase of similar benefits, too generally without the attainment of them. The American citizen likewise has the prospect of the taxes, which he pays, small as they are, being lessened, while the subjects of all the old European governments can have no expectation but of their burdens being increased.

### SOCIETY OF THE CINCINNATI.

This society, instituted immediately on the close of the war, in 1783, has made so much noise both in Europe and America, and has derived such dignity and importance from the characters who compose it, that it is thought proper to insert the institution at large, for the information of the uninformed, and for the gratification of the respectable members of the Cincinnati, who wish to have their friendly and charitable intentions fully understood by all classes of their fellow citizens.

It originated with General Knox, who, with the good intention of reconciling the minds of his military brethren to the private life on which they were soon to enter, projected the plan. Knox imparted his proposals to certain officers. They were afterward communicated to the several regiments of the respective lines, and an officer from each was appointed, who, with the generals, should take the same into consideration at a meeting to be held on the 10th of May, at which Baron Stuben, the senior officer present, presided. At their next meeting on the 13th, the plan, having been revised, was accepted. The substance of it was—"The officers of the American army do hereby, in the most solemn manner, associate, constitute, and combine themselves, into one *Society of Friends*, to endure as long as they shall endure, or ANY OF THEIR ELDEST MALE POSTERITY; and in failure thereof, THE COLLATERAL BRANCHES, WHO MAY BE JUDGED WORTHY OF BECOMING ITS SUPPORTERS AND MEMBERS.—The officers of the American army, having generally been taken from the citizens of America, possess high veneration for the character of that illustrious Roman,

LUCIUS

LUCIUS QUINTIUS CINCINNATUS, and being resolved to follow his example, by returning to their citizenship, they think they may with propriety denominate themselves The Society of the Cincinnati. The following principles shall be immutable—an incessant attention to preserve inviolate the exalted rights and liberties of human nature, for which they have fought and bled—An unalterable determination to promote and cherish between the respective states, union and national honour—To render permanent, cordial affection, and the spirit of brotherly kindness among the officers—and to extend acts of beneficence toward those officers and their families, who may unfortunately be under the necessity of receiving it. The general society will, for the sake of frequent communications, be divided into state societies; and those again into such districts as shall be directed by the state societies. The state societies shall meet on the fourth of July annually, and the general society on the first Monday in May annually, so long as they shall deem it necessary, and afterward at least once in every three years. The state societies are to have a president, vice-president, secretary, treasurer, and assistant-treasurer. The meeting of the general society shall consist of its officers, and a representation from each state society, in number not exceeding five, whose expences shall be borne by their respective state societies. In the general meeting, the president, vice-president, secretary, assistant-secretary, treasurer, and assistant-treasurers-general, shall be chosen to serve until the next meeting. Those officers who are foreigners, are to be considered as members in the societies of any of the states in which they may happen to be. As there are and will at all times be men in the respective states eminent for their abilities and patriotism, whose views may be directed to the same laudable objects with those of the Cincinnati, it shall be a rule to admit such characters, as honorary members of the society for their own lives only: provided that the number of the honorary members do not exceed a ratio of one to four of the officers and their descendants. The society shall have an *order*, by which its members shall be known and distinguished, which shall be a medal of gold, of a proper size to receive the proposed emblems, and to be suspended by a deep blue ribbon, two inches wide, edged with white, descriptive of the union of America and France.”

The society at the said meeting directed, that the president-general should transmit, as soon as might be, to each of the following characters, a medal containing the order of the society, viz, the chevalier de la Luzerne, the Sieur Gerard, the count d’Estaing, the count de Grasse, the count de Barras, the chevalier d’Estouches, the count  
de

de Rochambeau, and the generals and colonels in the army; and should acquaint them, that "the society do themselves the honor to consider them as members." They also resolved, that the members of the several state societies should assemble as soon as might be for the choice of their officers; "that general Heath, baron Steuben, and general Knox, be a committee to wait on the commander in chief, with a copy of the institution, and request him to honor the society by placing his name at the head of it." They likewise desired general Heath, to transmit copies of the institution with the proceedings thereon, to the commanding officer of the southern army, the senior officer in each state, from Pennsylvania to Georgia inclusive, and to the commanding officer of the Rhode Island line, requesting them to take such measures as may appear to them necessary for expediting the establishment of their state societies. Circular letters were accordingly written; and the plan of the Cincinnati carried into execution, without the least opposition being given to it by any one state, or body of men in any.

A pamphlet was at length published, signed CASSIUS, dated Charleston, October 10, 1783, entitled, Considerations on the Society or order of Cincinnati; with this motto, "Blow ye the trumpet in Zion." It was thought to have been written by Ædanus Burke, Esq. one of the chief justices of South Carolina; and is well executed. The author undertook to prove that the Cincinnati erected two distinct orders among the Americans—1st, A race of hereditary nobles, founded on the military, together with the powerful families, and first-rate leading men in the state, whose view it would ever be, *to rule*: and 2dly, The people or plebeians, whose only view was, not to be oppressed; but whose fate it would be to suffer oppression under the institution. Remarking upon the reason for the members being called the *Cincinnati*, he exclaims—"As they were taken from the citizens, why in the name of God not be contented to return to citizenship, without usurping an hereditary order? or with what propriety can they denominate themselves from Cincinnatus, with an ambition so rank as to aim at nothing less, than *Otium cum Dignitate*, retirement and a peerage? Did that virtuous Roman, having subdued the enemies of his country, and returned home to tend his vineyards and plant his cabbages, confer an hereditary order of peerage on himself and his fellow soldiers? I answer, No; it was more than he dared to do. When near the end he says,—With regard to myself, I will be candid to own, that although I am morally certain the institution will entail upon us the evils I have mentioned; yet I have not the

most

most distant idea, that it will come to a dissolution. The first class, or leading gentry in the state [of South Carolina], and who will always hold the government, will find their interest in supporting a distinction that will gratify their ambition, by removing them far above their fellow citizens. The middling order of our gentry, and substantial landholders, may see its tendency; but they can take no step to oppose it, having little to do with government. And the lower class, with the city populace, will never reason on it till they feel the smart, and then they will have neither the power nor capacity for a reformation."

The alarm became general, the extreme jealousy of the new republics, suspected danger from the union of the leaders of their late army, and especially from a part of the institution which held out to their posterity the honour of being admitted members of the same society. To obviate all grounds of jealousy and fear, the general meeting of the society recommended an alteration of their institution to the state societies, which has been adopted. By this recommendation it was proposed to expunge EVERY THING THAT WAS HEREDITARY, and to retain little else than their original name, and a social charitable institution for perpetuating their personal friendship, and relieving the wants of their indigent brethren.

*The INSTITUTION of the SOCIETY, as altered and amended at their first General Meeting at PHILADELPHIA, May, 1784.*

‘IT having pleased the supreme governor of the universe to give success to the arms of our country, and to establish the United states free and independent: Therefore, gratefully to commemorate this event—to inculcate to the latest ages the duty of laying down in peace, arms assumed for public defence, by forming an institution which recognizes that most important principle—to continue the mutual friendships which commenced under the pressure of common danger, and to effectuate the acts of beneficence, dictated by the spirit of brotherly kindness, towards those officers and their families, who unfortunately may be under the necessity of receiving them; the officers of the American army do hereby constitute themselves into *A society of friends*: and, possessing the highest veneration for the character of that illustrious Roman, *Lucius Quintus Cincinnatus*, denominate themselves THE SOCIETY OF THE CINCINNATI.

SECT. I. ‘The persons who constitute this society, are all the commissioned and brevet officers of the army and navy of the United States, who have served three years, and who left the service with reputation;



reputation; all officers who were in actual service at the conclusion of the war; all the principle staff-officers of the continental army; and the officers who have been deranged by the several resolutions of Congress, upon the different reforms of the army.

SECT. II. ‘ There are also admitted into this society, the late and present ministers of his most christian majesty to the United States; all the generals and colonels of regiments and legions of the land forces; all the admirals and captains of the navy, ranking as colonels, who have co-operated with the armies of the United States in their exertions for liberty; and such other persons as have been admitted by the respective state-meetings.

SECT. III. ‘ The society shall have a president, vice-president, secretary, and assistant secretary.

SECT. IV. ‘ There shall be a meeting of the society, at least once in three years, on the first Monday in May, at such place as the president shall appoint.

‘ The said meeting shall consist of the aforesaid officers, whose expences shall be equally born by the state funds, and a representation from each state.

‘ The business of this general meeting shall be—to regulate the distribution of surplus funds; to appoint officers for the ensuing term—and to conform the bye-laws of state meetings to the general objects of the institution.

SECT. V. ‘ The society shall be divided into state-meetings: each meeting shall have a president, vice-president, secretary and treasurer, respectively to be chosen by a majority of votes annually.

SECT. VI. ‘ The state meetings shall be on the anniversary of independence. They shall concert such measures as may conduce to the benevolent purposes of the society; and the several state-meetings shall, at suitable periods, make application to their respective legislatures for grants of charters.

SECT. VII. ‘ Any member removing from one state to another, is to be considered, in all respects, as belonging to the meeting of the state in which he shall actually reside.

SECT. VIII. ‘ The state-meeting shall judge of the qualification of its members, admonish, and, if necessary, expel any one who may conduct himself unworthily.

SECT. IX. ‘ The secretary of each state-meeting shall register the names of the members resident in each state, and transmit a copy thereof to the secretary of the society.

SECT. X. ‘ In order to form funds for the relief of unfortunate members,

members, their widows and orphans, each officer shall deliver to the treasurer of the state-meeting, one month's pay.

SECT. XI. ' No donation shall be received but from the citizens of the United States.

SECT. XII. ' The funds of each state-meeting shall be loaned to the state, by permission of the legislature, and the interest only, annually be applied for the purposes of the society; and if, in process of time, difficulties should occur in executing the intentions of this society, the legislatures of the several states shall be entitled to make such equitable disposition as may be most correspondent with the original design of the constitution.

SECT. XIII. ' The subjects of his most Christian majesty, members of this society, may hold meetings at their pleasure, and form regulations for their police, conformable to the objects of the institution, and to the spirit of their government.

SECT. XIV. ' The society shall have an order; which shall be an eagle of gold, suspended by a deep blue ribbon, edged with white, descriptive of the union of America and France, bearing on its breast the emblems described, as follows.

' The principal figure to be CINCINNATUS, three senators presenting him with a sword and other military ensigns: On a field in the background his wife standing at the door of the cottage; near it a plough, and other instruments of husbandry. Round the whole, *omnia reliquit servare rempublicam*. On the reverse, the sun rising, a city with open gates, and vessels entering the port; Fame crowning *Cincinnatus* with a wreath, inscribed, *virtutis præmium*. Below, hands joining, supporting a heart, with the motto, *esto perpetua*. Round the whole, *Societas Cincinnatorum, instituta A. D. 1783*.

## AGRICULTURE.

The three important objects of attention in the United States are agriculture, commerce, and manufactures. The richness of the soil, which amply rewards the industrious husbandman; the temperature of the climate, which admits of steady labour; the cheapness of land, which tempts the foreigner from his native home, lead us to consider agriculture as the present great leading interest of that country. This furnishes outward cargoes, not only for all their own ships, but for those also which foreign nations send to their ports; or in other words, it pays for all their importations; it supplies a great part of the clothing of the inhabitants, and food for them and their cattle. What is con-

sumed at home, including the materials, for manufacturing, is four or five times the value of what is exported.

The number of people employed in agriculture, is at least three parts in four of the inhabitants of the United States; some say more. It follows of course that they form the body of the militia, who are the bulwark of the nation. The value of their property occupied by agriculture, is many times greater than the property employed in every other way. The settlement of waste lands, the subdivision of farms, and the numerous improvements in husbandry, annually increase the pre-eminence of the agricultural interest. The resources they derive from it, are at all times certain and indispensably necessary: besides, the rural life promotes health, by its active nature; and morality, by keeping the people from the luxuries and vices of the populous towns. In short, agriculture is the spring of their commerce, and the parent of manufactures.

### COMMERCE.

The vast extent of sea-coast, which spreads before the confederated states; the number of excellent harbours and sea-port towns they possess; the numerous creeks and immense bays, which indent the coast; and the rivers, lakes, and canals, which peninsulate the whole country; added to its agricultural advantages and improvements, give this part of America superior advantages for trade. Their commerce, including their exports, imports, shipping, manufactures, and fisheries, may properly be considered as forming one interest. This has been considered as the great object, and the most important interest of the New England States.

Since commerce has ever been considered as the handmaid of agriculture, particularly in America, where the agricultural interest so greatly predominates; and since neither can flourish without the other, policy and interest point out the necessity of such a system of commercial and agricultural regulations, as will originate and effectually preserve a proper connection and balance between them.

The consumption of fish, oil, whale-bone, and other articles obtained through the fisheries, in the towns and counties that are convenient for navigation, has become much greater than is generally supposed. It is computed that no less than five thousand barrels of mackarel, salmon, and pickled codfish, are vended annually in the city of Philadelphia: add to them the dried fish, oil, spermaceti candles, whale-bone, &c. and it will be found that a little fleet of sloops and schooners are employed in the business.

The demand for the forementioned articles is proportionably great in the other parts of the Union, especially in Boston and the large commercial towns that lie along the coast north-eastward, which enter largely into the fishing trade, and the vessels employed in transporting them proportionably numerous. The increase of their towns and manufactures will increase the demand for these articles, and of course the number of coasting vessels. In the present state of their navigation, they can be in no doubt of procuring these supplies by means of their own vessels. This will afford encouragement to the business of ship-building, and increase the number of their seamen, who must hereafter form an important part of the defence of their country. Add to these, their prospects from the fur trade of Canada; the vast settlements which are making at Pittsburg, Genesee, and in other parts in the neighbourhood of Canada; the advantages of their inland navigation, by means of the lakes, the northern branches of the Ohio, the Potomack, the Susquehannah, and the Hudson, with many other circumstances depending not only on the situation, but likewise on the climate, proximity, &c. must, in a few years, put a large share of this trade into their hands, and procure them, at least, a proportionable share of the large profits thence arising, which Canada, since the year 1763, has enjoyed almost exclusively. These advantages, however, are still but in prospect; and must remain so until the British, agreeable to the treaty of peace, shall have evacuated the forts at Niagara, the large settlements of the Heights, that of Michilimackinac, &c. And although the British, by the treaty of peace, are to enjoy with the Americans the portages of the navigation of the lakes, yet, should a dispute arise, it will not be convenient for the former to contest it; for the northern and north-eastern parts of the continent, included in the British limits, are much colder, more mountainous and poorer than the United States, and have no rivers, but such as are full of rapids and falls; consequently, this trade cannot be carried on by the Canadians with the same facility nor advantage as by the Americans. Still England will have left the exclusive right to the communication from Montreal with the High-lands, through the large river of the Ottawas, which flows into the river St. Lawrence at the lake of the Two Mountains, nine miles from that city; but its rapids and falls render this way, if not impracticable, at least always very expensive and precarious.

The quantity of furs, deer and elk skins, annually imported from the northern parts of America to England, is prodigious. In 1784, the amount of sales for furs was more than two hundred and forty-



five thousand pounds. It has not equalled this sum every year since, but has seldom varied more than from ten to twenty thousand pounds, and this often on the favourable side. When we consider the number of animals destroyed to furnish such extensive products, the mind feels itself lost in contemplating the vast tract of country that could afford an habitation for them.

The following is a statement of the number of furs, &c. exposed to sale at the New-York coffee-house, in London, in the present year, 1794, by the regular brokers :

209,892 racoon	10,090 wolf	304,130 deer
25,674 bear	18,930 fox	1,085 elk
34,300 martin	780 wolverin	6,890 seals
145,830 beaver	31,370 musquash	983 lamb
29,845 otter	7,798 {	4,820 squirrel
5,840 oppossum		8,300 fisher
13,220 cat	10,785 kidd	22,600 coney.
57,580 mink		

To these must be added a small quantity of furs, and deer not yet sold ; those sold in private trade, and a quantity sold public by another hand, amounting to more than six thousand pounds. In this enumeration, the quantity imported by the Hudson's Bay Company is not noticed. The chief of these furs are paid for in English manufactures.—Not more than a fourth part of them, beaver, rabbit, and deer skins excepted, if so much, are done any thing more to in England, than beat, sorted, and re-packed ; a great portion are re-shipped to Germany, and dispersed through the various parts of the empire, France, &c. some are shipped from London direct for France, and some to Russia, China, &c. at immense profits.

This valuable trade, which is carried on through Quebec, will a great part of it fall into the hands of the Americans, as soon as the fortifications, which the British possess in their northern territories, shall be restored. To this consideration, rather than to the pretended compassion for the Royalists, may be attributed the delay of that restitution. The period when this restitution *must* be made, is however arrived : a period which the British government have long anticipated with sorrow. Such are some of the commercial resources and prospects of the United States.

But for various reasons, the advantages for trade which nature has so liberally given the Americans, have never, till since the establishment of the present government, been properly improved. Before the revolution, Great-Britain claimed an exclusive right to the trade of her

American colonies. This right, which she inflexibly maintained, enabled her to fix her own price, as well on the articles which she purchased from them, as upon those of her own manufactures exported for their consumption. The carrying trade, too, was preserved almost exclusively in her own hands, which afforded a temptation to the carriers, that was often too powerful to be withstood, to exact exorbitant commissions and freights. Although we will not even hazard a conjecture how much Great Britain enriched herself by this exclusive trade with her colonies, yet this we may say, that by denying them the privilege of carrying their own produce to foreign markets, she deprived them of the opportunity of realizing, in their full extent, the advantages for trade which nature has given them.

The late war, which brought about the separation from Great Britain, threw the commercial affairs of America into great confusion. The powers of the old confederation were unequal to the compleat execution of any measures, calculated effectually to recover them from their deranged situation. Through want of power in the old Congress to collect a revenue for the discharge of their foreign and domestic debt, their credit was destroyed, and trade of consequence greatly embarrassed. Each State, in her desultory regulations of trade, regarded her own interest, while that of the union was neglected. And so different were the interests of the several States, that their laws respecting trade often clashed with each other, and were productive of unhappy consequences. The large commercial States had it in their power to oppress their neighbours; and in some instances this power was directly or indirectly exercised. These impolitic and unjustifiable regulations, formed on the impression of the moment, and proceeding from no uniform or permanent principles, excited unhappy jealousies between the clashing States, and occasioned frequent stagnations in their trade, and in some instances, a secrecy in their commercial policy. But the wise measures which have been adopted by Congress, under the present efficient government of the United States, have extricated them almost entirely from these embarrassments, and put a new and pleasing face upon their public affairs. Invested with the adequate powers, Congress have formed a system of commercial regulations, which enable them to meet the opposers of their trade upon their own ground; a system which has placed their commerce on a respectable, uniform, and intelligible footing, adapted to promote the general interests of the union, with the smallest injury to the individual States.

The countries with which the United States have had their chief commercial intercourse are Spain, Portugal, France, Great Britain, the  
United

United Netherlands, Denmark, and Sweden, and their American possessions, Russia, &c. &c. &c. and the articles of export which constitute, at present, the basis of that commerce are as follows :

## ORES, METALS, &amp;c.

Copper Ore	Skimmers and ladles
Pig	Anchors
Sheet	Grapnails
Manufactured	Muskets
Iron, the ton	Cutlasses
Pig	Knives and forks
Shot for cannon	Chests of carpenters' tools
Bar	Nails
Nail rods, &c.	Waggon boxes
Hoops	Pots, kettles, and other castings
Axes	Cannon
Hoes	Swivels
Drawing knives	Shot for cannon
Scythes	Lead, Sheet
Locks and bolts	Pig
Shovels	Shot

## NAVAL STORES.

Hemp	Rosin
Cables and cordage	Turpentine
Pitch	Sail cloth
Tar	

## PROVISIONS.

Rice	Dried fish
Flour	Pickled fish
Ship stuff	Cheese
Rye meal	Lard
Indian meal	Butter
Buckwheat meal	Sausages
Oat meal	Carcases of mutton
Mustard	Neats tongues
Bread	Oysters pickled
Beef	Potatoes
Pork	Onions
Crackers	Other vegetables,
Hams and bacon	Reeds
Venison and mutton hams	

## SPIRITS, WINES, &amp;c.

Molasses	Madeira and other wine
Rum, American	Bottled ditto
Rum, West India	Vinegar
Brandy	Effence of Spruce
Brandy, Peach	Beer
Gin	Ale
Ditto	Porter
Ditto	Ditto bottled
Cordials	

## LIVE STOCK.

Horned Cattle	Deer
Horses	Hogs
Mules	Poultry
Sheep	

## DRUGS, MEDICINES, &amp;c.

Glauber salts	Sassafras wood or root
Pink, China and snake root	Gensfang, &c., &c.
Sassafras bark	

## GROCERIES.

Cassia and cinnamon	Cocoa
Cloves	Chocolate
Pimento	Brown sugar
Pepper	Loaf sugar
Sago	Other sugars
Teas	Raifins
Coffee	

## GRAIN SEEDS AND PULSE.

Wheat	Madder
Rye	Garden feeds
Barley	Hay feed
Indian corn	Mustard feed
Oats	Cotton feed
Buck wheat	Flax feed
Peas and Beans	

## SKINS AND FURS.

Buffalo and cow hides	Beaver
Morocco	Martin
Calf in hair	Mink
Moose and elk	Musquash



*(Skins and Furs continued).*

Deer skins	Cat
Seals	Fox
Bear, wolfe, and tyger	Wolveren
Otter	Squirrel, and
Raccoon	Sundry other skins and furs

## SADDLERY, AND OTHER ARTICLES IN LEATHER.

Saddles, mens'	Shoes, mens' and womens'
Bridles	Boots
Whips	Boot legs
Coach and other carriage harness	Leather tanned and dressed
Waggon and cart geers	

## TIMBER WORK.

Frames of vessels	Frames of houses
fnows	windows and doors
boats	

## HOUSE FURNITURE.

Tables	Clocks
Bedsteads	Clock cases
Desks	Chests
Bureaus	Chairs, Windsor
Sophas and settees	Chairs Rush

## CARRIAGES.

Coaches,	Phaetons, &c.
Chariots,	Waggons and carts

## WOOD.

Staves and heading	Boxes and brakes
Shingles	Blocks
Shook casks	Oars
Casks	Oar rafters
Laths	Trunnels
Hoops	Cedar and oak knees
Hoop-poles	Breast hooks
Masts	Carlings
Bowspirts	Anchor stocks
Booms	Cedar posts
Spars	Oak boards and plank
Hand spikes	Pine balk
Pumps	Pine boards and plank

Other

*(Wood continued.)*

Other boards and plank	Mast hoops
Scantling	Axe helves
Timber. {	Truss hoops
	Yokes and bowes for oxen
	Lock stocks
Lignum vitæ	Worm tubs
Log wood and nicaragua	Wheel barrows
Mahogany, logwood, &c.	Waggon and cart wheels
Oak, pine, &c.	Spokes and Fellies
Cords of oak, pine, hickory, &c.	Spinning wheels
Ditto of oak bark	Tubs, pails, &c.
Oak bark, ground	Bowls, dishes, platters, &c.

## SUNDRIES.

Ashes, pot	Nutts
Ashes, pearl	Oil whale
Apples	Oil spermaceti
Bricks	Oil linseed
Boats	Spirits of turpentine
Bellows for smiths	Porcelain or China ware
Brimstone	Powder, gun
Blacking or lampblack	Powder, hair
Bayberries	Pomatum
Cider	Paints
Ditto bottled	Pipes
Chalk	Printing presses
Cotton	Printing types
Candles, myrtle wax	Plaster of Paris
Wax	Soap
Tallow	Starch
Spermaceti	Snuff
Coals	Steel
Craneberries	Silk, raw
Corks	Silver, old
Corn-fans	Salt
Duck Russia	Stone ware
Canes and walking-sticks	Feathers
American cotton and wool-cards	Flints
Flax	Grindstones
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*(Sundries continued.)*

Glass ware	Nankeens
Ditto for windows	Ditto manufactured
Honey	Tallow
Hops	Twine
Hay	Towcloth
Hats	Toys for children
Horns	Tin
Horn tips	Ditto manufactured
Indigo	Varnish
Lime	Whalebone, &c.
Yellow or queen's ware	Wax, Bees
Tobacco	Myrtle, &c.

The proportion of their exports, and their value to the nations before mentioned, and to their dominions respectively, as they stood in the year 1794 is as follows.

## SUMMARY OF EXPORTS.

	Dols.	Cts.
To the dominions of Russia	3,570	
To the dominions of Sweden	21,866.	2
To the dominions of Denmark	277,273.	53
To the dominions of the United Netherlands	1,634,825.	6
To the dominions of Great Britain	7,953,418.	21
To the Imperial ports of the Austrian Netherlands and Germany	362,010.	21
To Hamburg, Bremen, and other Hanse towns	64,259.	25
To the dominions of France	4,298,762.	26
To the dominions of Spain	1,301,286.	95
To the dominions of Portugal	1,039,696.	47
To the Italian Ports	31,726.	90
To Morocco	3,660.	50
To the East Indies, generally	318,628.	46
To Africa, generally	168,477.	92
To the West Indies, generally	59,434.	36
To the North West Coast of America	3,380	
To Europe and the West Indies for a market	29,274.	5

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Total Dollars 17,571,551. 45

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The exports of the year ending September 31, 1792, amounted in value to twenty-one millions, five thousand five hundred and sixty-eight pounds, from which time they have been gradually on the increase.

The imports of America, consist mostly of articles on which European industry has been exhausted, an idea of their extent, as well as of that of the American navigation, depending on their commerce, will appear by the following tables, containing abstracts of duties on the imports, and on the tonnage of vessels entered into the different ports of the United States, in the year 1791.



# ABSTRACT OF DUTIES

Arising on GOODS, WARES, and MERCHANDIZE, imported into the UNITED STATES; commencing on the 1st October 1790, and ending the 30th of September 1791.

S T A T E S.	Gross Amount of Duties.	Discount of 10 per cent. on Goods Imported in American Vessels.	Addition of 10 per cent. on Goods Imported in Foreign Vessels.	Total Amount of Duties.	Expence of Collection.	Drawbacks.	Bounties.	Nett Amount of Duties.
	<i>Dol. Cts.</i>	<i>Dol. Cts.</i>	<i>Dol. Cts.</i>	<i>Dol. Cts.</i>	<i>Dol. Cts.</i>	<i>Dol. Cts.</i>	<i>Dol. Cts.</i>	<i>Dol. Cts.</i>
New Hampshire	29,429.44	455.24	36.49	29,010.69	1,553.81	144.91	311.68	27,000.29
Massachusetts	480,129.47	10,528.97	1,448.95	471,049.45	25,953.83	11,130.43	13,258.00	420,707.17
Rhode Island	115,350.42	1,906.37	15.68	113,459.72	4,924.88	389.10	1,043.39	107,102.35
Connecticut	112,728.47	1,762.49	1,653.04	112,619.02	5,593.29	-	674.19	106,351.53
New York	639,165.53	5,202.65	15,565.50	649,528.38	13,460.45	16,416.33	117.44	619,534.16
New Jersey	7,162.56	214.49	-	6,948.07	349.38	-	-	6,598.68
Pennsylvania	727,133.37	10,162.19	13,179.85	730,151.03	15,280.48	6,915.26	-	707,955.29
Delaware	20,036.52	571.05	203.67	19,669.14	1,246.96	138.32	-	18,283.86
Maryland	338,035.25	4,798.02	6,009.70	339,246.03	11,223.62	5,058.88	-	322,964.92
Virginia	340,303.03	5,143.70	11,502.56	346,661.88	11,176.49	461.66	-	334,995.83
North Carolina	62,065.11	781.97	1,788.52	63,071.66	4,180.78	29.45	-	58,861.42
South Carolina	239,912.99	3,118.33	8,166.95	244,961.61	10,879.38	-	-	234,082.23
Georgia	43,634.91	334.87	1,796.59	45,096.63	2,692.77	18.77	-	42,285.09
Total	3,155,087.09	44,980.35	61,367.51	3,171,474.25	108,516.16	40,802.62	15,432.61	3,006,722.85

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# GENERAL ABSTRACT OF DUTIES

Arising on the Tonnage of Vessels entering into the UNITED STATES, from the 1st of October 1790, to 30th of September 1791.

STATES.	UNITED STATES VESSELS.			UNITED STATES COASTERS.			UNITED STATES FISHERIES.			FRANCE.			GREAT BRITAIN.		
	Tons.	95ths.	Dol. Cts.	Tons.	95ths.	Dol. Cts.	Tons.	95ths.	Dol. Cts.	Tons.	95ths.	Dol. Cts.	Tons.	95ths.	Dol. Cts.
New Hampshire	10,839.		650. 34	1,560.		93. 60	629.		37. 74	264.		132. 28	1,386.		693. 12
Massachusetts	96,564.	25	5,822. 98 $\frac{1}{2}$	46,063.	94	2,767. 56	29,560.	27	1,774. 70 $\frac{1}{2}$	401. 57		202. 28	22,495.	93	11,251. 21 $\frac{1}{2}$
Rhode Island	19,196.	70	1,151. 84 $\frac{1}{2}$	9,103.	18	546. 25 $\frac{1}{2}$	810.	87	48. 65 $\frac{1}{2}$	88. 18		26. 46	280.	71	140. 37 $\frac{1}{2}$
Connecticut	19,728.	63	1,183. 72	8,098.	48	487. 70 $\frac{1}{2}$	913.	32	54. 80	-		-	3,966.	71	1,983. 23 $\frac{1}{2}$
New York	40,334.	47	2,720. 85	5,725.		343. 38	567.	24	34. 3	1,503.	24	751. 60	35,154.	47	17,576. 56
New Jersey	1,213.	24	72. 79	4,567.	92	274. 34	-		-	-		-	-		-
Pennsylvania	50,327.	64	3,234. 34	3,923.	40	235. 43	-		-	967.		483. 50	27,327.	48	13,664. 12
Delaware	4,610.	23	276. 61 $\frac{1}{2}$	1,187.		71. 22	-		-	-		-	1,913.	24	956. 62
Maryland	33,375.	11	2,029. 34	7,836.	16	470. 12 $\frac{1}{2}$	537.	47	32. 25	714.	48	357. 25	18,215.	55	9,107. 78 $\frac{3}{4}$
Virginia	32,041.	6	1,922. 36 $\frac{1}{2}$	10,636.	60	638. 77	72.	71	4. 36 $\frac{1}{2}$	2,414.	34	1,207. 18	44,812.	9	22,406. 70
North Carolina	23,962.	75	1,437. 80 $\frac{1}{4}$	6,796.	31	438. 56 $\frac{1}{2}$	-		-	436.	79	218. 42	13,662.	59	6,831. 31 $\frac{1}{2}$
South Carolina	22,497.	55	1,349. 75	4,675.	38	280. 77	25.		1. 50	339.	5	169. 52	20,827.	80	10,413. 47
Georgia	7,063.	40	423. 80	733.	20	43. 96	-		-	391.	60	195. 82	16,165.	75	8,082. 88
Total	361,754.	28	22,276. 54 $\frac{1}{2}$	110,906.	77	6,691. 67 $\frac{1}{2}$	33,116.	3	1,988. 4 $\frac{1}{2}$	7,523.	40	3,744. 3	206,208.	62	103,107. 27 $\frac{1}{2}$

# GENERAL ABSTRACT CONTINUED.

STATES.	SPAIN.		PORTUGAL.		UNITED NETHERLANDS.		GERMANY.		HANSE TOWNS.	
	Tons. 95lbs.	Dol. Cts.	Tons. 95lbs.	Dol. Cts.	Tons. 95lbs.	Dol. Cts.	Tons. 95lbs.	Dol. Cts.	Tons. 95lbs.	Dol. Cts.
New Hampshire	-	-	162.	81	-	-	-	-	-	-
Massachusetts	-	-	248.	69	121.	65. 50	-	-	-	-
Rhode Island	47.	23. 50	-	-	100. 31	50. 26½	-	-	-	-
Connecticut	59. 59	29. 80	-	-	100. 21	50. 11	-	-	-	-
New York	243. 24	121. 62	1,563. 71	781. 85	1,079. 71	539. 85	-	-	-	-
New Jersey	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Pennsylvania	2,062. 79	1,025. 90	2,533. 14	1,266. 61	251. 88	125. 98	-	-	-	-
Delaware	-	-	-	-	163.	81. 50	-	-	-	-
Maryland	503.	251. 50	589.	294. 50	1,372. 47	686. 25	463.	231. 50	-	-
Virginia	65.	32. 50	-	-	180.	90.	-	-	-	-
North Carolina	-	-	-	-	73.	36. 50	-	-	-	-
South Carolina	1,670. 32	835. 14	56. 21	28. 11	194. 68	97. 36	-	-	2,603. 9	1,301. 50
Georgia	102. 53	51. 26	-	-	243. 88	121. 96	-	-	218. 54	109. 28
Total	4,753. 57	2,371. 22	5,152. 80	2,576. 44	3,890. 54	1,945. 27½	463.	321. 50	2,821. 63	1,410. 78

# GENERAL ABSTRACT CONTINUED.

STATES.	DENMARK.		SWEDEN AND RUSSIA.		TOTAL AMERICAN TONNAGE.		TOTAL FOREIGN TONNAGE.		TOTAL FOREIGN AND DOMESTIC.	
	Tons. 95ths.	Dol. Cts.	Tons. 95ths.	Dol. Cts.	Tons. 95ths.	Dol. Cts.	Tons. 95ths.	Dol. Cts.	Tons. 95ths.	Dol. Cts.
New Hampshire	-	-	-	-	13,028.	781. 68	1,812.	888. 40	14,840.	1,670. 8
Massachusetts	531. 16	265. 68	319. 92	160.	172,084.	10,359. 13	24,131. 42	12,046. 60 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	196,215. 93	22,405. 73 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>
Rhode Island	-	-	-	-	29,110. 80	1,729. 90	516. 45	240. 60	29,627. 30	1,970. 50
Connecticut	-	-	-	-	28,740. 48	1,726. 22 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	4,126. 56	2,063. 14 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	32,867. 9	3,789. 37
New York	-	-	-	-	46,626. 71	3,098. 26	39,544. 47	19,488. 8	86,171. 23	22,546. 34
New Jersey	-	-	-	-	5,234. 69	302. 94	-	-	5,234. 69	302. 94
Pennsylvania	219.	109. 50	225. 32	112. 67	53,186. 24	3,405. 87	33,586. 71	16,686. 86	86,773	20,092. 73
Delaware	-	-	-	-	5,797. 23	347. 83 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	2,076. 24	1,038. 12	7,873. 47	1,385. 95 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>
Maryland	497.	248. 50	-	-	41,748. 74	2,531. 23 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	22,254. 55	10,699. 22 <sup>3</sup> / <sub>4</sub>	64,103. 34	13,230. 46 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>
Virginia	494. 43	97. 25	-	-	42,750. 42	2,565. 50	47,665. 86	22,947. 59	90,416. 33	25,513. 9
North Carolina	-	-	136. 59	68. 31	30,759. 11	1,876. 37	14,309. 7	7,019. 54 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	45,068. 18	8,895. 91 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>
South Carolina	-	-	76. 54	38. 28	27,197. 93	1,632. 2	25,767. 79	12,883. 38	52,965. 77	14,515. 40
Georgia	-	-	-	-	7,796. 60	467. 76	17,122. 45	8,561. 20	24,919. 10	9,028. 96
Total	1,441. 59	720. 93	758. 47	379. 26	504,061. 76	30,824. 72 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	233,013. 82	114,522. 75	737,075. 63	145,347. 47 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>

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N. B. To this Statement of Tonnage of the shipping of the United States an addition must be made in proportion to the increase of the Exports, which will give an addition to the Tonnage for 1792 of more than 70,000 tons, and which we have reason to believe has increased, and will annually increase in a like proportion.



It may be necessary here to notice the principal restrictions, impositions, and prohibitions sustained by the United States in their trade with the different European kingdoms, in contrast with those sustained by them in their trade with the United States.

Of their commercial objects, SPAIN receives favorably, their bread, stuff, salted fish, wood, ships, tar, pitch, and turpentine. On their meals, however, as well as on those of other foreign countries, when re-exported to their colonies, they have lately imposed duties, of from half a dollar to two dollars the barrel, the duties being so proportioned to the current price of their own flour, as that both together are to make the constant sum of nine dollars per barrel.

They do not discourage the rice, pot and pearl ash, salted provisions, or whale oil of the United States; but these articles being in small demand at their markets, are carried thither but in a small degree. Their demand for rice, however, is increasing. Neither tobacco, nor indigo are received there. American commerce is permitted with their Canary Islands, under the same conditions.

The Spaniards, and their colonies, are the actual consumers of what they receive from the United States.

The navigation of the United States is free with the kingdom of Spain; foreign goods being received there in their ships, on the same conditions as if carried in their own, or in the vessels of the country of which such goods are the manufacture or produce.

PORTUGAL receives favourably American grain, bread, salted fish, and other salted provisions, wood, tar, pitch and turpentine.

For flax-seed, pot and pearl-ash, though not discouraged, there is little demand.

American ships pay 20 per cent. on being sold to Portuguese subjects, and are then free bottoms.

Foreign goods, except those of the East Indies, are received on the same footing in American vessels, as in their own, or any others; that is to say, on general duties of from twenty to twenty-eight per cent, and consequently their navigation is unobstructed by them. — Tobacco, rice and meals are prohibited.

The Portuguese and their colonies consume what they receive from the American States.

These regulations extend to the Azores, Madeira, and the Cape de Verd islands, except that in these, meals and rice are received freely.

FRANCE receives favourably American bread stuff, rice, wood, pot and pearl ashes.

A duty of five sous the kental, or nearly four and an half cents is paid

paid on American tar, pitch, and turpentine. Whale oils pay six livres the kental, and are the only foreign whale oils admitted. Of the states, indigo pays five livres on the kental; their own two and an half: but a difference of quality, still more than a difference of duty, prevents its seeking that market.

Salted beef is received freely for re-exportation, but if for home consumption, it pays five livres the kental. Other salted provisions pay that duty in all cases, and salted fish is made lately to pay the prohibitory one of twenty livres in the kental.

American ships are free to carry to France all foreign goods which may be carried in their own or any other vessels, except tobaccoes not the growth of the states; and they participate with the French ships in the exclusive carriage of whale oils and tobaccoes.

During their former government, the tobacco was under a monopoly; but paid no duties, and American ships were freely sold in their ports, and converted into national bottoms. The first national assembly took from American ships this privilege: they emancipated tobacco from its monopoly, but subjected it to duties of eighteen livres fifteen sous the kental, carried in their own, and twenty-five livres if carried in American vessels, a difference more than equal to the freight of the article.

The French nation have however offered to enter into a new treaty of commerce with the United States on more liberal terms and in the mean time have relaxed some of the above restraints and severities.

GREAT BRITAIN receives from the states pot and pearl ashes free, while those of other nations pay a duty of two shillings and three-pence the kental. There is an equal distinction in favour of their bar iron, of which article, however, they do not produce enough for their own use. Woods are free from America, whilst they pay some small duty from other countries. Their tar and pitch pay 11d. sterling the barrel; from other alien countries they pay about a penny and a third more.

Their tobacco, for British consumption, pays 1s. 3d. sterling the pound, custom and excise, besides heavy expences of collection. And rice, in the same case, pays 7s. 4d. sterling the hundred weight; which, rendering it too dear as an article of common food, it is consequently used in very small quantity.

The salted fish, and other salted provisions of the United States, except bacon, are prohibited. Bacon and whale oil are under prohibitory duties; so are their grains, meals, and bread, as to our internal consumptions unless in times of such scarcity as may raise the price of wheat to 50s. sterling the quarter, and other grains and meals in proportion.

American ships, though purchased and navigated by British subjects, are not permitted to be used, even in our trade with them.

While the vessels of other nations are secured by standing laws, which cannot be altered, but by the concurrent will of the three branches of the British legislature, in bringing hither any produce or manufacture of the country to which they belong, which may be lawfully carried in any vessels, American ships with the same prohibition of what is foreign, are further prohibited by a standing law (12 Car. II. 28. §. 3.) from bringing hither all and any of their own domestic productions and manufactures. A subsequent act, indeed, has authorised the executive power to permit the carriage of their productions in their own bottoms, at its sole discretion; and the permission has been given from year to year by proclamation, but subject every moment to be withdrawn on its single will, in which event, American vessels having any thing of the kind on board, stand interdicted from the entry of all British ports. The disadvantage of a tenure which may be so suddenly discontinued was experienced by the American merchants on a late occasion, when an official notification that this law would be strictly enforced, gave them just apprehensions for the fate of their vessels and cargoes which they had dispatched or destined to the ports of Great Britain. The minister indeed, frankly expressed his personal conviction that the words of the order went farther than was intended, and so he afterwards officially informed them; but the embarrassments of the moment were real and great, and the possibility of their renewal lays their commerce to this country under the same species of discouragement as to other countries, where it is regulated by a single legislator; and the distinction is too remarkable not to be noticed, that the navigation of the American States is excluded from the security of fixed laws, while that security is given to the navigation of others.

American vessels pay in our ports 1s. 9d. sterling per ton, light and tri-nity dues, more than is paid by our own ships, except in the port of London, where they pay the same as British.

The greater part of what we receive from them is re-exported to other countries, under the useless charges of an intermediate deposit and double voyage. From tables published in London, and composed from the books of our custom-houses, it appears that of the indigo imported here in the years 1773—4—5, one third was re-exported; and from a document of authority, we learn that of the rice and tobacco imported here before the war, four-fifths were re-exported. The quantities sent here for re-exportation since the war, are considerably diminished, yet less so than reason and national interest would dictate. The whole of their

grain

grain is re-exported when wheat is below 50s. the quarter, and other grains in proportion.

The principal facts, relative to the question of reciprocity of commercial regulations, between Great Britain and the United States of America, have, by a gentleman who had access to every necessary information for the purpose, been thrown into the form of a table, which we will insert, in order that the citizens of one country, and the subjects of the other, may have a clear and distinct view of the subject.

## GREAT BRITAIN

Prohibits American vessels from entering into the ports of several parts of her dominions, viz. the West Indies, Canada, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Newfoundland, Cape Breton, Hudson's Bay, Honduras Bay, and her East India spice-market.

She imposes double light money on American vessels in most of her ports.

She prohibits the navigating *ad libitum*, of American vessels by native or other seamen.

She prohibits the employment of American built ships by her own citizens, in many branches of trade, upon any terms.

She charges a duty on American sail cloth, made up in the United States for British ships.

She prohibits the importation of goods from several parts of her dominions into others, in American vessels, upon any terms.

She prohibits the importation of

## THE UNITED STATES

Admit British vessels into *all* their ports, subject to a tonnage duty of 44 cents, or 24 sterling pence, more than American vessels and an addition of one tenth to the amount of the impost accruing on their cargoes.

They do not impose extra light money on British vessels in any of their ports.

They admit the navigating of British vessels by native or other seamen, *ad libitum*.

They admit the employment of British built ships by English subjects, in every branch of trade, upon the terms of 44 cents extra per ton, and one tenth extra on the impost arising from their cargoes.

They do not charge a duty on British sail cloth, made up in Great Britain for American ships.

They admit the importation of goods from any part of their dominions into another, in British vessels, on the terms of 44 cents per ton extra on the vessel,

They admit the importation of goods



## GREAT BRITAIN

goods into Great Britain, by American vessels, from any other country than the United States.

She prohibits the importation into Great Britain from the United States, by American vessels, of all goods not produced by the United States.

She prohibits the importation of any goods previously brought into the United States, from the said States into Great Britain, even in British vessels.

She prohibits the exportation of several articles from Great Britain to the United States.

She lays duties of various rates upon the exportation of many articles to the United States.

She prohibits the importation of all manufactures from the United States, into her European dominions, and her colonies, unless it be some very simple preparations and decoctions, requisite to her navy, shipping, and manufactures.

She imposes very considerable duties upon some of the *agricultural* productions of the United States, and excludes others by duties equal to their value.

She prohibits, for considerable terms of time, some of the principal *agricultural* productions of the United States, and others at all times.

## THE UNITED STATES

goods into the United States, in British vessels, from *every* country whatever.

They do not prohibit the importation into the United States from Great Britain, by British vessels, of any goods not produced by Great Britain.

They do not prohibit the importation of any goods previously brought into Great Britain, from that kingdom into the United States, in either British or American bottoms.

They do not prohibit the exportation of any article from the United States to Great Britain.

They do not lay a duty on the exportation of any article whatever to Great Britain.

They do not prohibit the importation of any manufacture whatever from Great Britain.

They impose moderate duties, lower than any other foreign nation by 2, 3, and 4 for one, on the *produce and manufactures* of Great Britain, except in a very few instances, and exclude scarcely any articles by duties equal to their value.

They prohibit none of the *agricultural* productions, of Great Britain or her dominions.

## GREAT BRITAIN

It is understood that by treaty she grants some favours, which are not extended to the United States.

She prohibits the importation of some American articles, in American ships, or any but British ships, into her European dominions.

She does not permit an American citizen to import goods into some of her dominions, and to sell them there, even in British vessels. In other parts of her dominions, she lays an extra tax on him, or his sales.

She imposes heavy duties on certain articles of the produce of the American fisheries, and insupportable duties on others, in some parts of her dominions: and in other parts, she prohibits their importation.

She prohibits the consumption of some American articles, of which she permits the importation.

She prohibits the importation of American articles from foreign countries into the British dominions, even in her own ships.

Besides these advantages, which Great Britain derives from the commerce of America, there is no country that contributes so much to the support of her navy as the United States, by the employment they give to her ships. From August 1789, to August 1790, no less than 230,000 tons of British vessels cleared from these States; which much exceed the quantity of vessels she employed the same year in the Russian trade.—The whole Baltic trade of Great Britain, with all the countries of the various powers that lie within the Sound, important as it is to her, does not fill more. Her trade with Holland, France, Spain, and Portugal does not altogether employ as many vessels.—Her whole fisheries

## THE UNITED STATES

They treat Great Britain as favourable as any nation whatever as to ships, imports, and exports, and in all other respects.

They do not prohibit the importation of any British article in British vessels, or any but American vessels.

They permit a British subject to import goods into all their ports, in any vessels, and to sell them there without any extra tax on him, or his sales.

They impose only five per cent. on the produce of the British fisheries, which duty is drawn back on exportation and admit, every article derived from them.

They do not prohibit the consumption of any British article whatever.

They do not prohibit the importation of British articles from foreign countries in any ships.

fisheries, American colonial trade, and West India trade, do not employ and load more. And how, it may be asked, are the United States requited for thus strengthening the acknowledged bulwark of Great Britain, by annually giving a complete lading to the unequalled quantity of 230,000 tons of her private vessels? Their ships are seized, and detained, in the regular course of her trade; and their seamen are impressed from their service, in order to fight against their friends and allies!

THE UNITED NETHERLANDS prohibit the pickled beef, pork, meals and bread of all sorts, coming from the United States, and lay prohibitory duty on their spirits distilled from grain.

All other of their productions are received on varied duties, which may be reckoned on a medium at about three per cent.

The United Netherlands consume but a small proportion of what they receive from America: the residue is partly forwarded for consumption to the inland parts of Europe, and partly re-shipped to the other maritime countries. On the latter portion they intercept between the Americans and the consumer, so much of the value as is absorbed by the charges attending an intermediate deposit.

Foreign goods, except some East India articles, are received by them in vessels of any nation.

American ships may be sold and naturalized there with exceptions of one or two privileges, which somewhat lessen their value.

DENMARK lays considerable duties on the tobacco and rice of the United States, even if carried in their own vessels, and half as much more if carried in theirs, but the exact amount of these duties is not perfectly known here. They lay such as amount to prohibitions on American indigo and corn.

SWEDEN receives favourably grains and meals, salted provisions, indigo, and whale oil, from the United States.

They subject their rice to duties of sixteen mills the pound weight, carried in their own vessels, and of forty per cent. additional on that, or 22,410 mills, carried in American or any others. Being thus rendered too dear as an article of common food, little of it is consumed with them. They consume more of their tobaccos, which they take circuitously through Great Britain, levying heavy duties on them also; their duties of entry, town duties, and excise, being four dollars, thirty-four cents the hundred weight, if carried in their own vessels, and of forty per cent. on that additional, if carried in American or any other vessels.

They prohibit altogether, American bread, fish, pot and pearl ashes, flax-seed, tar, pitch, and turpentine, wood, except oak timber and mast, and all foreign manufactures.

Under

Under so many restrictions and prohibitions, the navigation of America with them, is reduced almost to nothing.

With the neighbours of the States, an order of things much harder presents itself.

SPAIN and PORTUGAL refuse to those parts of America which they govern, all direct intercourse with any people but themselves. The commodities in mutual demand between them and their neighbours must be carried to be exchanged in some port of the dominant country, and the transportation between that and the subject state, must be in a domestic bottom.

FRANCE, by a standing law, permitted her West India possessions, prior to the war, to receive directly, vegetables, live provisions, horses, wood, tar, pitch, turpentine, rice and maize, from the States, and prohibited their other bread stuff; but a suspension of this prohibition having been left to the colonial legislatures in times of scarcity, it was suspended occasionally, but latterly without interruption.

American fresh and salted provisions, except pork, was received in their islands under a duty of three colonial livres the kental, and their vessels were as free as their own to carry their commodities thither, and to bring away rum and molasses.

GREAT BRITAIN admits in her islands, American vegetables, live provisions, horses, wood, tar, pitch, turpentine, rice, and bread stuff, by a proclamation of the executive power, limited always to the term of a year. She prohibits their salted fish, and other salted provisions: she does not permit their vessels to carry thither their own produce. Her vessels alone may take it from them, and bring in exchange, rum, molasses, sugar, coffee, cocoa nuts, ginger, and pimento. There are, indeed, some freedoms in the island of Dominica, but under such circumstances as to be little used by the Americans. In the British continental colonies, and in Newfoundland, all their productions are prohibited, and their vessels forbidden to enter the ports; the governors however, in times of distress, have power to permit a temporary importation of certain articles in their own bottoms, but not in those of the Americans.

American citizens cannot reside as merchants or factors within any of the British plantations, this being expressly prohibited by the same statute of 12 Car. II. c. 18, commonly called the Navigation act.

In the Danish-American possessions, a duty of five per cent. is levied on the corn, corn-meal, rice, tobacco, wood, salted fish, indigo, horses, mules, and live stock of the United States, and of ten per cent. on their flour, salted pork, and beef, tar, pitch, and turpentine.



In the American islands of the UNITED NETHERLANDS and SWEDEN, their vessels and produce are received, subject to duties, not so heavy as to have been complained of; but they are heavier in the Dutch possessions on the continent.

To sum up these *Restrictions*, so far as they are important :

#### IN EUROPE.

American bread stuff is at most times under prohibitory duties in England, and considerably dutied on exportation from Spain to her colonies.

Their tobaccos are heavily dutied in England, Sweden, and France, and prohibited in Spain and Portugal.

Their rice is heavily dutied in England and Sweden, and prohibited in Portugal.

Their fish and salted provisions are prohibited in England, and under prohibitory duties in France.

Their whale-oils are prohibited in England and Portugal.

And their vessels are denied naturalization in England, and of late in France.

#### IN THE WEST INDIES.

All intercourse is prohibited with the possessions of Spain and Portugal.

Their salted provisions and fish are prohibited by England.

Their salted pork, and bread stuff, except maize, are received under temporary laws only, in the dominions of France, and their salted fish pays there a weighty duty.

#### IN THE ARTICLE OF NAVIGATION.

The carriage of their own tobacco is heavily dutied in Sweden, and lately in France.

They can carry no article, not of their own production, to the British ports in Europe.

Nor even their own produce to her American possessions.

Such being the restrictions on the commerce and navigation of the United States, the question is, in what way they may best be removed, modified, or counteracted?

As to commerce, two methods occur, By friendly arrangements with the several nations with whom these restrictions exist : or, By the separate act of their own legislatures for countervailing their effects.

There can be no doubt, but that of these two, friendly arrangement is the most eligible. Instead of embarrassing commerce under piles of regulating

regulating laws, duties, and prohibitions, could it be relieved from all its shackles in all parts of the world—could every country be employed in producing that which nature has best fitted it to produce, and each be free to exchange with others mutual surplusses for mutual wants, the greatest mass possible would then be produced of those things which contribute to human life and human happiness; the numbers of mankind would be increased, and their condition bettered.

Would even a single nation begin with the United States this system of free commerce; it would be adviseable to begin it with that nation; since it is one by one only that it can be extended to all. Where the circumstances of either party render it expedient to levy a revenue, by way of impost, on commerce, its freedom might be modified, in that particular, by mutual and equivalent measures, preserving it entire in all others.

Some nations, not yet ripe for free commerce, in all its extent, might still be willing to mollify its restrictions and regulations for them in proportion to the advantages which an intercourse with them might offer. Particularly they might concur with them in reciprocating the duties to be levied on each side, or in compensating any excess of duty, by equivalent advantages of another nature. Their commerce is certainly of a character to entitle it to favour in most countries. The commodities they offer, are either necessities of life, or materials for manufacture; or convenient subjects of revenue; and they take in exchange, either manufactures, when they have received the last finish of art and industry, or mere luxuries. Such customers may reasonably expect welcome, and friendly treatment at every market; customers too, whose demands, increasing with their wealth and population, must very shortly give full employment to the whole industry of any nation whatever, in any line of supply they may get into the habit of calling for, from it.

But should any nation, contrary to their wishes, suppose it may better find its advantage by continuing its system of prohibitions, duties, and regulations, it behoves them to protect their citizens, their commerce and navigation, by counter-prohibitions, duties, and regulations also. Free commerce and navigation are not to be given in exchange for restrictions and vexations; nor are they likely to produce a relaxation of them.

Their navigation involves still higher considerations. As a branch of industry, it is valuable; but, as a resource, essential.

Its value, as a branch of industry, is enhanced by the dependence of so many other branches on it. In times of general peace it multiplies competitors for employment in transportation, and so keeps that at its proper

level; and in times of war, that is to say, when those nations who may be their principal carriers, shall be at war with each other, if they have not within themselves the means of transportation, their produce must be exported in belligerent vessels, at the increased expence of war-freight and insurance, and the articles which will not bear that, must perish on their hands.

But it is as a resource for defence that their navigation will admit neither neglect nor forbearance. The position and circumstances of the United States leave them nothing to fear on their land, and nothing to desire beyond their present rights. But on the sea they are open to injury, and they have there, too, a commerce which must be protected. This can only be done by possessing a respectable body of CITIZEN-SEAMEN, and of artists and establishments in readiness for ship-building.

Were the ocean, which is the common property of all, open to the industry of all, so that every person and vessel should be free to take employment wherever it could be found, the United States would certainly not set the example of appropriating to themselves, exclusively, any portion of the common stock of occupation. They would rely on the enterprise and activity of their citizens for a due participation of the benefits of the seafaring business, and for keeping the marine class of citizens equal to their object. But if particular nations grasp at undue shares, and more especially if they seize on the means of the United States to convert them into aliment for their own strength, and withdraw them entirely from the support of those to whom they belong, defensive and protecting measures become necessary on the part of the nation whose marine resources are thus invaded, or it will be disarmed of its defence; its productions will lie at the mercy of the nation which has possessed itself exclusively of the means of carrying them, and its politics may be influenced by those who command its commerce. The carriage of their own commodities, if once established in another channel, cannot be resumed in the moment they may desire. If they lose the seamen and artists whom it now occupies, they lose the present means of marine defence, and time will be requisite to raise up others, when disgrace or losses shall bring home to their feelings the error of having abandoned them. The materials for maintaining their due share of navigation are theirs in abundance; and, as to the mode of using them, they have only to adopt the principles of those who thus put them on the defensive, or others equivalent and better fitted to their circumstances.

The following principles being founded in reciprocity, appear perfectly just, and offer no cause of complaint to any nation.

1st. Where

1st. Where a nation imposes high duties on their productions, or prohibits them altogether, it may be proper for them to do the same by theirs, first burthening or excluding those productions which they carry there in competition with their own of the same kind; selecting next such manufactures as they take from them in greatest quantity, and which at the same time they could the soonest furnish to themselves, or obtain from other countries; imposing on them duties lighter at first, but heavier and heavier afterwards, as other channels of supply open. Such duties having the effect of indirect encouragement to domestic manufactures of the same kind, may induce the manufacturer to come himself into these states; where cheaper subsistence, equal laws, and a vent of his wares, free of duty, may ensure him the highest profits from his skill and industry. And here it would be in the power of the state governments to co-operate essentially, by opening the resources of encouragement which are under their controul, extending them liberally to artists in those particular branches of manufacture, for which their soil, climate, population, and other circumstances have matured them, and fostering the precious efforts and progress of household manufacture by some patronage suited to the nature of its objects, guided by the local informations they possess, and guarded against abuse by their presence and attentions. The oppressions on their agriculture in foreign ports would thus be made the occasion of relieving it from a dependence on the councils and conduct of others, and of promoting arts, manufactures and population among themselves.

2d. Where a nation refuses permission to their merchants and factors to reside within certain parts of their dominions, they may, if it should be thought expedient, refuse residence to theirs, in any and every part of the states, or modify their transactions,

3d. Where a nation refuses to receive in their vessels any productions but their own, they may refuse to receive, in theirs, any but their own productions.

4th. Where a nation refuses to consider any vessel as belonging to the United States, which has not been built within their territories, they should refuse to consider as belonging to them, any vessel not built within their territories.

5th. Where a nation refuses to their vessels the carriage even of their own productions to certain countries under their domination, they might refuse to theirs, of every description, the carriage of the same productions to the same countries. But as justice and good neighbourhood would dictate, that those who have no part in imposing the restriction on them, should not be the victims of the measures adopted to defeat its



effect, it may be proper to confine the restrictions to vessels owned or navigated by any subjects of the same dominant power, other than the inhabitants of the country to which the said productions are to be carried.—And to prevent all inconvenience to the said inhabitants, and to their own, by too sudden a check on the means of transportation, they may continue to admit the vessels marked for future exclusion, on an advanced tonnage, and for such length of time only, as may be supposed necessary to provide against that inconvenience.

The establishment of some of these principles by Great Britain alone, has already lost the Americans, in their commerce with that country and its possessions, between eight and nine hundred vessels of near 40,000 tons burthen, according to statements from official materials. This involves a proportional loss of seamen, shipwrights, and ship building, and is too serious a loss to admit forbearance of some effectual remedy.

It is true they must expect some inconvenience in practice, from the establishment of discriminating duties. But in this, as in so many other cases, they are left to chuse between two evils. These inconveniences are nothing when weighed against the loss of wealth and loss of force, which will follow their perseverance in the plan of indiscrimination.—When once it shall be perceived that they are either in the system or the habit of giving equal advantages to those who extinguish their commerce and navigation, by duties and prohibitions, as to those who treat both with liberality and justice, liberality and justice will be converted by all into duties and prohibitions. It is not to the moderation and justice of others that they are to trust for fair and equal access to market with their productions, or for their due share in the transportation of them; but to their means of independence, and the firm will to use them. Nor do the inconveniences of discrimination merit consideration. Not one of the nations beforementioned, perhaps, not a commercial nation on earth, is without them. In their case, one distinction alone will suffice, that is to say, between nations who favour their productions and navigation, and those who do not favour them. One set of moderate duties, say the present duties, for the first, and a fixed advance on these as to some article, and prohibitions as to others, for the last.

Still must it be repeated, that friendly arrangements are preferable with all who will come into them; and that they should carry into such arrangements, all the liberality and spirit of accommodation, which the nature of the case will admit.

France has, of her own accord, proposed negotiations for improving, by a new treaty, on fair and equal principles, the commercial relations of the two countries. But her internal disturbances have hitherto prevented

vented the prosecution of them to effect, though America has had repeated assurances of a continuance of the disposition.

Proposals of friendly arrangement have been made on the part of the United States, by the present government, to that of Great Britain, but being already on as good a footing in law, and a better in fact, than the most favoured nation, they have not as yet discovered any disposition to attend to those overtures.

We have no reason to conclude that friendly arrangements will be declined by the other nations, with whom they have such commercial intercourse as may render them important. In the mean while, it will rest with the wisdom of Congress to determine whether, as to those nations, they will not surcease *ex parte* regulations, on the reasonable presumption that they will concur in doing whatever justice and moderation dictate should be done.

### MANUFACTURES.

WE now come to the subject of manufactures, the expediency of encouraging of which in the United States, was not long since deemed very questionable, but the advantages of which, appear at this time to be generally admitted. The embarrassments which have obstructed the progress of their external trade with European nations, have led them to serious reflections on the necessity of enlarging the sphere of their domestic commerce: the restrictive regulations which in foreign markets have abridged the vent of the increasing surplus of their agricultural produce, have served to beget in them an earnest desire, that a more extensive demand for that surplus may be created at home: And the complete success which has rewarded manufacturing enterprise, in some valuable branches, conspiring with the promising symptoms which attend some less mature essays in others, justify a hope, that the obstacles to the growth of this species of industry are less formidable than they were apprehended to be; and that it is not difficult to find, in its further extension, a full indemnification for any external disadvantages, which are or may be experienced, as well as an accession of resources, favourable to national independence and safety.

There still are, nevertheless, among the Americans, many respectable patrons of opinions unfriendly to the encouragement of manufactures.—The following are, substantially, the arguments by which these opinions are defended:

“ In every country, say those who entertain them, agriculture is the most beneficial and *productive* object of human industry. This position, generally,

generally, if not universally true, applies with peculiar emphasis to the United States, on account of their immense tracts of fertile territory, uninhabited and unimproved. Nothing can afford so advantageous an employment for capital and labour, as the conversion of this extensive wilderness into cultivated farms. Nothing, equally with this, can contribute to the population, strength, and real riches of the country."

"To endeavour, by the extraordinary patronage of government, to accelerate the growth of manufactures, is, in fact, to endeavour, by force and art, to transfer the natural current of industry, from a more to a less beneficial channel. Whatever has such a tendency must necessarily be unwise: Indeed it can hardly ever be wise in a government to attempt to give a direction to the industry of its citizens. This, under the quick-sighted guidance of private interest, will, if left to itself, infallibly find its own way to the most profitable employment; and it is by such employment that the public prosperity will be most effectually promoted. To leave industry to itself, therefore, is, in almost every case, the soundest as well as the simplest policy."

"This policy is not only recommended to the United States, by considerations which affect all nations; it is in a manner dictated to them by the imperious force of a very peculiar situation. The smallness of their population, compared with their territory, the constant allurements to emigration from the settled to the unsettled parts of the country; the facility with which the less independent condition of an artisan can be exchanged for the more independent condition of a farmer; these, and similar causes, conspire to produce, and for a length of time must continue to occasion, a scarcity of hands for manufacturing occupation, and dearth of labour generally. To these disadvantages for the prosecution of manufactures, a deficiency of pecuniary capital being added, the prospect of a successful competition with the manufacturers of Europe must be regarded as little less than desperate. Extensive manufactures can only be the offspring of a redundant, at least of a full population. Till the latter shall characterise the situation of this country, 'tis vain to hope for the former."

"If, contrary to the natural course of things, an unseasonable and premature spring can be given to certain fabrics, by heavy duties, prohibitions, bounties, or by other forced expedients, this will only be to sacrifice the interests of the community to those of particular classes. Besides the misdirection of labour, a virtual monopoly will be given to the persons employed on such fabrics; and an enhancement of price, the inevitable consequence of every monopoly, must be defrayed at the expence of the other parts of the society. It is far preferable that those persons

should be engaged in the cultivation of the earth, and that we should procure, in exchange for its productions, the commodities with which foreigners are able to supply us in greater perfection, and upon better terms."

This mode of reasoning is founded upon facts and principles, which have certainly respectable pretensions. If it had governed the conduct of nations more generally than it has done, there is room to suppose, that it might have carried them faster to prosperity and greatness than they have attained by the pursuit of maxims too widely opposite. Most general theories, however, admit of numerous exceptions, and there are few, if any, of the political kind, which do not blend a considerable portion of error with the truths they inculcate.

In order to form an accurate judgement, how far that which has been just stated ought to be deemed liable to a similar imputation, it is necessary to advert carefully to the considerations which plead in favour of manufactures, and which appear to recommend the special and positive encouragement of them, in certain cases, and under certain reasonable limitations.

It ought readily to be conceded, that the cultivation of the earth, as the primary and most certain source of national supply; as the immediate and chief source of subsistence to man; as the principal source of those materials which constitute the nutriment of other kinds of labour; as including a state most favourable to the freedom and independence of the human mind; one, perhaps, most conducive to the multiplication of the human species; has intrinsically a strong claim to pre-eminence over every other kind of industry.

But that it has a title to any thing like an exclusive predilection in any country, ought to be admitted with great caution. That it is even more productive than every other branch of industry, requires more evidence than has yet been given in support of the position. That its real interests, precious and important as, without the help of exaggeration, they truly are, will be advanced, rather than injured, by the due encouragement of manufactures, may be satisfactorily demonstrated. And the expediency of such encouragement, in a general view, may be shewn to be recommended by the most cogent and persuasive motives of national policy.

It has been maintained, that agriculture is not only the most productive, but the only productive species of industry. The reality of this assertion, in either respect, has, however, not been verified by any accurate detail of facts and calculations; and the general arguments, which are adduced to prove it, are rather subtle and paradoxical, than solid or convincing.



Those which maintain its exclusive productiveness are to this effect :—  
 Labour bestowed upon the cultivation of land produces enough, not only to replace all the necessary expences incurred in the business, and to maintain the persons who are employed in it, but to afford, together with the *ordinary profit* on the stock or capital of the farmer, a nett surplus, or *rent* for the landlord or proprietor of the soil. But the labour of artificers does nothing more than replace the stock which employs them, or which furnishes materials, tools, and wages, and yield the *ordinary profit* upon that stock. It yields nothing equivalent to the *rent* of land; neither does it add any thing to the *total value* of the *whole annual produce* of the land and labour of the country. The additional value given to those parts of the produce of land, which are wrought into manufactures, is counterbalanced by the value of those other parts of that produce which are consumed by the manufacturers. It can therefore only be by saving, or *parsimony*, not by the positive *productiveness* of their labour, that the classes of artificers can in any degree augment the revenue of society.

To this it has been answered, that inasmuch as it is acknowledged that manufacturing labour re-produces a value equal to that which is expended or consumed in carrying it on, and continues in existence the original stock or capital employed, it ought on that account alone to escape being considered as wholly unproductive: that though it should be admitted, as alledged, that the consumption of the produce of the soil, by the classes of artificers, or manufacturers is exactly equal to the value added by their labour to the materials upon which it is exerted; yet it would not thence follow, that it added nothing to the revenue of the society, or the aggregate value of the annual produce of its land and labour. If the consumption for any given period amounted to a *given sum*, and the *increased* value of the produce manufactured in the same period to a *like sum*, the total amount of the consumption and production during that period would be equal to the *two sums*, and consequently double the value of the agricultural produce consumed. And though the increment of value produced by the classes of artificers should at no time exceed the value of the produce of the land consumed by them, yet there would be at every moment, in consequence of their labour, a greater value of goods in the market than would exist independent of it.

The position, that artificers can augment the revenue of a society only by parsimony, is true in no other sense than in one, which is equally applicable to husbandmen or cultivators. It may be alike affirmed of all these classes, that the fund acquired by their labour, and  
 defined

destined for their support, is not, in an ordinary way, more than equal to it. And hence it will follow, that augmentations of the wealth or capital of the community, except in the instance of some extraordinary dexterity or skill, can only proceed, with respect to any of them, from the savings of the more thrifty and parsimonious.

The annual produce of the land and labour of a country can only be increased in two ways—by some improvement in the *productive powers* of the useful labour, which actually exists within it, or by some increase in the quantity of such labour: that with regard to the first, the labour of artificers being capable of greater subdivision and simplicity of operation than that of cultivators, it is susceptible, in a proportionably greater degree, of improvement in its *productive powers*, whether to be derived from an accession of skill, or from the application of ingenious machinery; in which particular, therefore, the labour employed in the culture of land can pretend to no advantage over that engaged in manufactures: that with regard to an augmentation of the quantity of useful labour, this, excluding adventitious circumstances, must depend essentially upon an increase of *capital*, which again must depend upon the savings made out of the revenues of those who furnish or manage *that*, which is at any time employed, whether in agriculture, or in manufactures, or in any other way.

But while the *exclusive* productiveness of agricultural labour has been thus denied and refuted, the superiority of its productiveness has been conceded without hesitation. As this concession involves a point of considerable magnitude, in relation to maxims of public administration, the grounds on which it rests are worthy of a distinct and particular examination.

One of the arguments made use of, in support of the idea, may be pronounced both quaint and superficial: it amounts to this—that in the productions of the soil, nature co-operates with man; and that the effect of their joint labour must be greater than that of the labour of man alone.

This, however, is far from being a necessary inference. It is very conceivable, that the labour of man alone laid out upon a work requiring great skill and art to bring it to perfection, may be more productive *in value*, than the labour of nature and man combined, when directed towards more simple operations and objects: and when it is recollected to what an extent the agency of nature, in the application of the mechanical powers, is made auxiliary to the prosecution of manufactures, the suggestion which has been noticed loses even the appearance of plausibility.

It might also be observed, with a contrary view, that the labour employed in agriculture is in a great measure periodical and occasional, depending on seasons, liable to various and long intermissions; while that occupied in many manufactures is constant and regular, extending through the year, embracing in some instances, night as well as day. It is also probable, that there are among the cultivators of land more examples of remissness than among artificers. The farmer, from the peculiar fertility of his land, or some other favourable circumstances, may frequently obtain a livelihood, even with a considerable degree of carelessness in the mode of cultivation; but the artisan can with great difficulty effect the same object, without exerting himself pretty equally with all those who are engaged in the same pursuit. And if it may likewise be assumed as a fact, that manufactures open a wider field to exertions of ingenuity than agriculture, it would not be a strained conjecture, that the labour employed in the former, being at once more constant, more uniform, and more ingenious, than that which is employed in the latter, will be found at the same time more productive.

But it is not meant to lay stress on observations of this nature; they ought only to serve as a counterbalance to those of a similar complexion. Circumstances so vague and general, as well as so abstract, can afford little instruction in a matter of this kind.

Another, and that which seems to be the principal argument offered for the superior productiveness of agricultural labour, turns upon the allegation, that labour employed on manufactures yields nothing equivalent to the rent of land; or to that nett surplus, as it is called, which accrues to the proprietor of the soil.

But this distinction, important as it has been deemed, appears rather *verbal than substantial*.

It is easily discernible, that what in the first instance is divided into two parts under the denomination of the *ordinary profit* of the stock of the farmer and *rent* to the landlord, is in the second instance united under the general appellation of the *ordinary profit* on the stock of the undertaker; and that this formal or verbal distribution constitutes the whole difference in the two cases. It seems to have been overlooked, that the land is itself a stock or capital, advanced or lent by its owner to the occupier or tenant, and that the rent he receives is only the ordinary profit of a certain stock in land, not managed by the proprietor himself, but by another to whom he lends or lets it, and who, on his part, advances a second capital to stock and improve the land, upon which he also receives the usual profit. The rent of the landlord and the profit of the farmer are therefore nothing more than the *ordinary profits*

of *two* capitals belonging to *two* different persons, and united in the cultivation of a farm: as in the other case, the surplus which arises upon any manufactory, after replacing the expences of carrying it on, answers to the ordinary profits of *one* or *more* capitals engaged in the prosecution of such manufactory. It is said *one* or *more* capitals; because in fact, the same thing which is contemplated in the case of the farm, sometimes happens in that of a manufactory. There is one who furnishes part of the capital, or lends a part of the money, by which it is carried on, and another who carries it on with the addition of his own capital. Out of the surplus which remains, after defraying expences, an interest is paid to the money lender for the portion of the capital furnished by him, which exactly agrees with the rent paid to the landlord; and the residue of that surplus constitutes the profit of the undertaker or manufacturer, and agrees with what is denominated the ordinary profits of the stock of the farmer. Both together make the ordinary profits of two capitals employed in a manufactory; as in the other case the rent of the landlord and the revenue of the farmer compose the ordinary profits of two capitals, employed in the cultivation of a farm.

The rent therefore accruing to the proprietor of the land, far from being a criterion of *exclusive* productiveness, as has been argued, is no criterion even of superior productiveness. The question must still be, whether the surplus, after defraying expences of a *given capital*, employed in the *purchase* and *improvement* of a piece of land, is greater or less than that of a like capital employed in the prosecution of a manufactory; or whether the *whole value produced* from a *given capital* and a given quantity of labour, employed in one way, be greater or less than the whole value produced from an equal capital and an equal quantity of labour employed in the other way; or rather, perhaps, whether the business of agriculture or that of manufactures will yield the greatest product, according to a compound ratio of the quantity of the capital and the quantity of labour which are employed in the one or in the other.

The solution of either of these questions is not easy; it involves numerous and complicated details, depending on an accurate knowledge of the objects to be compared. It is not known that the comparison has ever yet been made upon sufficient data properly ascertained and analysed. To be able to make it with satisfactory precision would demand much previous inquiry and close investigation.

Some essays, however, have been made towards acquiring the requisite information, which have rather served to throw doubt upon, than to



confirm the hypothesis under examination. But it ought to be acknowledged, that they have been too little diversified, and are too imperfect to authorise a definitive conclusion either way, leading rather to probable conjecture than to certain deduction. They render it probable that there are various branches of manufactures in which a given capital will yield a greater total product, and a considerably greater nett product than an equal capital invested in the purchase and improvement of lands; and that there are also some branches, in which both the gross and the nett produce will exceed that of agricultural industry, according to a compound ratio of capital and labour. But it is on this last point that there appears to be the greatest room for doubt. It is far less difficult to infer generally that the nett produce of capital engaged in manufacturing enterprises is greater than that of capital engaged in agriculture.

The foregoing suggestions are not designed to inculcate an opinion that manufacturing industry is more productive than that of agriculture. They are intended rather to shew that the reverse of this proposition is not ascertained; that the general arguments which are brought to establish it are not satisfactory; and, consequently, that a supposition of the superior productiveness of tillage ought to be no obstacle to listening to any substantial inducement to the encouragement of manufactures, which may be otherwise perceived to exist, through an apprehension that they may have a tendency to divert labour from a more to a less profitable employment.

It is extremely probable, that on a full and accurate developement of the matter, on the ground of fact and calculation, it would be discovered that there is no material difference between the aggregate productiveness of the one, and of the other kind of industry; and that the propriety of the encouragements, which may in any case be proposed to be given to either, ought to be determined upon considerations irrelative to any comparison of that nature.

But without contending for the superior productiveness of manufacturing industry, it may conduce to a better judgement of the policy, which ought to be pursued by the United States respecting its encouragement, to contemplate the subject under some additional aspects, tending not only to confirm the idea, that this kind of industry has been improperly represented as unproductive in itself; but to evince in addition, that the establishment and diffusion of manufactures will have the effect of rendering the total mass of useful and productive labour, in a community, greater than it would otherwise be. In prosecuting this discussion, it may be necessary briefly to resume and review some of the topics which have been already touched,

To affirm that the labour of the manufacturer is unproductive, because he consumes as much of the produce of land as he adds value to the raw materials which he manufactures, is not better founded, than it would be to affirm, that the labour of the farmer, which furnishes materials to the manufacturer, is unproductive, because he consumes an equal value of manufactured articles. Each furnishes a certain portion of the produce of his labour to the other, and each destroys a correspondent portion of the produce of the labour of the other. In the mean time the maintenance of two citizens, instead of one, is going on; the state has two members instead of one; and they together consume twice the value of what is produced from the land.

If instead of a farmer and artificer, there was a farmer only, he would be under the necessity of devoting a part of his labour to the fabrication of cloathing and other articles, which he would procure of the artificer, in the case of there being such a person; and of course, he would be able to devote less labour to the cultivation of his farm, and would draw from it a proportionably less product. The whole quantity of production, in this state of things, in provisions, raw materials and manufactures, would certainly not exceed in value the amount of what would be produced in provisions and raw materials only, if there were an artificer as well as a farmer.

Again—If there were both an artificer and a farmer, the latter would be left at liberty to pursue exclusively the cultivation of his farm. A greater quantity of provisions and raw materials would of course be produced, equal, at least, as has been already observed, to the whole amount of the provisions, raw materials, and manufactures, which would exist on a contrary supposition. The artificer, at the same time, would be going on in the production of manufactured commodities, to an amount sufficient not only to repay the farmer, in those commodities, for the provisions and materials which were procured from him, but to furnish the artificer himself with a supply of similar commodities for his own use. Thus, then, there would be two quantities or values in existence instead of one; and the revenue and consumption would be double in one case, what it would be in the other.

If in place of both these suppositions, there were supposed to be two farmers and no artificer, each of whom applied a part of his labour to the culture of land, and another part to the fabrication of manufactures; in this case, the portion of the labour of both bestowed upon land would produce the same quantity of provisions and raw materials only, as would be produced by the entire sum of the labour of one applied in the same manner

manner, and the portion of the labour of both bestowed upon manufactures, would produce the same quantity of manufactures only, as would be produced by the entire sum of the labour of one applied in the same manner. Hence the produce of the labour of the two farmers would not be greater than the produce of the labour of the farmer and the artificer; and hence it results, that the labour of the artificer is as positively productive as that of the farmer, and, as positively, augments the revenue of the society.

The labour of the artificer replaces to the farmer that portion of his labour with which he provides the materials of exchange with the artificer, and which he would otherwise have been compelled to apply to manufactures; and while the artificer thus enables the farmer to enlarge his stock of agricultural industry, a portion of which he purchases for his own use, *he also supplies himself with the manufactured articles of which he stands in need.* He does still more—Besides this equivalent which he gives for the portion of agricultural labour consumed by him, and this supply of manufactured commodities for his own consumption, he furnishes still a surplus, which compensates for the use of the capital advanced either by himself or some other person, for carrying on the business. This is the ordinary profit of the stock employed in the manufactory, and is, in every sense, as effective an addition to the income of the society as the rent of land.

The produce of the labour of the artificer, consequently, may be regarded as composed of three parts; one by which the provisions for his subsistence and the materials for his work are purchased of the farmer; one by which he supplies himself with manufactured necessities; and a third which constitutes the profit on the stock employed. The two last portions seem to have been overlooked in this system, which represents manufacturing industry as barren and unproductive.

In the course of the preceding illustrations, the products of equal quantities of the labour of the farmer and artificer have been treated as if equal to each other. But this is not to be understood as intending to assert any such precise equality. It is merely a manner of expression adopted for the sake of simplicity and perspicuity. Whether the value of the produce of the labour of the farmer be somewhat more or less than that of the artificer, is not material to the main scope of the argument, which hitherto has aimed at shewing, that the one, as well as the other, occasions a positive augmentation of the total produce and revenue of the society.

It is now proper to proceed a step farther, and to enumerate the principal circumstances, from which it may be inferred, That manufacturing

establishments

establishments not only occasion a positive augmentation of the produce and revenue of the society, but that they contribute essentially to rendering them greater than they could possibly be, without such establishments. These circumstances are,

1. The division of labour.
2. An extension of the use of machinery.
3. Additional employment to classes of the community not ordinarily engaged in the business.
4. The promoting of emigration from foreign countries.
5. The furnishing greater scope for the diversity of talents and dispositions which discriminate men from each other.
6. The affording a more ample and various field for enterprize.
7. The creating, in some instances, a new, and securing in all, a more certain and steady demand for the surplus produce of the soil.

Each of these circumstances has a considerable influence upon the total mass of industrious effort in a community : together, they add to it a degree of energy and effect, which are not easily conceived. Some comments upon each of them, in the order in which they have been stated, may serve to explain their importance.

*1. As to the division of labour.*—

It has justly been observed, that there is scarcely any thing of greater moment in the economy of a nation, than the proper division of labour.—The separation of occupations causes each to be carried to a much greater perfection than it could possibly acquire, if they were blended. This arises principally from three circumstances.

1st. The greater skill and dexterity naturally resulting from a constant and undivided application to a single object.—It is evident, that these properties must increase in proportion to the separation and simplification of objects, and the steadiness of the attention devoted to each ; and must be less, in proportion to the complication of objects, and the number among which the attention is distracted.

2d. The economy of time, by avoiding the loss of it, incident to a frequent transition from one operation to another of a different nature.—This depends on various circumstances ; the transition itself, the orderly disposition of the implements, machines, and materials employed in the operation to be relinquished, the preparatory steps to the commencement of a new one, the interruption of the impulse, which the mind of the workmen acquires, from being engaged in a particular operation ; the distractions, hesitations, and reluctances, which attend the passage from one kind of business to another.

3d. An



3d. An extension of the use of machinery.—A man occupied on a single object, will have it more in his power, and will be more naturally led to exert his imagination in devising methods to facilitate and abridge labour, than if he were perplexed by a variety of independent and dissimilar operations. Besides this, the fabrication of machines, in numerous instances, becoming itself a distinct trade, the artist who follows it, has all the advantages which have been enumerated, for improvement in his particular art; and in both ways the invention and application of machinery are extended.

And from these causes united, the mere separation of the occupation of the cultivator, from that of the artificer, has the effect of augmenting the productive powers of labour, and with them, the total mass of the produce or revenue of a country. In this single view of the subject, therefore, the utility of artificers of manufactures, towards promoting an increase of productive industry, is apparent.

II. *As to an extension of the use of machinery, a point which, though partly anticipated, requires to be placed in one or two additional lights.*

The employment of machinery forms an item of great importance in the general mass of national industry. 'Tis an artificial force brought in aid of the natural force of man; and, to all the purposes of labour, is an increase of hands; an accession of strength, unincumbered too by the expense of maintaining the labourer. May it not therefore be fairly inferred, that those occupations, which give greatest scope to the use of this auxiliary, contribute most to the general stock of industrious effort, and, in consequence, to the general product of industry?

It will be taken for granted, and the truth of the position referred to observation, that manufacturing pursuits are susceptible in a greater degree of the application of machinery, than those of agriculture. If so, all the difference is lost to a community, which, instead of manufacturing for itself, procures the fabrics requisite to its supply from other countries. The substitution of foreign for domestic manufactures, is a transfer to foreign nations of the advantages accruing from the employment of machinery, in the modes in which it is capable of being employed, with most utility and to the greatest extent.

The cotton mill invented in England, within the last twenty years, is a signal illustration of the general proposition which we have advanced. In consequence of it, all the different processes for spinning cotton are performed by means of machines, which are put in motion by water, and attended chiefly by women and children; and by a smaller number of persons, in the whole, than are requisite in the ordinary mode of spinning. And it is an advantage of great moment that the operations

of this mill continue with convenience, during the night, as well as through the day. The prodigious effect of such a machine is easily conceived. To this invention is to be attributed essentially, the immense progress which has been so suddenly made in this country in the various fabrics of cotton.

III. *As to the additional employment of classes of the community, not ordinarily engaged in the particular business.*

This is not among the least valuable of the means, by which manufacturing institutions contribute to augment the general stock of industry and production. In places where those institutions prevail, besides the persons regularly engaged in them, they afford occasional and extra employment to industrious individuals and families, who are willing to devote the leisure resulting from the intermissions of their ordinary pursuits to collateral labours, as a resource for multiplying their acquisitions or their enjoyments. The husbandman himself experiences a new source of profit and support from the increased industry of his wife and daughters; invited and stimulated by the demands of the neighbouring manufactories.

Beside this advantage of occasional employment to classes having different occupations, there is another of a nature allied to it and of a similar tendency.—This is the employment of persons who would otherwise be idle, and in many cases a burthen on the community, either from the bias of temper, habit, infirmity of body, or some other cause, indisposing or disqualifying them for the toils of the country. It is worthy of particular remark, that, in general, women and children are rendered more useful, and the latter more early useful, by manufacturing establishments, than they would otherwise be. Of the number of persons employed in the cotton manufactories of Great Britain, it is computed that four sevenths nearly are women and children; of whom the greatest proportion are children, and many of them of a tender age.

Thus it appears to be one of the attributes of manufactures, and one of no small consequence, to give occasion to the exertion of a greater quantity of industry, even by the same number of persons, where they happen to prevail, than would exist if there were no such establishments.

IV. *As to the promoting of emigration from foreign countries.*

Men reluctantly quit one course of occupation and livelihood for another, unless invited to it by very apparent and proximate advantages. Many, who would go from one country to another, if they had a prospect of continuing, with more benefit, the callings to which they have been educated, will often not be tempted to change their situation by the hope of doing better in some other way. Manufacturers who, listening to

the powerful invitations of a better price for their fabrics, or their labour; of greater cheapness of provisions and raw materials; of an exemption from the chief part of the taxes, burthens, and restraints, which they endure in Europe; of greater personal independence and consequence, under the operation of a more equal government; and of what is far more precious than mere religious toleration, a perfect equality of religious privileges; will probably flock from Europe to the United States to pursue their own trades or professions, if they are once made sensible of the advantages they will enjoy, and are inspired with an assurance of encouragement and employment.

If it be true then, that it is the interest of the United States to open every possible avenue to emigration from abroad, it affords a weighty argument for their encouragement of manufactures; which, for the reasons just assigned, will have the strongest tendency to multiply the inducements to it.

Here is perceived an important resource, not only for extending the population, and with it the useful and productive labour of the country, but likewise for the prosecution of manufactures, without deducting from the number of hands, which might otherwise be drawn to tillage; and even for the indemnification of agriculture for such as may happen to be diverted from it. Many whom manufacturing views may induce to emigrate, will afterwards yield to the temptations, which the particular situation of the United States hold out to agricultural pursuits. And while agriculture will in other respects derive many signal and unmingled advantages from the growth of manufactures, it is a problem whether it will gain or lose, as to the article of the number of persons employed in carrying it on.

V. *As to the furnishing greater scope for the diversity of talents and dispositions, which discriminate men from each other.*

This is a much more powerful mean of augmenting the fund of national industry, than may at first sight appear. It is a just observation, that minds of the strongest and most active powers for their proper objects fall below mediocrity, and labour without effect if confined to uncongenial pursuits: and it is thence to be inferred, that the results of human exertion may be immensely increased by diversifying its objects. When all the different kinds of industry obtain in a community, each individual can find his proper element, and can call into activity the whole vigour of his nature. And the community is benefitted by the services of its respective members, in the manner in which each can serve it with most effect.

If there be any thing in a remark often to be met with, namely, that there is, in the genius of the people of America, a peculiar aptitude for mechanical improvements, it will operate as a forcible reason for giving opportunities to the exercise of that species of talent by the propagation of manufactures.

VI. *As to the affording a more ample and various field for enterprize.*

This also is of greater consequence in the general scale of national exertion, than might, perhaps, on a superficial view be supposed, and has effects not altogether dissimilar from those of the circumstances last noticed. To cherish and stimulate the activity of the human mind, by multiplying the objects of enterprize, is not among the least considerable of the expedients by which the wealth of a nation may be promoted.—Even things in themselves, not positively advantageous, sometimes become so by their tendency to provoke exertion. Every new scene which is opened to the busy nature of man to rouse and exert itself, is the addition of a new energy to the general stock of effort.

The spirit of enterprize, useful and prolific as it is, must necessarily be contracted or expanded in proportion to the simplicity or variety of the occupations and productions which are to be found in a society. It must be less in a nation of mere cultivators, than in a nation of cultivators and merchants; less in a nation of cultivators, and merchants, than in a nation of cultivators, artificers, and merchants.

VII. *As to the creating, in some instances, a new, and settling in all a more certain and steady demand for the surplus produce of the soil.*

This is among the most important of the circumstances which have been indicated. It is a principal mean by which the establishment of manufactures contributes to an augmentation of the produce or revenue of a country, and has an immediate and direct relation to the prosperity of agriculture.

It is evident that the exertions of the husbandman will be steady or fluctuating, vigorous or feeble, in proportion to the steadiness or fluctuation, adequateness, or inadequateness of the markets, on which he must depend, for the vent of the surplus, which may be produced by his labour; and that such surplus in the ordinary course of things will be greater or less in the same proportion.

For the purpose of this vent, a domestic market is greatly to be preferred to a foreign one; because it is in the nature of things far more to be relied upon.

It is a primary object of the policy of nations to be able to supply themselves with subsistence from their own soil; and manufacturing



nations, as far as circumstances permit, endeavour to procure from the same source, the raw materials necessary for their own fabrics. This disposition, urged by the spirit of monopoly, is sometimes even carried to an injudicious extreme. It seems not always to be recollected, that nations, who have neither mines nor manufactures, can only obtain the manufactured articles, of which they stand in need, by an exchange of the products of their soils; and that if those who can best furnish them with such articles are unwilling to give a due course to this exchange, they must of necessity make every possible effort to manufacture for themselves; the effect of which is, that the manufacturing nations abridge the natural advantages of their situation, through an unwillingness to permit the agricultural countries to enjoy the advantages of theirs, and sacrifice the interests of a mutually beneficial intercourse to the vain project of selling every thing and buying nothing.

But it is also a consequence of the policy, which has been noted, that the foreign demand for the products of agricultural countries, is, in a great degree, rather casual and occasional, than certain or constant. To what extent injurious interruptions of the demand for some of the staple commodities of the United States, may have been experienced from that cause, must be referred to the judgement of those who are engaged in carrying on the commerce of the country; but it may be safely affirmed, that such interruptions are at times very inconveniently felt, and that cases not unfrequently occur, in which markets are so confined and restricted, as to render the demand very unequal to the supply.

Independent likewise of the artificial impediments, which are created by the policy in question, there are natural causes tending to render the external demand for the surplus of agricultural nations a precarious reliance. The differences of seasons in the countries which are the consumers, make immense differences in the produce of their own soils, in different years, and consequently in the degrees of their necessity for foreign supply. Plentiful harvests with them, especially if similar ones occur at the same time in the countries which are the furnishers, occasion of course a glut in the markets of the latter.

Considering how fast and how much the progress of new settlements in the United States must increase the surplus produce of the soil, and weighing seriously the tendency of the system which prevails among most of the commercial nations of Europe, whatever dependence may be placed on the force of natural circumstances to counteract the effects of an artificial policy, there appear strong reasons to regard the foreign demand

mand for that surplus as too uncertain a reliance, and to desire a substitute for it, in an extensive domestic market.

To secure such a market, there is no other expedient than for the United States to promote manufacturing establishments. Manufacturers, who constitute the most numerous class, after the cultivators of land, are for that reason the principal consumers of the surplus of their labour.

This idea of an extensive domestic market for the surplus produce of the soil, is of the first consequence to the United States. It is of all things that which most effectually conduces to a flourishing state of agriculture. If the effect of manufactories were to be the detaching a portion of the hands which would be otherwise engaged in tillage, it might possibly cause a smaller quantity of lands to be under cultivation: but by their tendency to procure a more certain demand for the surplus produce of the soil, they at the same time, cause the lands which are in cultivation to be better improved, and more productive. And while, by their influence, the condition of each individual farmer is meliorated, the total mass of agricultural production will probably be increased: for this must evidently depend as much, if not more, upon the degree of improvement, than upon the number of acres under culture.

It merits particular observation, that the multiplication of manufactories not only furnishes a market for those articles which have been accustomed to be produced in abundance in a country, but it likewise creates a demand for such as were either unknown, or produced in inconsiderable quantities. The bowels, as well as the surface of the earth, are ransacked for articles which were before neglected. Animals, plants, and minerals acquire a utility and value, which were before unexplored.

The foregoing considerations seem sufficient to establish, as general propositions, that it is the interest of nations, and particularly of the United States, to diversify the industrious pursuits of the individuals who compose them—that the establishment of manufactures is calculated not only to increase the general stock of useful and productive labour, but even to improve the state of agriculture in particular; certainly to advance the interest of those who are engaged in it. There are other views, that we shall hereafter take of the subject, which, it is conceived, will serve to confirm these inferences.

Previous to a farther discussion of the objections to the encouragement of manufactures; which have been stated, it will be of use to see what can be said in reference to the particular situation of the United States against the conclusions appearing to result from what has been already offered,

It may be observed, and the idea is of no inconsiderable weight, that however true it may be, that a state, which possesses large tracts of vacant and fertile territory, and at the same time secluded from foreign commerce, would find its interest, and the interest of agriculture, in diverting a part of its population from tillage to manufactures; yet it will not follow that the same is true of a state, which, having such vacant and fertile territory, has at the same time ample opportunities of procuring from abroad, on good terms, all the fabrics of which it stands in need for the supply of its inhabitants. The power of doing this at least secures the great advantage of a division of labour, leaving the farmer free to pursue exclusively the culture of his land, and enabling him to procure with its products the manufactured supplies requisite either to his wants or to his enjoyments. And though it should be true, that in settled countries the diversification of industry is conducive to an increase in the productive powers of labour, and to an augmentation of revenue and capital, yet it is scarcely conceivable that there can be any thing of so solid and permanent advantage to an uncultivated and unpeopled country, as to convert its wastes into cultivated and inhabited districts. If the revenue, in the mean time, should be less, the capital, in the event, must be greater.

To these observations, the following appears to be a satisfactory answer, at least so far as they concern the American States.

If the system of perfect liberty to industry and commerce were the prevailing system of nations, the arguments which dissuade a country in the predicament of the United States, from the zealous pursuit of manufactures, would doubtless have great force. It will not be affirmed, that they might not be permitted, with few exceptions, to serve as a rule of national conduct. In such a state of things, each country would have the full benefit of its peculiar advantages to compensate for its deficiencies or disadvantages. If one nation were in condition to supply manufactured articles on better terms than another, that other might find an abundant indemnification in a superior capacity to furnish the produce of the soil. And a free exchange, mutually beneficial, of the commodities which each was able to supply, on the best terms, might be carried on between them, supporting in full vigour the industry of each. And though the circumstances which have been mentioned, and others which will be unfolded hereafter, render it probable, that nations merely agricultural, would not enjoy the same degree of opulence, in proportion to their numbers, as those which united manufactures with agriculture; yet the progressive improvement of the lands of the former might, in the end, atone for an inferior de-

gree of opulence in the mean time; and in a case in which opposite considerations are pretty equally balanced, the option ought perhaps always to be, in favour of leaving industry to its own direction.

But the system which has been mentioned is far from characterizing the general policy of nations. The prevalent one has been regulated by an opposite spirit. The consequence of it is, that the United States are to a certain extent in the situation of a country precluded from foreign commerce. They can indeed, without difficulty, obtain from abroad the manufactured supplies of which they are in want; but they experience numerous and very injurious impediments to the emission and vent of their own commodities. Nor is this the case in reference to a single foreign nation only. The regulations of several countries, with which they have the most extensive intercourse, throw serious obstructions in the way of the principal staples of the United States.

In such a position of things, the United States cannot exchange with Europe on equal terms; and the want of reciprocity would render them the victim of a system, which would induce them to confine their views to agriculture, and refrain from manufactures. A constant and increasing necessity, on their part, for the commodities of Europe, and only a partial and occasional demand for their own, in return, could not but expose them to a state of impoverishment, compared with the opulence to which their political and natural advantages authorize them to aspire.

Remarks of this kind are not made in the spirit of complaint. 'Tis for the nations, whose regulations are alluded to, to judge for themselves, whether by aiming at too much, they do not lose more than they gain. 'Tis for the United States to consider by what means they can render themselves least dependent on the combinations, right or wrong, of European policy.

It can be no small consolation to them, that already the measures which have embarrassed their trade have accelerated their internal improvements, which, upon the whole, have bettered their affairs. To diversify and extend these improvements is the surest and safest method of indemnifying themselves for any inconveniencies which those or similar measures have a tendency to beget. If Europe will not take from them the products of their soil, upon terms consistent with their interest, the natural remedy is for them to contract as fast possible their wants of her.

The conversion of their waste into cultivated land is certainly a point of great moment in the political calculations of the United States. But the



the degree in which this may possibly be retarded by the encouragement of manufactories, does not appear to countervail the powerful inducements to affording that encouragement.

An observation made in another place is of a nature to have great influence upon this question—If it cannot be denied that the interests even of agriculture may be advanced more by having such of the lands of a state as are occupied under good cultivation, than by having a greater quantity occupied under a much inferior cultivation; and if manufactories, for the reasons assigned, must be admitted to have a tendency to promote a more steady and vigorous cultivation of the lands occupied, than would happen without them, then it will follow, that they are capable of indemnifying a country for a diminution of the progress of new settlements; and may serve to increase both the capital value and the income of its lands, even though they should abridge the number of acres under tillage.

But it does by no means follow, that the progress of new settlements will be retarded by the extension of manufactures. The desire of being an independent proprietor of land is founded on such strong principles in the human breast, that where the opportunity of becoming so is as great as it is in the United States, the proportion will be small of those, whose situations would otherwise lead to it, who will be diverted from it towards manufactures. And it is highly probable, as already intimated, that the accession of foreigners, who, originally drawn over by manufacturing views, will afterwards abandon them for agricultural, will be more than equivalent for those of her own citizens, who may happen to be detached from them.

The remaining objections to a *particular* encouragement of manufactures in the United States now require to be examined.

One of these turns on the position, that industry, if left to itself, will naturally find its way to the most useful and profitable employment: whence it is inferred, that manufactures, without the aid of government, will grow up as soon and as fast, as the natural state of things, and the interest of the community may require.

Against the solidity of this hypothesis, in the full latitude of the terms, very cogent reasons may be offered. These have relation to the strong influence of habit and the spirit of imitation, the fear of want of success in untried enterprises, the intrinsic difficulties incident to first essays towards a competition with those who have previously attained to perfection in the business to be attempted, the bounties, premiums, and other artificial encouragements, with which European nations second

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the exertions of their own subjects in the branches in which they are to be rivalled.

Experience teaches, that men are often so much governed by what they are accustomed to see and practise, that the simplest and most obvious improvements, in the most ordinary occupations, are adopted with hesitation, reluctance, and by slow gradations. The spontaneous transition to new pursuits, in a community long habituated to different ones, may be expected to be attended with proportionably greater difficulty. When former occupations cease to yield a profit adequate to the subsistence of their followers, or when there is an absolute deficiency of employment in them, owing to the superabundance of hands, changes will ensue; but these changes will be likely to be more tardy than may consist with the interest either of individuals, or of the society. In many cases they will not happen, while a bare support can be ensured by an adherence to ancient courses, though a resort to a more profitable employment might be practicable. To produce the desirable changes, as early as may be expedient, may therefore require the incitement and patronage of government.

The apprehension of failing in new attempts is perhaps a more serious impediment. There are dispositions apt to be attracted by the mere novelty of an undertaking; but these are not always the best calculated to give it success. To this it is of importance that the confidence of cautious, sagacious capitalists, both citizens and foreigners, should be excited. And to inspire this description of persons with confidence, it is essential that they should be made to see in any project, which is new, and for that reason alone, if for no other, precarious, the prospect of such a degree of countenance and support from government, as may be capable of overcoming the obstacles inseparable from first experiments.

The superiority antecedently enjoined by nations, who have pre-occupied and perfected a branch of industry, constitutes a more formidable obstacle, than either of those which have been mentioned, to the introduction of the same branch into a country in which it did not before exist. To maintain between the recent establishments of one country and the long-matured establishments of another country, a competition upon equal terms, both as to quality and price, is in most cases impracticable. The disparity in the one or in the other, or in both, must necessarily be so considerable as to forbid a successful rivalry, without the extraordinary aid and protection of government.

But the greatest obstacle of all to the successful prosecution of a new branch of industry in a country in which it was before unknown, consists, as far as the instances apply, in the bounties, premiums, and other

aids which are granted, in a variety of cases, by the nations in which the establishments to be imitated are previously introduced. It is well known, that certain nations grant bounties on the exportation of particular commodities, to enable their own workmen to undersell and supplant all competitors, in the countries to which those commodities are sent. Hence the undertakers of a new manufacture have to contend not only with the natural disadvantages of a new undertaking, but with the gratuities and remunerations which other governments bestow. To be enabled to contend with success, it is evident that the interference and aid of their own government are indispensable.

Combinations by those engaged in a particular branch of business in one country to frustrate the first efforts to introduce it into another, by temporary sacrifices, recompensed perhaps by extraordinary indemnifications of the government of such country, are believed to have existed, and are not to be regarded as destitute of probability. The existence or assurance of aid from the government of the country in which the business is to be introduced, may be essential to fortify adventurers against the dread of such combinations—to defeat their effects, if formed, and to prevent their being formed, by demonstrating that they must in the end prove fruitless.

Whatever room there may be for an expectation that the industry of a people, under the direction of private interest, will upon equal terms find out the most beneficial employment for itself, there is none for a reliance that it will struggle against the force of unequal terms, or will of itself surmount all the adventitious barriers to a successful competition, which may have been erected either by the advantages naturally acquired from practice and previous possession of the ground, or by those which may have sprung from positive regulations and an artificial policy. This general reflection might alone suffice as an answer to the objection under examination, exclusively of the weighty considerations which have been particularly urged.

The objections to the pursuit of manufactures in the United States, which next present themselves to discussion, represent an impracticability of success, arising from three causes—scarcity of hands, dearth of labour, want of capital.

The two first circumstances are to a certain extent real, and, within due limits, ought to be admitted as obstacles to the success of manufacturing enterprise in the United States. But there are various considerations which lessen their force, and tend to afford an assurance that they are not sufficient to prevent the advantageous prosecution of many very useful and extensive manufactories.

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With regard to scarcity of hands, the fact itself must be applied with no small qualification to certain parts of the United States. There are large districts which may be considered as pretty fully peopled, and which, notwithstanding a continual drain for distant settlements, are thickly interspersed with flourishing and increasing towns. If these districts have not already reached the point at which the scarcity of hands ceases, they are not remote from it, and are approaching fast towards it: and having, perhaps, fewer attractions to agriculture than some other parts of the union, they exhibit a proportionably stronger tendency towards other kinds of industry. In these districts may be discerned no inconsiderable maturity for manufacturing establishments.

But there are circumstances, which have been already noticed with another view, that materially diminish every where the effect of a scarcity of hands. These circumstances are—the great use which can be made of women and children; on which point a very pregnant and instructive fact has been mentioned; the vast extension given by late improvements to the employment of machines, which, substituting the agency of fire and water, has prodigiously lessened the necessity for manual labour; the employment of persons ordinarily engaged in other occupations, during the seasons, or hours of leisure; which, besides giving occasion to the exertion of a greater quantity of labour by the same number of persons, and thereby increasing the general stock of labour, as has been elsewhere remarked, may also be taken into the calculation, as a resource for obviating the scarcity of hands—lastly, the attraction of foreign emigrants. Whoever inspects with a careful eye the composition of their towns, will be made sensible to what an extent this resource may be relied upon. These exhibit a large proportion of ingenious and valuable workmen, in different arts and trades, who, by expatriating from Europe, have improved their own condition, and added to the industry and wealth of the United States. It is a natural inference from the experience they have already had, that in proportion as the United States shall present the countenance of a serious prosecution of manufactures, in proportion as foreign artists shall be made sensible that the state of things there affords a moral certainty of employment and encouragement, competent numbers of European workmen will transplant themselves, effectually to ensure the success of the design. How indeed can it otherwise happen, considering the various and powerful inducements which the situation of America offers, addressing themselves to so many strong passions and feelings, to so many general and particular interests?



It may be affirmed, therefore, in respect to hands for carrying on manufactures, that they will in a great measure trade upon a foreign stock; reserving their own for the cultivation of their lands and the manning of their ships, as far as character and circumstances shall incline. It is not unworthy of remark, that the objection to the success of manufactures, deduced from the scarcity of hands, is alike applicable to trade and navigation, and yet these are perceived to flourish, without any sensible impediment from that cause.

As to the dearth of labour, another of the obstacles alledged, this has relation principally to two circumstances; one, that which has been just discussed, the scarcity of hands; the other, the greatness of profits.

As far as it is a consequence of the scarcity of hands, it is mitigated by all the considerations which have been adduced as lessening that deficiency. It is certain too, that the disparity in this respect between some of the most manufacturing parts of Europe and a large proportion of the United States, is not nearly so great as is commonly imagined. It is also much less in regard to artificers and manufacturers than in regard to country labourers; and while a careful comparison shews that there is, in this particular, much exaggeration, it is also evident, that the effect of the degree of disparity which does truly exist, is diminished in proportion to the use which can be made of machinery.

To illustrate this last idea—Let it be supposed, that the difference of price, in two countries, of a given quantity of manual labour requisite to the fabrication of a given article is as ten, and that some MECHANIC POWER is introduced into both countries, which performing half the necessary labour, leaves only half to be done by hand, it is evident, that the difference in the cost of the fabrication of the article in question, in the two countries, as far as it is connected with the price of labour, will be reduced from ten to five, in consequence of the introduction of that POWER.

This circumstance is worthy of the most particular attention. It diminishes immensely one of the objections, most strenuously urged, against the success of manufactures in the United States.

For the United States to procure all such machines as are known in any part of Europe can only require a proper provision and due pains. The knowledge of several of the most important of them they already possess. The preparation of them there is in most cases practicable on nearly equal terms. As far as they depend on water, some superiority of advantages may be claimed, from the uncommon variety and greater cheapness of situations adapted to mill seats, with which different parts of the United States abound.

So far as the dearth of labour may be a consequence of the greatness of profits in any branch of business, it is no obstacle to its success. The undertaker can afford to pay the price.

There are grounds to conclude, that undertakers of manufactures in America, can at this time afford to pay higher wages to the workmen they employ than are paid to similar workmen in Europe. The price of foreign fabrics in the markets of the United States, which will for a long time regulate the prices of the domestic ones, may be considered as compounded of the following ingredients:—The first cost of materials, including the taxes, if any, which are paid upon them where they are made; the expence of grounds, buildings, machinery, and tools; the wages of the persons employed in the manufactory; the profits on the capital or stock employed; the commissions of agents to purchase them where they are made; the expence of transportation to the United States, including insurance and other incidental charges; the taxes or duties, if any, and fees of office which are paid on their exportation; the taxes or duties, and fees of office which are paid on their importation.

As to the first of these items, the cost of materials, the advantage, upon the whole, is at present on the side of the United States, and the difference in their favour must increase, in proportion as a certain and extensive domestic demand shall induce the proprietors of land to devote more of their attention to the production of those materials. It ought not to escape observation, in a comparison on this point, that some of the principal manufacturing countries of Europe are much more dependent on foreign supply for the materials of their manufactures, than the United States, who are capable of supplying themselves with a greater abundance, as well as a greater variety, of the requisite materials.

As to the second item, the expence of grounds, buildings, machinery, and tools, an equality at least may be assumed; since advantages in some particulars will counterbalance temporary disadvantages in others.

As to the third item, or the article of wages, the comparison certainly turns against the United States; though, as before observed, not in so great a degree as is commonly supposed.

The fourth item is alike applicable to the foreign and to the domestic manufacture. It is indeed more properly a result than a particular to be compared.

But with respect to all the remaining items, they are alone applicable to the foreign manufacture, and, in the strictest sense, extraordinary; constituting a sum of extra charge on the foreign fabric, which cannot be estimated at less than from 15 to 30 per cent. on the cost of it at the manufactory.

The sum of extra charge may confidently be regarded as more than a counter-

counterpoise for the real difference in the price of labour, and is a satisfactory proof that manufactures may prosper in defiance of it in the United States.

To the general allegation, connected with the circumstances of scarcity of hands and the dearth of labour, that extensive manufactures can only grow out of a redundant or full population, it will be sufficient to answer generally, that the fact has been otherwise.—That the situation alledged to be an essential condition of success, has not been that of several nations, at periods when they had already attained to maturity in a variety of manufactures.

The supposed want of capital for the prosecution of manufactures in the United States is the most indefinite of the objections which are usually opposed to it.

It is very difficult to pronounce any thing precise concerning the real extent of the monied capital of a country, and still more concerning the proportion which it bears to the objects that invite the employment of capital. It is not less difficult to pronounce, how far the effect of any given money, as capital, or, in other words, as a medium for circulating the industry and property of a nation, may be increased by the very circumstance of the additional motion which is given to it by new objects of employment. That effect, like the momentum of descending bodies, may not improperly be represented, as in a compound ratio to mass and velocity. It seems pretty certain, that a given sum of money, in a situation in which the quick impulses of commercial activity are little felt, will appear inadequate to the circulation of as great a quantity of industry and property as in one in which their full influence is experienced.

It is not obvious why the same objection might not as well be made to external commerce as to manufactures, since it is manifest that the immense tracts of land, occupied and unoccupied, are capable of giving employment to more capital than is actually bestowed upon them. IT IS CERTAIN THAT THE UNITED STATES OFFER A VAST FIELD FOR THE ADVANTAGEOUS EMPLOYMENT OF CAPITAL, but it does, not follow that there will not be found, in one way or another, a sufficient fund for the successful prosecution of any species of industry which is likely to prove truly beneficial.

The following considerations are of a nature to remove all inquietude on the score of want of capital.

The introduction of banks, as has been shewn on another occasion, has a powerful tendency to extend the active capital of a country. Experience of the utility of these institutions is multiplying them in the United States. It is probable that they will be established wherever they can exist with advantage; and wherever they can be supported, if ad-  
ministered

ministered with prudence, they will add new energies to all pecuniary operations.

The aid of foreign capital may safely, and with considerable latitude, be taken into calculation. Its instrumentality has been long experienced in their external commerce; and it has begun to be felt in various other modes. Not only their funds, but their agriculture and other internal improvements have been animated by it. It has already, in a few instances, extended even to their manufactures.

It is a well known fact, that there are parts of Europe, which have more capital than profitable domestic objects of employment. Hence, among other proofs, the large loans continually furnished to foreign states. And it is equally certain, that the capital of other parts may find more profitable employment in the United States, than at home. And notwithstanding there are weighty inducements to prefer the employment of capital at home, even at less profit, to an investment of it abroad, though with greater gain, yet these inducements are over-ruled, either by a deficiency of employment, or by a very material difference in profit. Both these causes operate to produce a transfer of foreign capital to the United States. It is certain, that various objects in America hold out advantages, which are with difficulty to be equalled elsewhere; and under the increasingly favourable impressions, which are entertained of its government, the attractions will become more and more strong. These impressions will prove a rich mine of prosperity to the country, if they are confirmed and strengthened by the progress of their affairs. And to secure this advantage, little more is necessary, than to foster industry, and cultivate order and tranquility at home and abroad.

It is not impossible, that there may be persons disposed to look with a jealous eye on the introduction of foreign capital, as if it were an instrument to deprive their own citizens of the profits of their industry: but perhaps there never could be a more unreasonable jealousy. Instead of being viewed as a rival, it ought to be considered as a most valuable auxiliary; conducing to put in motion a greater quantity of productive labor, and a greater portion of useful enterprise, than could exist without it. It is at least evident, that in a country situated like the United States, with an infinite fund of resources, yet to be unfolded, every farthing of foreign capital, which is laid out in internal ameliorations, and in industrious establishments of a permanent nature, is a precious acquisition.

And whatever be the objects which originally attract foreign capital, when once introduced, it may be directed towards any purpose of bene-

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ficial exertion, which is desired. And to detain it in the United States, there can be no expedient so effectual as to enlarge the sphere, within which it may be usefully employed; though introduced merely with views to speculations in the funds, it may afterwards be rendered subservient to the interests of agriculture, commerce, and manufactures.

But the attraction of foreign capital for the direct purpose of manufactures ought not to be deemed a chimerical expectation. There are already examples of it, as remarked in another place. And the examples, if the disposition be cultivated, can hardly fail to multiply. There are also instances of another kind, which serve to strengthen the expectation; enterprizes for improving the public communications, by cutting canals, opening the obstructions in rivers, and erecting bridges, have received very material aid from the same source.

When the manufacturing capitalist of Europe shall advert to the many important advantages which have been intimated in the course of these remarks, he cannot but perceive very powerful inducements to a transfer of himself and his capital to the United States. Among the reflections which a most interesting peculiarity of situation is calculated to suggest, it cannot escape his observation, as a circumstance of moment in the calculation, that the progressive population and improvement of the United States, ensure a continually increasing domestic demand for the fabrics which he shall produce, not to be affected by any external casualties or vicissitudes.

But while there are circumstances sufficiently strong to authorise a considerable degree of reliance on the aid of foreign capital, towards the attainment of the object in view, it is satisfactory to have good grounds of assurance, that there are domestic resources of themselves adequate to it. It happens, that there is a species of capital, actually existing within the United States, which relieves from all inquietude on the score of want of capital—This is the funded debt.

The effect of a funded debt, as a species of capital, has been noticed upon a former occasion; but a more particular elucidation of the point seems to be required by the stress which is laid upon it.

Public funds answer the purpose of capital, from the estimation in which they are usually held by monied men; and consequently from the ease and dispatch with which they can be turned into money. This capacity of prompt convertibility into money, causes a transfer of stock to be in a great number of cases equivalent to a payment in coin.—And where it does not happen to suit the party who is to receive, to accept a transfer of stock, the party who is to pay, is never at a loss to find elsewhere

where a purchaser of his stock, who will furnish him in lieu of it, with the coin of which he stands in need.

Hence in a sound and settled state of the public funds, a man possessed of a sum in them can embrace any scheme of business which offers, with as much confidence as if he were possessed of an equal sum in coin.

This operation of public funds, as capital, is too obvious to be denied; but it is objected to the idea of their operating as an augmentation of the capital of the community, that they serve to occasion the destruction of some other capital to an equal amount:

The capital which alone they can be supposed to destroy, must consist of—The annual revenue, which is applied to the payment of interest on the debt, and to the gradual redemption of the principal—The amount of the coin, which is employed in circulating the funds, or in other words, in effecting the different alienations which they undergo.

But the following appears to be the true and accurate view of the matter—

As to the point of the annual revenue requisite for payment of interest and redemption of principal:

As a determinate proportion will tend to perspicuity in the reasoning, let it be supposed, that the annual revenue to be applied, corresponding with the modification of the 6 per cent. stock of the United States, is in the ratio, of eight upon the hundred; that is, in the first instance, six on account of interest, and two on account of principal.

Thus far it is evident, that the capital destroyed to the capital created, would bear no greater proportion than 8 to 100. There would be withdrawn from the total mass of other capitals a sum of eight dollars to be paid to the public creditor; while he would be possessed of a sum of one hundred dollars, ready to be applied to any purpose, to be embarked in any enterprise, which might appear to him eligible—Here then the augmentation of capital, or the excess of that which is produced, beyond that which is destroyed, is equal to ninety-two dollars.

To this conclusion it may be objected, that the sum of eight dollars is to be withdrawn annually, until the whole hundred is extinguished, and it may be inferred, that in process of time a capital will be destroyed equal to that which is at first created.

But it is nevertheless true, that during the whole of the interval, between the creation of the capital of 100 dollars, and its reduction to a sum not greater than that of the annual revenue appropriated to its redemption—there will be a greater active capital in existence than if no debt had been contracted. The sum drawn from other capitals in any one year will not exceed eight dollars; but there will be at every instant

of time during the whole period in question, a sum corresponding with so much of the principal as remains unredeemed in the hands of some person or other, employed, or ready to be employed, in some profitable undertaking. There will therefore constantly be more capital in capacity to be employed, than capital taken from employment. The excess for the first year has been stated to be ninety two dollars; it will diminish yearly; but there will always be an excess, until the principal of the debt is brought to a level with the redeeming annuity, that is, in the case which has been assumed by way of example, to eight dollars. The reality of this excess becomes palpable, if it be supposed, as often happens, that the citizen of a foreign country imports into the United States 100 dollars for the purchase of an equal sum of public debt—here is an absolute augmentation of the mass of circulating coin to the extent of 100 dollars. At the end of a year, the foreigner is presumed to draw back eight dollars on account of his principal and interest, but he still leaves ninety-two of his original deposit in circulation, as he in like manner leaves eighty-four at the end of the second year, drawing back then also the annuity of eight dollars: And thus the matter proceeds; the capital left in circulation diminishing each year, and coming nearer to the level of the annuity drawn back. There are, however, some differences in the ultimate operation of the part of the debt, which is purchased by foreigners, and that which remains in the hands of citizens. But the general effect in each case, though in different degrees, is to add to the active capital of the country.

Hitherto the reasoning has proceeded on a concession of the position, that there is a destruction of some other capital, to the extent of the annuity appropriated to the payment of the interest and the redemption of the principal of the debt; but in this too much has been conceded. There is at most a temporary transfer of some other capital, to the amount of the annuity, from those who pay to the creditor who receives; which he again restores to the circulation to resume the offices of a capital. This he does either immediately by employing the money in some branch of industry, or mediately by lending it to some other person who does so employ it, or by spending it on his own maintenance. In either supposition, there is no destruction of capital: there is nothing more than a suspension of its motion for a time, that is, while it is passing from the hands of those who pay into the public coffers, and thence through the public creditor into some other channel of circulation. When the payments of interest are periodical and quick, and made by the instrumentality of banks, the diversion or suspension of capital may almost

almost be denominated momentary. Hence the deduction on this account is far less than it at first sight appears to be.

There is evidently, as far as regards the annuity, no destruction nor transfer of any other capital, than that portion of the income of each individual, which goes to make up the annuity. The land which furnishes the farmer with the sum which he is to contribute remains the same; and the like may be observed of other capitals. Indeed, as far as the tax, which is the object of contribution (as frequently happens when it does not oppress by its weight) may have been a motive to greater exertion in any occupation; it may even serve to increase the contributory capital. This idea is not without importance in the general view of the subject.

It remains to see, what further deduction ought to be made from the capital which is created, by the existence of the debt, on account of the coin which is employed in its circulation. This is susceptible of much less precise calculation than the article which has been just discussed. It is impossible to say, what proportion of coin is necessary to carry on the alienations which any species of property usually undergoes. The quantity, indeed, varies according to circumstances. But it may still without hesitation be pronounced, from the quickness of the rotation, or rather of the transitions, that the medium of circulation always bears but a small proportion to the amount of the property circulated. And it is thence satisfactorily deducible, that the coin employed in the negotiations of the funds, and which serves to give them activity as capital, is incomparably less than the sum of the debt negotiated for the purpose of business.

It ought not, however, to be omitted, that the negotiation of the funds becomes itself a distinct business, which employs, and by employing, diverts a portion of the circulating coin from other pursuits. But making due allowance for this circumstance, there is no reason to conclude, that, the effect of the diversion of coin in the whole operation bears any considerable proportion to the amount of the capital to which it gives activity. The sum of the debt in circulation is continually at the command of any useful enterprise; the coin itself, which circulates it, is never more than momentarily suspended from its ordinary functions. It experiences an incessant and rapid flux and reflux to and from the channels of industry to those of speculations in the funds.

There are strong circumstances in confirmation of this theory. The force of monied capital which has been displayed in Great Britain, and the height to which every species of industry has grown up under



it, defy a solution from the quantity of coin which that kingdom has ever possessed. Accordingly it has been co-eval with its funding system, the prevailing opinion of the men of business, and of the generality of the most sagacious theorists of that country, that the operation of the public funds as capital has contributed to the effect in question. Among the Americans appearances thus far favour the same conclusion. Industry in general seems to have been re-animated, There are symptoms indicating an extension of their commerce. Their navigation has certainly of late had a considerable spring, and there appears to be in many parts of the Union a command of capital, which, till lately, since the revolution at least, was unknown. But it is at the same time to be acknowledged, that other circumstances have concurred, and in a great degree, in producing the present state of things, and that the appearances are not yet sufficiently decisive to be entirely relied upon.

In the question under discussion, it is important to distinguish between an absolute increase of capital, or an accession of real wealth and an artificial increase of capital, as an engine of business, or as an instrument of industry and commerce. In the first sense, a funded debt has no pretensions to being deemed an increase of capital; in the last, it has pretensions which are not easy to be controverted. Of a similar nature is bank credit, and, in an inferior degree, every species of private credit.

But though a funded debt is not in the first instance, an absolute increase of capital, or an augmentation of real wealth; yet, by serving as a new power in the operations of industry, it has within certain bounds a tendency to increase the real wealth of a community; in like manner as money borrowed by a thrifty farmer, to be laid out in the improvement of his farm, may, in the end, add to his stock of real riches.

There are respectable individuals, who, from a *just* aversion to an accumulation of public debt, are unwilling to concede to it any kind of utility, who can discern no good to alleviate the ill with which they suppose it pregnant; who cannot be persuaded, that it ought in any sense to be viewed as an increase of capital, lest it should be inferred, as it has erroneously been in Great Britain, that the more *debt* the more *capital*, the *greater the burthens the greater the blessings* of the community.

But it interests the public to have estimated every object as it truly is; to appreciate how far the good in any measure is compensated by the ill; or the ill by the good; either of them is seldom unmixed.

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But it will not follow, that an accumulation of debt is desirable, because a certain degree of it operates as a capital. There may be a plethora in the political, as in the natural body; there may be a state of things in which any such artificial capital is unnecessary. The debt too may be swelled to such a size, as that the greatest part of it may cease to be useful as a capital, serving only, as it does in England, to burden the labouring mechanic, and pamper the dissipation of idle and dissolute individuals; as that the sums required to pay the interest upon it may become oppressive, and beyond the means which a government can employ, consistently with its tranquillity, to raise them—as that the resources of taxation to face the debt may have been strained too far to admit of extensions adequate to exigencies, which regard the public safety.

Where this critical point is, we cannot pronounce with precision, but it is impossible to believe, that there is not such a point, and almost equally difficult to doubt, but that most of the old governments of Europe are nearly arrived at it.

And as the vicissitudes of nations beget a perpetual tendency to the accumulation of debt, there ought to be in every government a perpetual, anxious, and unceasing effort to reduce that, which at any time exists, as fast as shall be practicable, consistently with integrity and good faith.

Reasonings on a subject comprehending ideas so abstract and complex, so little reducible to precise calculation as those which enter into the question just discussed, are always attended with a danger of running into fallacies. Due allowance ought therefore to be made for this possibility—But as far as the nature of the subject admits of, it there appears to be satisfactory ground for a belief that the public funds operate as a resource of capital to the citizens of the United States, and if they are a resource at all, it is an extensive one.

To all the arguments which are brought to evince the impracticability of success in manufacturing establishments in the United States, it might have been a sufficient answer to have referred to the experience of what has been already done—It is certain that several important branches have grown up and flourished with a rapidity and success which surprises not only us but the Americans themselves; affording an encouraging assurance of success in future attempts; of these it may not be improper to enumerate the most considerable.

I. Tanned and tawed leather, dressed skins, shoes, boots and slippers, harness, and saddlery of all kinds, portmanteaus and trunks, leather breeches, gloves, muffs and tippets, parchment and glue.

II. Bar

II. Bar and sheet iron, steel, nail rods, and nails, implements of husbandry, stoves, pots and other household utensils, the steel and iron work for carriages, and ship-building, anchors, scale-beams and weights, various tools of artificers, arms of different kinds, the manufacture of these last has of late diminished for want of demand.

III. Ships, cabinet wares and turnery, wool and cotton cards, and other machinery for manufactures and husbandry, mathematical instruments, cooper's wares of every kind.

IV. Cables, sail-cloth, cordage, twine and packthread.

V. Bricks and coarse tiles, and potters wares.

VI. Ardent spirits and malt liquors.

VII. Writing and printing paper, sheathing and wrapping paper, pasteboards, fullers or press papers, paper hangings.

VIII. Hats of fur and wool, and of mixtures of both.—Womens stuff and silk shoes.

IX. Refined sugars.

X. Oils of animals and seeds, soap, spermaceti and tallow candles.

XI. Copper and brass wares, particularly utensils for distillers, sugar refiners and brewers, and irons and other articles for household use—philosophical apparatus, &c.

XII. Tin wares for most purposes of ordinary use.

XIII. Carriages of all kinds.

XIV. Snuff, chewing and smoking tobacco.

XV. Starch and hair powder.

XVI. Lampblack and other painters colours.

XVII. Gunpowder.

Besides manufactories of these articles which are carried on as regular trades, and have attained to a considerable degree of maturity, there is a vast scene of household manufacturing, which contributes more largely to the supply of the community than could be imagined, without having made it an object of particular inquiry. This observation is the pleasing result of the investigation to which the subject has led, and is applicable as well to the southern as to the middle and northern states; great quantities of coarse cloths, coatings, serges, and flannels, linsey-woolseys, hosiery of wool, cotton and thread, coarse fustians, jeans and muslins, checked and striped cotton and linen goods, bedticks, coverlets and counterpanes, tow linens, coarse shirtings, sheetings, toweling and table linen, and various mixtures of wool and cotton, and of cotton and flax, are made in the household way, and in many instances to an extent not only sufficient for the supply of the families in which they are made, but for sale,

sale, and even in some cases for exportation. It is computed in a number of districts, that two-thirds, three-fourths, and even four-fifths, of all the clothing of the inhabitants are made by themselves. The importance of so great a progress, as appears to have been made in family manufactures within a few years, both in a moral and political view, renders the fact highly interesting.

Neither does the above enumeration comprehend all the articles that are manufactured as regular trades; many others occur which are equally well established, but which not being of equal importance have been omitted; and there are many attempts still in their infancy, which, though attended with very favourable appearances, could not have been properly comprised in an enumeration of manufactories already established. There are other articles also of great importance, which, though strictly speaking manufactures, are omitted, as being immediately connected with husbandry, such are flour, pot and pearl ash, pitch, tar, turpentine, and the like.

There remains to be noticed an objection to the encouragement of manufactures, of a nature different from those which question the probability of success.—This is derived from its supposed tendency to give a monopoly of advantages to particular classes at the expence of the rest of the community, who, it is affirmed, would be able to procure the requisite supplies of manufactured articles on better terms from foreigners than from their own citizens, and who, it is alledged, are reduced to the necessity of paying an enhanced price for whatever they want, by every measure which obstructs the free competition of foreign commodities.

It is not an unreasonable supposition, that measures which serve to abridge the free competition of foreign articles have a tendency to occasion an enhancement of prices, and it is not to be denied that such is the effect in a number of cases; but the fact does not uniformly correspond with the theory. A reduction of prices has, in several instances, immediately succeeded the establishment of a domestic manufacture. Whether it be that foreign manufactures endeavour to supplant, by underselling their own, or whatever else be the cause, the effect has been such as is stated, and the reverse of what might have been expected.

But though it were true, that the immediate and certain effect of regulations controuling the competition of foreign with domestic fabrics was an increase of price, it is universally true, that the contrary is the ultimate effect with every successful manufacture. When a domestic manufacture has attained to perfection, and has engaged in the prosecution of it a competent number of persons, it invariably becomes cheaper. Being



Being free from the heavy charges which attend the importation of foreign commodities, it can be afforded, and accordingly seldom or never fails to be sold cheaper, in process of time, than was the foreign article for which it is a substitute. The internal competition which takes place, soon does away every thing like monopoly, and by degrees reduces the price of the article to the *minimum* of a reasonable profit on the capital employed. This accords with the reason of the thing and with experience.

Hence it follows, that it is the interest of the United States, with a view to eventual and permanent economy, to encourage the growth of manufactures. In a national view, a temporary enhancement of price must always be well compensated by a permanent reduction of it.

It is a reflection which may with propriety be indulged here, that this eventual diminution of the prices of manufactured articles, which is the result of internal manufacturing establishments, has a direct and very important tendency to benefit agriculture. It enables the farmer to procure, with a smaller quantity of his labour, the manufactured produce of which he stands in need, and consequently increases the value of his income and property.

The objections which are commonly made to the expediency of encouraging, and to the probability of succeeding in manufacturing pursuits in the United States, having now been discussed, the considerations which have appeared in the course of the discussion, recommending that species of industry to the patronage of the American government, will be materially strengthened by a few general and some particular topics, which have been naturally reserved for subsequent notice.

I. There seems to be a moral certainty, that the trade of a country, which is both manufacturing and agricultural, will be more lucrative and prosperous than that of a country which is merely agricultural.

One reason for this is found in that general effort of nations, to procure from their own soils the articles of prime necessity requisite to their own consumption and use, and which serves to render their demand for a foreign supply of such articles in a great degree occasional and contingent. Hence, while the necessities of nations exclusively devoted to agriculture, for the fabrics of manufacturing states, are constant and regular, the wants of the latter for the products of the former are liable to very considerable fluctuation and interruptions. The great inequalities resulting from difference of seasons have been elsewhere remarked: this uniformity of demand on one side, and unsteadiness of it on the other, must necessarily have a tendency to cause the general course of the exchange of commodities between the parties to turn to the disadvantage

vantage of the merely agricultural states. Peculiarity of situation, a climate and soil adapted to the production of peculiar commodities, may sometimes contradict the rule; but there is every reason to believe that it will be found in the main a just one.

Another circumstance which gives a superiority of commercial advantages to states, that manufacture, as well as cultivate, consists in the more numerous attractions which a more diversified market offers to foreign customers, and in the greater scope which it affords to mercantile enterprise. It is a position of indisputable truth in commerce, depending too on very obvious reasons, that the greatest resort will ever be to those marts, where commodities, while equally abundant, are most various. Each difference of kind holds out an additional inducement, and it is a position not less clear, that the field of enterprise must be enlarged to the merchants of a country, in proportion to the variety as well as the abundance of commodities which they find at home for exportation to foreign markets.

A third circumstance, perhaps not inferior to either of the other two, conferring the superiority which has been stated, has relation to the stagnations of demand for certain commodities, which at some time or other interfere more or less with the sale of all.—The nation which can bring to market but few articles, is likely to be more quickly and sensibly affected by such stagnations, than one which is always possessed of a great variety of commodities; the former frequently finds too great a portion of its stock of materials, for sale or exchange, lying on hand—or is obliged to make injurious sacrifices to supply its wants of foreign articles, which are numerous and urgent, in proportion to the smallness of the number of its own. The latter commonly finds itself indemnified by the high prices of some articles for the low prices of others—and the prompt and advantageous sale of those articles which are in demand enables its merchants the better to wait for a favourable change, in respect to those which are not. There is ground to believe, that a difference of situation, in this particular, has immensely different effects upon the wealth and prosperity of nations.

From these circumstances collectively, two important inferences are to be drawn; one, that there is always a higher probability of a favourable balance of trade, in regard to countries in which manufactures, founded on the basis of a thriving agriculture, flourish, than in regard to those which are confined wholly, or almost wholly, to agriculture; the other, which is a consequence of the first, that countries of the former description are likely to possess more pecuniary wealth, or money, than those of the latter.

Facts appear to correspond with this conclusion. The importations of manufactured supplies seem invariably to drain the merely agricultural people of their wealth. Let the situation of the manufacturing countries of Europe be compared in this particular with that of those countries which only cultivate, and the disparity will be striking. Other causes, it is true, help to account for this disparity between some of them; and among these causes, the relative state of agriculture; but between others of them, the most prominent circumstance of dissimilitude arises from the comparative state of manufactures. In corroboration of the same idea, it ought not to escape remark, that the West India islands, the soils of which are the most fertile, and the nation, which in the greatest degree supplies the rest of the world, with the precious metals, exchange to a loss with almost every other country.

As far as experience in America may guide, it will lead to the same conclusion. Previous to the revolution, the quantity of coin possessed by the colonies, which now compose the United States, appeared to be inadequate to their circulation, and their debt to Great Britain was progressive. Since the revolution, the states, in which manufactures have most increased, have recovered fastest from the injuries of the late war, and abound most in pecuniary resources.

It ought to be admitted, however, in this as in the preceding case, that causes irrelative to the state of manufactures account, in a degree, for the phenomena remarked. The continual progress of new settlements, has a natural tendency to occasion an unfavourable balance of trade, though it indemnifies for the inconvenience, by that increase of the national capital which flows from the conversion of waste into improved lands: and the different degrees of external commerce which are carried on by the different states, may make material differences in the comparative state of their wealth. The first circumstance has reference to the deficiency of coin, and the increase of debt previous to the revolution; the last, to the advantages which the most manufacturing states appear to have enjoyed over the others, since the termination of the late war.

But the uniform appearance of an abundance of specie, as the concomitant of a flourishing state of manufactures, and of the reverse where they do not prevail, afford a strong presumption of their favourable operation upon the wealth of a country.

Not only the wealth, but the independence and security of a country, appear to be materially connected with the prosperity of manufactures. Every nation, with a view to those great objects, ought to endeavour to possess



possess within itself all the essentials of national supply. These comprise the means of subsistence, habitation, cloathing, and defence.

The possession of these is necessary to the perfection of the body politic, to the safety as well as to the welfare of the society; the want of either is the want of an important organ of political life and motion; and in the various critical events which await a state, it must severely feel the effects of any such deficiency. The extreme embarrassments of the United States during the late war, from an incapacity of supplying themselves, are still matter of keen recollection: a future war might be expected again to exemplify the mischiefs and dangers of a situation, to which that incapacity is still in too great a degree applicable, unless changed by timely and vigorous exertions. To effect this change, as fast as shall be prudent, merits all the attention and all the zeal of their public councils; it is the next great work to be accomplished.

The want of a navy to protect the external commerce of the United States, as long as it shall continue, must render it a peculiarly precarious reliance for the supply of essential articles, and must serve to strengthen prodigiously the arguments in favour of manufactures.

To these general considerations are added some of a more particular nature.

Their distance from Europe, the great fountain of manufactured supply, subjects them, in the existing state of things, to inconvenience and loss in two ways.

The bulkiness of those commodities which are the chief productions of the soil, necessarily imposes very heavy charges on their transportation to distant markets. These charges, in the cases in which the nations, to whom their products are sent, maintain a competition in the supply of their own markets, principally fall upon them, and form material deductions from the primitive value of the articles furnished. The charges on manufactured supplies carried from Europe are greatly enhanced by the same circumstance of distance. These charges, again, in the cases in which their own industry maintains no competition in their own markets, also principally fall upon them, and are an additional cause of extraordinary deduction from the primitive value of their own products, these being the materials of exchange for the foreign fabrics which they consume.

The quality and moderation of individual property, and the growing settlements of new districts, occasion in the United States an unusual demand for coarse manufactures, the charges of which being greater in proportion to their greater bulk, augment the disadvantage which has been just described.



As in most countries domestic supplies maintain a very considerable competition with such foreign productions of the soil as are imported for sale; if the extensive establishment of manufactories in the United States does not create a similar competition in respect to manufactured articles, it appears to be clearly deducible, from the considerations which have been mentioned, that they must sustain a double loss in their exchanges with foreign nations, strongly conducive to an unfavourable balance of trade, and very prejudicial to their interests.

These disadvantages press with no small weight on the landed interest of the country; in seasons of peace they cause a serious deduction from the intrinsic value of the products of the soil; and in case of war, which should either involve themselves, or any other nation, possessing a considerable share of their carrying trade, the charges on the transportation of their commodities, bulky as most of them are, under such circumstances, could hardly fail to prove a grievous burthen to the farmer, while obliged to depend in so great a degree as he now does upon foreign markets for the vent of the surplus of his labour.

As far as the prosperity of the fisheries of the United States is impeded by the want of an adequate market, there arises another special reason for desiring the extension of manufactures. Besides the fish, which in many places would be likely to make a part of the subsistence of the persons employed, it is known that the oils, bones, and skins of marine animals, are of extensive use in various manufactures; hence the prospect of an additional demand for the produce of the fisheries.

One more point of view only remains, in which to consider the expediency of the utmost encouragement being given to manufactures in the United States.

It is not uncommon to meet with an opinion, that though the promoting of manufactures may be the interest of a part of the Union, it is contrary to that of another part; the northern and southern regions are sometimes represented as having adverse interests in this respect; those are called manufacturing, these agricultural states, and a species of opposition is imagined to subsist between the manufacturing and agricultural interests.

This idea of an opposition between those two interests has been the common error of the early periods of every country, but experience gradually dissipates it; indeed, they are perceived so often to succour and to befriend each other, that they come at length to be considered as one; a supposition which has been frequently abused, and is not universally true. Particular encouragements of particular manufactures may be of a nature to sacrifice the interests of landholders to those of manufactures;

facturers; but it is nevertheless a maxim well established by experience, and generally acknowledged, where there has been sufficient experience, that the aggregate prosperity of manufactures, and the aggregate prosperity of agriculture are intimately connected. In the course of this discussion, various weighty considerations have been adduced operating in support of this opinion. Perhaps the superior steadiness of the demand of a domestic market for the surplus produce of the soil is alone a convincing argument of its truth.

Ideas of a contrariety of interests between the northern and southern regions of the United States, are in the main as unfounded as they are mischievous; the diversity of circumstances, on which such contrariety is usually predicated, authorises a direct contrary conclusion; mutual wants constitute one of the strongest links of political connection, and the extent of these bears a natural proportion to the diversity in the means of mutual supply.

Suggestions of an opposite complexion are ever to be deplored, as unfriendly to the steady pursuit of one great common cause, and to the perfect harmony of all the parts.

In proportion as the mind is accustomed to trace the intimate connection of interests which subsist between all the parts of a society, united under the same government; and the infinite variety of channels, which serve to circulate the prosperity of each to and through the rest, in that proportion it will be little apt to be disturbed by solitudes and apprehensions which originate in local discriminations. It is a truth as important as it is agreeable, and one to which it is not easy to imagine exceptions, that every thing tending to establish substantial and permanent order in the affairs of a country, to increase the total mass of industry and opulence, is ultimately beneficial to every part of it. On the credit of this great truth an acquiescence may safely be accorded from every quarter to all institutions and arrangements, which promise a confirmation of public order, and an augmentation of national resource.

But there are more particular considerations which serve to fortify the idea, that the encouragement of manufactures is the interest of all parts of the American Union. If the northern and middle states should be the principal scenes of such establishments, they would immediately benefit the more southern by creating a demand for productions, some of which they have in common with the other states, and others of which are either peculiar to them, or more abundant, or of better quality, than elsewhere. These productions principally are timber, flax, hemp, cotton, wool, raw silk, indigo, iron, lead, furs, hides, skins, and coals; of these articles cotton and indigo are peculiar to the southern states; as are

hitherto LEAD and COAL, flax and hemp are or may be raised in greater abundance there than in the more northern states; and the wool of Virginia is said to be of better quality than that of any other state; a circumstance rendered the more probable by the reflection, that Virginia embraces the same latitudes with the finest wool countries of Europe, and their pasture is similar. The climate of the south is also better adapted to the production of silk.

The extensive cultivation of cotton can, perhaps, hardly be expected, without the previous establishment of domestic manufactories of the article, these in some of the States have been established, and have already arrived at a degree of perfection and respectability hardly to have been expected in the time; and the surest encouragement and vent for the others, will result from similar establishments in respect to them.

If then it satisfactorily appears, that it is the interest of the United States generally to encourage manufactures, it merits particular attention, that there are circumstances which render the present a critical moment for entering with zeal upon the important business; the effort cannot fail to be materially seconded by a considerable and increasing influx of money, arising from the numbers who have, and which still continue to transfer themselves and capitals from the Old World to the different States; in consequence of foreign speculations in their funds—and by the disorders and oppressions which exist in different parts of Europe.

The first circumstance not only facilitates the execution of manufacturing enterprizes, but it indicates them as a necessary mean to turn their increasing population and capital, to advantage, and to prevent their being eventually an evil. If useful employment be not found for the money of foreigners who are daily taking up their residence in the United States, and for that which is carried to the country to be invested in purchases of the public debt, it will quickly be re-exported to defray the expence of an extraordinary consumption of foreign luxuries; and distressing drains of their specie may hereafter be experienced to pay the interest and redeem the principal of the purchased debt.

This useful employment too ought to be of a nature to produce solid and permanent improvements. If the money merely serves to give a temporary spring to foreign commerce, as it cannot procure new and lasting outlets for the products of the country, there will be no real or durable advantage gained; as far as it shall find its way in agricultural ameliorations, in opening canals, and in similar improvements, it will be productive of substantial utility; but there is reason to doubt, whether

in such channels it is likely to find sufficient employment, and still more, whether many of those who possess it will be as readily attracted to objects of this nature as to manufacturing pursuits, which bear greater analogy to those to which they have been accustomed, and to the spirit generated by them.

To open the one field, as well as the other, will at least secure a better prospect of useful employment, for whatever accession of population and money there has been or may be.

There is at the present juncture a certain fermentation of mind, a certain activity of speculation and enterprize, which, if properly directed, may be made subservient to useful purposes; but which, if left entirely to itself, may be attended with pernicious effects.

The disturbed state of Europe inclining its citizens to emigration, the requisite workmen will be more easily acquired for different manufactures than at another time; and the effect of multiplying the opportunities of employment to those who emigrate, may be an increase of the number and extent of valuable acquisitions to the population, arts, and industry of the United States.

To find pleasure in the calamities of other nations would be criminal, but for the Americans to benefit themselves by opening an asylum to those who suffer in consequence of them, is as justifiable as it is politic.

A full view having now been taken of the inducements to the promotion of manufactures in the United States, accompanied with an examination of the principal objections which are urged in opposition thereto by some of their own citizens, it is proper, in the next place, to consider the means by which the promotion of them may be effected, as introductory to a specification of the objects which, in the present state of things, appear the most fit to be encouraged, and of the particular measures which it would be advisable for them to adopt in respect to each.

In order to a better judgment of the means proper to be resorted to by the United States, it will be of use to advert to those which have been employed with success in other countries—The principal of these are—

I. *Protecting duties—or duties on those foreign articles which are the rivals of the domestic ones intended to be encouraged.*

Duties of this nature evidently amount to a virtual bounty on the domestic fabrics, since by enhancing the charges on foreign articles, they enable the national manufacturers to undersell all their foreign competitors. The propriety of this species of encouragement need not be dwelt upon, as it is not only a clear result from the numerous topics which have been suggested, but is sanctioned by the laws of the United



States in a variety of instances; it has the additional recommendation of being a resource of revenue.—Indeed all the duties imposed on imported articles, though with an exclusive view to revenue, have the effect in contemplation, and, except where they fall on raw materials, wear a beneficent aspect towards the manufactures of the country.

## II. *Prohibitions of rival articles, or duties equivalent to prohibitions.*

This is another and an efficacious mean of encouraging their national manufactures, but in general it is only fit to be employed when a manufacture has made such a progress, and is in so many hands as to ensure a due competition, and an adequate supply on reasonable terms. Of duties equivalent to prohibitions, there are examples in the laws of the United States, and there are other cases to which the principle may be advantageously extended, but they are not numerous.

Considering a monopoly of the domestic market to its own manufactures as the reigning policy of manufacturing nations, a similar policy on the part of the United States in every proper instance is dictated, it might almost be said, by the principles of distributive justice; certainly by the duty of endeavouring to secure to their own citizens a reciprocity of advantages.

## III. *Prohibitions of the exportation of the materials of manufactures.*

The desire of securing a cheap and plentiful supply for the national workmen, where the article is either peculiar to the country, or of peculiar quality there,—the jealousy of enabling foreign workmen to rival those of the nation with its own materials, are the leading motives to this species of restraint. It ought not to be affirmed that this regulation is in no instance proper; but it is certainly one which ought to be adopted with great circumspection, and only in very plain cases. It is seen at once, that its immediate operation is to abridge the demand, and keep down the price of the produce of some other branch of industry, generally speaking, of agriculture, to the prejudice of those who carry it on; and though, if it be really essential to the prosperity of any very important national manufacture, it may happen that those who are injured in the first instance, may be eventually indemnified by the superior steadiness of an extensive domestic market depending on that prosperity: yet, in a matter in which there is so much room for nice and difficult combinations, in which such opposite considerations combat each other, prudence seems to dictate, that the expedient in question ought to be indulged with a sparing hand.

## IV. *Pecuniary bounties.*

This has been found one of the most efficacious means of encouraging manufactures, and it is, in some views, the best. Though it has not yet

been much practised upon by the government of the United States, unless the allowance on the exportation of dried and pickled fish and salted meat could be considered as a bounty, this method of encouraging manufactures though less favoured by public opinion than some other modes has its advantages.

1. It is a species of encouragement more positive and direct than any other, and, for that very reason, has a more immediate tendency to stimulate and uphold new enterprises, increasing the chances of profit, and diminishing the risks of loss, in the first attempts.

2. It avoids the inconvenience of a temporary augmentation of price, which is incident to some other modes, or it produces it to a less degree; either by making no addition to the charges on the rival foreign article, as in the case of protecting duties, or by making a smaller addition. The first happens when the fund for the bounty is derived from a different object, which may or may not increase the price of some other article, according to the nature of that object; the second, when the fund is derived from the same or a similar object of foreign manufacture. One per cent. duty on the foreign article converted into a bounty on the domestic, will have an equal effect with a duty of two per cent. exclusive of such bounty; as the price of the foreign commodity is liable to be raised, in the one case, in the proportion of one per cent.; in the other, in that of two per cent. But the bounty when drawn from another source is calculated to promote a reduction of price; because, without laying any new charge on the foreign article, it serves to introduce a competition with it, and to increase the total quantity of the article in the market.

3. Bounties have not, like high protecting duties, a tendency to produce scarcity. An increase of price is not always the immediate, though, where the progress of a domestic manufacture does not counteract a rise, it is commonly the ultimate effect of an additional duty. In the interval between the laying of the duty, and a proportional increase of price, it may discourage importation, by interfering with the profits to be expected from the sale of the article.

4. Bounties are sometimes not only the best, but the only proper expedient, for uniting the encouragement of a new object of agriculture with that of a new object of manufacture. It is the interest of the farmer to have the production of the raw material promoted, by counteracting the interference of the foreign material of the same kind—It is the interest of the manufacturer to have the material abundant and cheap. If, prior to the domestic production of the material in sufficient quantity to supply the manufacturer on

good terms, a duty be laid upon the importation of it from abroad, with a view to promote the raising of it at home, the interest both of the farmer and manufacturer will be disserved—by either destroying the requisite supply, or raising the price of the article beyond what can be afforded to be given for it by the conductor of an infant manufacture, it is abandoned, or fails, and there being no domestic manufactories to create a demand for the raw material which is raised by the farmer, it is in vain, that the competition of the like foreign article may have been destroyed.

It cannot escape notice, that a duty upon the importation of an article can no otherwise aid the domestic production of it, than by giving the latter greater advantages in the home market. It can have no influence upon the advantageous sale of the article produced in foreign markets, no tendency, therefore, to promote its exportation.

The true way to conciliate these two interests, is therefore to lay a duty on foreign manufacturers of the material, the growth of which is desired to be encouraged, and to apply the produce of that duty by way of bounty, either upon the production of the material itself, or upon its manufacture at home, or upon both. If this is done the manufacturer of the United States will commence his enterprise under every advantage which is attainable, as to quantity or price of the raw material; and the farmer, if the bounty be immediately to him, is enabled by it to enter into a successful competition with the foreign material; if the bounty be to the manufacturer on so much of the domestic material as he consumes, the operation is nearly the same; he has a motive of interest to prefer the domestic commodity, if of equal quality, even at a higher price than the foreign, so long as the difference of price is any thing short of the bounty which is allowed upon the article.

Except the simple and ordinary kinds of household manufacture, or those for which there are very commanding local advantages, pecuniary bounties are in most cases indispensable to the introduction of a new branch. A stimulus and a support not less powerful and direct is, generally speaking, essential to the overcoming of the obstacles which arise from the competitions of superior skill and maturity elsewhere. Bounties are especially essential in regard to articles upon which those foreigners, who have been accustomed to supply a country; are in the practice of granting them.

The continuance of bounties on manufactures long established, must almost always be of questionable policy; because a presumption would arise in every such case, that there were natural and inherent

impedi-

impediments to success. But in new undertakings they are as justifiable, as they are oftentimes necessary.

There is a degree of prejudice against bounties, from an appearance of giving away the public money, without an immediate consideration, and from a supposition that they serve to enrich particular classes at the expence of the community.

But neither of these sources of dislike will bear a serious examination when applied to an infant state. There is no purpose to which public money can be more beneficially applied, than to the acquisition of a new and useful branch of industry; no consideration more valuable than a permanent addition to the general stock of productive labour.

As to the second source of objection, it equally lies against other modes of encouragement which are admitted to be eligible. As often as a duty upon a foreign article makes an addition to its price, it causes an extra expence to the community, for the benefit of the domestic manufacturer. A bounty does no more. But it is the interest of the society in each case to submit to a temporary expence, which is more than compensated by an increase of industry and wealth, by an augmentation of resources and independence; and by the circumstance of eventual cheapness, which has been noticed in another place.

It would deserve attention, however, in the employment of this species of encouragement in the United States, as a reason for moderating the degree of it in the instances in which it might be deemed eligible, that the great distance of the United States from Europe imposes very heavy charges on all the fabrics which are brought from thence, amounting from 15 to 30 per cent. on their value, according to their bulk.

#### V. *Premiums.*

These are of a nature allied to bounties, though distinguishable from them in some important features.

Bounties are applicable to the whole quantity of an article produced or manufactured, or exported, and involve a correspondent expence.—Premiums serve to reward some particular excellence or superiority, some extraordinary exertion or skill, and are dispensed only in a small number of cases: but their effect is to stimulate general effort—contrived so as to be both honorary and lucrative, they address themselves to different passions, touching the chords as well of emulation as of interest.—They are accordingly a very economical mean of exciting the enterprise of a whole community.

There are various societies in different countries, whose object is



the dispensation of premiums for the encouragement of agriculture, arts, manufactures, and commerce; and though they are for the most part voluntary associations, with comparatively slender funds, their utility has been immense. Much has been done by this mean in Great Britain; Scotland in particular owes materially to it a prodigious amelioration of condition. From a similar establishment in the United States, supplied and supported by the Government of the Union, vast benefits might reasonably be expected.

VI. *The exemption of the materials of manufactures from duty.*

The policy of that exemption as a general rule, particularly in relation to new establishments, is obvious. It can hardly ever be advisable to add the obstructions of fiscal burthens to the difficulties which naturally embarrass a new manufacture; and where it is matured and in condition to become an object of revenue, it is, generally speaking, better that the fabric, than the material, should be the subject of taxation.—Ideas of proportion between the quantum of the tax and the value of the article can be more easily adjusted in the former than in the latter case. An argument for exemptions of this kind in the United States is to be derived from the practice, as far as their necessities have permitted, of those nations whom they are to meet as competitors in their own and in foreign markets.

There are, however, exceptions to it; of which some examples will be given under the next head.

The laws of the Union afford instances of the observance of the policy here recommended, but it will probably be found adviseable to extend it to some other cases.—Of a nature, bearing some affinity to that policy, is the regulation which exempts from duty the tools and implements, as well as the books, clothes, and household furniture of foreign artists who come to reside in the United States; an advantage already secured to them by the laws of the Union, and which it is, in every view, proper to continue.

VII. *Drawbacks of the duties which are imposed on the materials of manufactures.*

It has already been observed, as a general rule, that duties on those materials ought, with certain exceptions, to be foreborne. Of these exceptions, three cases occur, which may serve as examples—one, where the material is itself an object of general or extensive consumption, and a fit and productive source of revenue—another where a manufacture of a simpler kind, the competition of which with a like domestic article is desired to be restrained, partakes of the nature of a raw material, from being capable, by a further process, to be converted

verted into a manufacture of a different kind, the introduction or growth of which is desired to be encouraged—a third, where the material itself is a production of the country, and in sufficient abundance to furnish a cheap and plentiful supply to the national manufacturers.

Under the first description comes the article of molasses. It is not only a fair object of revenue, but being a sweet, it is just that the consumers of it should pay a duty as well as the consumers of sugar.

Cottons and linen in their white state fall under the second description—a duty upon such as are imported is proper to promote the domestic manufacture of similar articles in the same state—a drawback of that duty is proper to encourage the painting and staining at home of those which are brought from abroad. When the first of these manufactures has attained sufficient maturity in a country to furnish a full supply for the second, the utility of the drawback ceases.

The article of hemp either now does or may be expected soon to exemplify the third case in the United States.

Where duties on the materials of manufactures are not laid for the purpose of preventing a competition with some domestic production, the same reasons which recommend, as a general rule, the exemptions of those materials from duties, would recommend, as a like general rule, the allowance of drawbacks, in favour of the manufacturer: accordingly such drawbacks are familiar in countries which systematically pursue the business of manufactures; which furnishes an argument for the observance of a similar policy in the United States; and the idea has been adopted by the laws of the Union, in the instances of salt and molasses. And it will be found advantageous to extend it to some other articles.

VIII. *The encouragement of new inventions and discoveries, and of the introduction into the United States of such as have been made in other countries, particularly those which relate to machinery,*

This is among the most useful and unexceptionable of the aids which can be given to manufactures. The usual means of that encouragement are pecuniary rewards, and, for a time, exclusive privileges. The first must be employed according to the occasion, and the utility of the invention or discovery. For the last, so far as respects “authors and inventors,” provision has been made by law. But it is desirable, in regard to improvements and secrets of extraordinary value to be able to extend the same benefits to introducers, as well as authors and inventors; a policy which has been practised with advantage in other countries. Here, however, as in some other cases,  
there

there is cause to regret, that the competency of the authority of the National Government to the good which might be done, is not without a question. Many aids might be given to industry; many internal improvements of primary magnitude might be promoted, by an authority operating throughout the Union, which cannot be effected by an authority confined within the limits of a single state.

But if the Legislature of the Union cannot do all the good that might be wished, it is at least desirable, that all may be done which is practicable.

It is customary with manufacturing nations to prohibit, under severe penalties, the exportation of implements and machines, which they have either invented or improved. There are already objects for a similar regulation in the United States; and others may be expected to occur from time to time. The adoption of this line of conduct seems to be dictated by a principle of reciprocity. Greater liberality in such respects might better comport with the general spirit of the country; but a selfish and exclusive policy in Europe will not always permit the free indulgence of a spirit, which would place America upon an unequal footing. As far as prohibitions tend to prevent foreign competitors from deriving the benefit of the improvements made in the United States, they tend to increase the advantages of those by whom they may have been introduced, and operate as an encouragement to exertion.

#### IX. *Judicious regulations for the inspection of manufactured commodities.*

This is not among the least important of the means by which the prosperity of manufactures may be promoted. It is, indeed, in many cases, one of the most essential—contributing to prevent frauds upon consumers at home, and exporters to foreign countries—to improve the quality and preserve the character of the national manufactures; it cannot fail to aid the expeditious and advantageous sale of them, and to serve as a guard against successful competition from other quarters. The reputation of the flour and lumber of some states, and of the potash of others, has been established by an attention to this point. And the like good name might be procured for those articles, where-soever produced, by a judicious and uniform system of inspection throughout the ports of the United States. A like system might also be extended with advantage to other commodities.

#### X. *The facilitating of pecuniary remittances from place to place—*

This is a point of considerable moment to trade in general, and to manufacture in particular; by rendering more easy the purchase of

raw materials and provisions, and the payment for manufactured supplies. A general circulation of bank paper, which is to be expected from the institution lately established in the United States, will be a most valuable mean to this end.

• XI. *The facilitating of the transportation of commodities.*

Improvements favouring this object intimately concern all the domestic interests of a community : but they may, without impropriety, be mentioned as having an important relation to manufactures. There is, perhaps, scarcely any thing which has been better calculated to assist the manufactures of Great Britain than the amelioration of the public roads, and the great progress which has been of late made in opening canals. Of the former, most parts of the United States stand much in need ; for the latter they present uncommon facilities.

The symptoms of attention to the improvement of inland navigation, which have lately appeared in some of the United States, must fill with pleasure every breast warmed with a true zeal for the prosperity of that country. These examples, it is to be hoped, will stimulate the exertions of the government and citizens of every state. There can certainly be no object more worthy of the cares of the local administrations ; and it were to be wished, that there was no doubt of the power of the national government to lend its direct aid on a comprehensive plan.— This is one of those improvements which could be prosecuted with more efficacy by the whole, than by any part or parts of the union. There are cases in which the general interest will be in danger of being sacrificed to the collision of some supposed local interests. Jealousies, in matters of this kind, are as apt to exist as they are apt to be erroneous.

The following remarks are sufficiently judicious and pertinent to deserve a literal quotation : “ Good roads, canals, and navigable rivers, by diminishing the expence of carriage, put the remote parts of a country more nearly upon a level with those in the neighbourhood of the town. They are, upon that account, the greatest of all improvements ; they encourage the cultivation of the remote, which must always be the most extensive circle of the country ; they are advantageous to the town, by breaking down the monopoly of the country in its neighbourhood ; they are advantageous even to that part of the country. Though they introduce some rival commodities into the old market, they open many new markets to its produce. Monopoly, besides, is a great enemy to good management, which can never be universally established, but in consequence of that free and universal competition which forces every body to have recourse to it for the sake of self-defence.



defence. It is not more than fifty years ago that some of the counties in the neighbourhood of London petitioned the parliament against the extension of the turnpike roads into the remoter counties. Those remoter counties, they pretended, from the cheapness of labour, would be able to sell their grass and corn cheaper in the London market than themselves, and they would thereby reduce their rents, and ruin their cultivation. Their rents, however, have arisen, and their cultivation has been improved since that time."

Specimens of a spirit, similar to that which governed the counties here spoken of, present themselves too frequently to the eye of an impartial observer, and render it a wish of patriotism that the body in America, in whose councils a local or partial spirit is least likely to predominate, were at liberty to pursue and promote the general interest in those instances in which there might be danger of the interference of such a spirit.

The foregoing are the principal of the means by which the growth of manufactures is ordinarily promoted. It is, however, not merely necessary that the measures of government, which have a direct view to manufactures, should be calculated to assist and protect them, but that those which only collaterally affect them in the general course of the administration, should be guarded from any peculiar tendency to injure them.

There are certain species of taxes which are apt to be oppressive to different parts of the community, and, among other ill effects, have a very unfriendly aspect towards manufactures.

Such are all taxes on occupations—which proceed according to the amount of capital supposed to be employed in a business, or of profits supposed to be made in it: these are unavoidably hurtful to industry. It is in vain that the evil may be endeavoured to be mitigated by leaving it, in the first instance, in the option of the party to be taxed to declare the amount of his capital or profits.

Men engaged in any trade or business have commonly weighty reasons to avoid disclosures which would expose, with any thing like accuracy, the real state of their affairs. They most frequently find it better to risque oppression than to avail themselves of so inconvenient a refuge: and the consequence is, that they often suffer oppression.

When the disclosure too, if made, is not definitive, but controulable by the discretion, or, in other words, by the passions and prejudices of the revenue officers, it is not only an ineffectual protection, but the possibility of its being so is an additional reason for not resorting to it.

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Allowing to the public officers the most equitable dispositions, yet where they are to exercise a discretion, without certain data, they cannot fail to be often misled by appearances. The quantity of business which seems to be going on, is in a vast number of cases, a very deceitful criterion of the profits which are made, yet it is perhaps the best they can have, and it is the one on which they will most naturally rely; a business, therefore, which may rather require aid from the government, than be in a capacity to be contributory to it, may find itself crushed by the mistaken conjectures of the assessors of taxes.

Arbitrary taxes, under which denomination are comprised all those that leave the quantum of the tax to be raised on each person to the discretion of certain officers, are as contrary to the genius of liberty as to the maxims of industry. In this light they have been viewed by the most judicious observers on government, who have bestowed upon them the severest epithets of reprobation, as constituting one of the worst features usually to be met with in the practice of despotic governments.

It is certain, at least, that such taxes are particularly inimical to the success of manufacturing industry, and ought carefully to be avoided by a government which desires to promote it.

The great copiousness of this subject has insensibly led to a longer preliminary discussion than was originally contemplated, or intended. It appeared proper to investigate principles, to consider the objections which have been brought forward against the establishment of manufactures in the United States, and to endeavour to establish their utility on general principles, which have long experience for their basis: It now remains to specify some of the objects which appear particularly to merit, and which will require the encouragement of the government of the United States to bring them to perfection.

In the selection of objects, several circumstances seem entitled to particular attention: The capacity of the country to furnish the raw material—the degree in which the nature of the manufacture admits of a substitute for manual labour in machinery—the facility of execution—the extensiveness of the uses to which the article can be applied—its subserviency to other interests, particularly the great one of national defence. There are, however, objects to which these circumstances are little applicable, which, for some special reasons, may have a claim to encouragement.

A designation of the principal raw material of which each manufacture is composed, will serve to introduce the remarks upon it.—As in the first place,

## I R O N.

The manufacturers of this article are entitled to pre-eminent rank—None are more essential in their kinds, nor so extensive in their uses. They constitute in whole or in part the implements or the materials, or both, of almost every useful occupation. Their instrumentality is every where conspicuous.

It is fortunate for the United States that they have peculiar advantages for deriving the full benefit of this most valuable material, and they have every motive to improve it with systematic care. It is to be found in various parts of the United States, in great abundance and of almost every quality; and fuel, the chief instrument in manufacturing it, is both cheap and plenty.—This particularly applies to charcoal; but there are productive coal mines already in operation, and strong indications that the material is to be found in abundance in a variety of other places.

The kinds of iron manufactures, in which the greatest progress has been made, have been mentioned in another place, and need not be repeated; but there is little doubt that every other kind, with due cultivation, will rapidly succeed. It is worthy of remark, that several of the particular trades, of which iron is the basis, are capable of being carried on without the aid of large capitals.

Iron works have very greatly increased in the United States, and are prosecuted with much more advantage than formerly. The average price before the revolution was about sixty-four dollars per ton, at present it is about eighty; a rise which is chiefly to be attributed to the increase of the manufactures of the material.

The still further extension and multiplication of such manufactures will have the double effect of promoting the extraction of the metal itself, and of converting it to a greater number of profitable purposes.

Those manufactures, too, unite in a greater degree than almost any others, the several requisites which have been mentioned, as proper to be consulted in the selection of objects.

The only further encouragement of manufactories of this article, the propriety of which may be considered as unquestionable, seems to be an increase of the duties on foreign rival commodities.

Steel is a branch which has already made a considerable progress in the United States, and some new enterprizes, on a more extensive scale, have been lately set on foot. The facility of carrying it to an extent, which will supply all internal demands, and furnish a considerable surplus for exportation, cannot be doubted. The duty upon the importation of this article into the United States, which is at present



seventy-five cents. per cwt. may, it is conceived, be safely and advantageously extended to 100 cents. It is desirable, by decisive arrangements, to second the efforts which are making in so very valuable a branch.

The United States already in a great measure supply themselves with nails and spikes; they are able, and ought certainly to do it entirely. The first and most laborious operation in this manufacture is preformed by water-mills; and of the persons afterwards employed a great proportion are boys, whose early habits of industry are of importance to the community, to the present support of their families, and to their own future comfort. It is not less curious than true, that in certain parts of the United States, the making of nails is an occasional family manufacture.

The expediency of an additional duty on the importation of these articles is indicated by an important fact. About one million eight hundred thousand pounds of them were imported into the United States in the course of one year, ending the 30th of September, 1790. A duty of two cents. per pound would, it is presumeable, speedily put an end to so considerable an importation. And it is in every view advantageous to the States that an end should be put to it.

The implements of husbandry are made in several states in great abundance. In many places it is done by the common blacksmiths. And there is no doubt that an ample supply for the whole country can with great ease be procured among themselves.

Various kinds of edged tools for the use of mechanics are also made, and a considerable quantity of hollow wares; though the business of casting has not yet attained the perfection which might be wished. It is however improving, and as there are respectable capitals in good hands, embarked in the prosecution of those branches of iron manufactories, which are yet in their infancy, they may all be contemplated as objects not difficult to be acquired.

To insure the end, it seems equally safe and prudent for the government of the American States to extend the duty, *ad valorem*, upon all imported manufactures of iron, or of which iron is the article of chief value, to ten per cent.

Fire arms and other military weapons may, it is conceived, be placed, without inconvenience, in the class of articles rated at fifteen per cent. There exist already in the American States manufactories of these articles, which only require the stimulus of a certain demand to render them adequate to the supply necessary.

It would also be a material aid to manufactories of this nature, as



well as a mean of public security, if provision was made for an annual purchase of military weapons, of their own manufacture, to a certain determinate extent, in order to the formation of arsenals; and to replace from time to time such as should be withdrawn for use, so as always to have in store the quantity of each kind, which should be deemed a competent supply,

Imported manufactures of steel generally, or of which steel is the article of chief value, may with advantage, be placed in the class of goods rated at seven and an half per cent. As manufactures of this kind have not yet made any considerable progress in the United States, it is a reason for not rating them as high as those of iron; but as this material is the basis of them, and as their extension is not less practicable than important, it is desirable to promote it by a somewhat higher duty than the present,

#### COPPER.

The manufactures of which this article is susceptible are also of great extent and utility. Under this description, those of brass, of which it is the principal ingredient, are intended to be included.

The material is a natural production of the country. In many parts of the United States mines of copper have actually been wrought, and with profit to the undertakers. And nothing is easier than the introduction of it from other countries, on moderate terms, and in great plenty.

Coppersmiths and brass-founders, particularly the former, are numerous in the United States; some of whom carry on business to a respectable extent.

To multiply and extend manufactories of the materials in question, is worthy of the attention and efforts of the federal government. In order to this, it is desirable for them to facilitate a plentiful supply of the materials; and a proper mean to this end is to place them in the class of free articles. Copper in plates and brass are already in this predicament; but copper in pigs and bars is not; neither is lapis calaminaris, which, together with copper and charcoal, constitute the component ingredients of brass. The exemption from duty, by parity of reason, ought to embrace all such of these articles as are objects of importation.

An additional duty on brass wares will tend to the general end in view. These now stand at five per cent. while those of tin, pewter, and copper are rated at seven and an half. There appears to be a propriety in every view in placing brass wares upon the same level with them.

them; and it merits their consideration whether the duty upon all of them ought not to be raised to ten per cent.

## LEAD.

There are numerous proofs, that this material abounds in the United States, and requires little to unfold it to an extent, more than equal to every domestic occasion. A prolific mine of it has long been open in the south-western parts of Virginia, and under a public administration, during the late war, yielded a considerable supply for military use. This is now in the hands of individuals, who not only carry it on with spirit, but have established manufactories of it at Richmond in the same state.

The duties already laid upon the importation of this article, either in its unmanufactured or manufactured state, insure it a decisive advantage in the home market—which amounts to considerable encouragement. If the duty on pewter wares should be raised, it would afford a further encouragement. Nothing else occurs as proper to be added.

## FOSSIL COAL.

This, as an important instrument of manufactures, may, without impropriety, be mentioned among the subjects of the present remarks.

A copious supply of it would be of great consequence to the iron branch: As an article of household fuel also it is an interesting production; the utility of which must increase in proportion to the decrease of wood, by the progress of settlement and cultivation. And its importance to navigation, as an immense article of transportation coast-wise, is signally exemplified in Great Britain.

It is known, that there are several coal mines in Virginia, now worked, and appearances of their existence are familiar in a number of places.

The expediency of a bounty on all this species of coal of home production, and of premiums, on the opening of new mines, under certain qualifications, appears to be worthy of the particular attention of the American government. The great importance of the article will amply justify a reasonable expence in this way, if it shall appear to be necessary to, and shall be thought likely to answer, the end.

## WOOD.

Several manufactures of this article flourish in the United States. Ships are nowhere built in greater perfection, and cabinet wares, generally,

generally, are made little, if at all inferior to those of Europe. Their extent is such as to have admitted of considerable exportation.

An exemption from duty of the several kinds of wood ordinarily used in these manufactures seems to be all that is requisite by way of encouragement. It is recommended by the consideration of a similar policy being pursued in other countries, and by the expediency of giving equal advantages to their own workmen in wood. The abundance of timber proper for ship-building in the United States does not appear to be any objection to it. The increasing scarcity and the growing importance of that article, in the European countries, admonish the United States to commence, and systematically to pursue measures for the preservation of their stock. Whatever may promote the regular establishment of magazines of ship-timber is in various views desirable.

#### SKINS.

There are scarcely any manufactories of greater importance to the United States than of this article. Their direct and very happy influence upon agriculture, by promoting the raising of cattle of different kinds, is a very material recommendation.

It is pleasing, too, to observe the extensive progress they have made in their principal branches; which are so far matured as almost to defy foreign competition. Tanneries in particular are not only carried on as a regular business in numerous instances, and in various parts of the country, but they constitute in some places a valuable item of incidental family manufactures.

Representations however have been made to the government, importing the expediency of further encouragement to the leather branch in two ways; one by increasing the duty on the manufactures of it, which are imported; the other by prohibiting the exportation of bark. In support of the latter it is alledged, that the price of bark, chiefly in consequence of large exportations, has risen within a few years from about three dollars to four dollars and a half per cord. The exportation of this article will however be checked by the improvements made in this article of manufacture in Europe, and by the extension of them to the States.

These improvements are,—1st, A more judicious use of the bark itself, by extracting more of its qualities by boiling it after it has been taken out of the pits in the hitherto common method of using it. This method, if attended to properly, will render two thirds of the quantity heretofore used unnecessary.—2dly, The superceding the use of bark in tanning altogether by the introduction of articles of less ex-



pence in its stead, for which a patent has been obtained by an inhabitant of England.

It is however, perhaps an additional reason for the prohibition, that one species of the bark usually exported from the United States is in some fort peculiar to the country, and the material of a very valuable dye, of great use in some other manufactures, in which the United States have begun a competition.

There may also be this argument in favour of an increase of duty. The object is of importance enough to claim decisive encouragement, and the progress which has been made, leaves no room to apprehend any inconvenience on the score of supply from such an increase.

It would be of benefit to this branch, if glue, which is now rated at five per cent. were made the object of an excluding duty. It is already made in large quantities at various tanneries; and, like paper, is an entire economy of materials, which, if not manufactured, would be left to perish. It may be placed with advantage in the class of articles paying fifteen per cent on importation.

#### GRAIN.

Manufactures of the several species of this article have a title to peculiar favour, not only because they are most of them immediately connected with the subsistence of the citizens, but because they enlarge the demand for the most precious products of the soil.

Though flour may with propriety be noticed as a manufacture of grain, it were useless to do it but for the purpose of submitting the expediency of a general system of inspection throughout the ports of the United States, which, if established upon proper principles, would be likely to improve the quality of their flour every where, and would raise its reputation in foreign markets. There are, however, considerations which stand in the way of such an arrangement.

Ardent spirits and malt liquors are, next to flour, the two principal manufactures of grain; the first has made a very extensive, the last a considerable progress in the United States: in respect to both, an exclusive possession of the home market ought to be secured to the domestic manufacturers as fast as circumstances will admit. Nothing is more practicable, and nothing more desirable.

An augmentation of the duties on spirits imported into the States would favour as well the distillation of spirits from molasses as that from grain; and to secure to a nation the benefit of a manufacture, even of foreign materials, is always of great, though, perhaps, of secondary importance.



It would therefore be advantageous to the States that an addition of two cents per gallon be made to the duty on imported spirits of the first class of proof, with a proportionable increase on those of higher proof; and that a reduction of one per cent per gallon be made from the duty on spirits distilled within the United States, beginning with the first class of proof, and a proportionable deduction from the duty on those of higher proof.

It is ascertained, that by far the greatest part of the malt liquors consumed in the United States are the produce of their domestic breweries. It is desirable, and in all likelihood attainable, that the *whole* consumption should be supplied by themselves.

The malt liquors made in the States, though inferior to the best, are equal to a great part of those which have been usually imported; the progress already made is an earnest of what may be accomplished; the growing competition is an assurance of improvement; this should be accelerated by measures tending to invite a greater capital into this channel of employment.

To render the encouragement of domestic breweries decisive, it may be adviseable for the government to substitute to the present rates of duty eight cents per gallon generally; and it will deserve to be considered by them as a guard against invasions, whether there ought not to be a prohibition of their importation, except in casks of considerable capacity. Such a duty would banish from their markets foreign malt liquors of inferior quality, and the best kind only would continue to be imported until supplanted by the efforts of equal skill or care in the States.

Till that period, the importation so qualified would be an useful stimulus to improvement; and in the mean time, the payment of the increased price, for the enjoyment of a luxury, in order to the encouragement of a most useful branch of domestic industry, could not reasonably be deemed a hardship.

As a farther aid to the manufactures of grain, though upon a smaller scale, the articles of starch, hair powder, and wafers, may with great propriety be placed among those which are rated at fifteen per cent. No manufactures are more simple, nor more completely within the reach of a full supply from their domestic sources; and it is a policy, as common as it is obvious, to make the importation of them the objects either of prohibitory duties, or of express prohibition.

#### FLAX AND HEMP.

Manufactures of these articles have so much affinity to each other, and they are so often blended, that they may with advantage be considered

sidered in conjunction. The importance of the linen branch to agriculture—its happy effects upon household industry—the ease with which its materials can be produced in the United States to any requisite extent—the great advances which have been already made in the coarser fabrics of them, especially in the family way, constitute claims of peculiar force to the patronage of the American government.

This patronage may be afforded in various ways; by promoting the growth of the materials; by increasing the impediments to an advantageous competition of rival foreign articles; by direct bounties or premiums upon the home manufacture.

*First. As promoting the growth of the materials.*

A strong wish naturally suggests itself to the friends of America, that some method could be devised of affording a more direct encouragement to the growth both of flax and hemp, such as would be effectual, and at the same time not attended with too great inconveniencies. To this end, bounties and premiums offer themselves to consideration; but no modification of them has yet occurred, which would not either hazard too much expence, or operate unequally in reference to the circumstances of different parts of the Union, and which would not be attended with very great difficulties in the execution.

*Secondly. As to increasing the impediments to an advantageous competition of rival foreign articles.*

To this purpose, an augmentation of the duties on importation is the obvious expedient; which, in regard to certain articles, appears to be recommended by sufficient reasons.

The principal of these articles is sail-cloth, one intimately connected with navigation and defence; and of which a flourishing manufactory is established at Boston, and very promising ones at several other places.

It is presumed to be both safe and adviseable for the American government to place this in the class of articles rated at ten per cent. A strong reason for it results from the consideration, that a bounty of two-pence sterling per ell, is allowed in Great Britain upon the exportation of the sail-cloth manufactured in that kingdom.

It would likewise appear to be good policy for the States to raise the duty to seven and a half per cent. on the following articles: drillings, osnaburghs, ticklenburghs, dowlas, canvas, brown rolls, bagging, and upon all other linens, the first cost of which, at the place of exportation, does not exceed thirty-five cents. per yard. A bounty of twelve and a half per cent. upon an average, on the exportation of such or similar linens from Great Britain, encourages the manufacture of them, and in-

creases the obstacles to a successful competition in the countries to which they are sent.

The quantities of tow and other household linens manufactured in different parts of the United States, and the expectations which are derived from some late experiments, of being able to extend the use of labour-saving machines in the coarser fabrics of linen, obviate the danger of inconvenience from an increase of the duty upon such articles, and authorise the expectation of a speedy and complete success to the endeavours which may be used for procuring an internal supply.

Thirdly. *As to direct bounties; or premiums upon the manufactured articles.*

To afford more effectual encouragement to the manufacture, and at the same time to promote the cheapness of the article for the benefit of navigation, it would be of great use for the American government to allow a bounty of two cents per yard on all sail-cloth which is made in the United States from materials of their own growth; this would also assist the culture of those materials. An encouragement of this kind, if adopted, ought to be established for a moderate term of years, to invite to new undertakings and to an extension of the old. This is an article of importance enough to warrant the employment of extraordinary means in its favour.

#### COTTON.

There is something in the texture of this material, which adapts it in a peculiar degree to the application of machines. The signal utility of the mill for spinning of cotton, not long since invented in England, has been noticed in another place; but there are other machines scarcely inferior in utility, which, in the different manufactories of this article, are employed either exclusively, or with more than ordinary effect. This very important circumstance recommends the fabrics of cotton, in a more particular manner, to a country in which a defect of hands constitutes the greatest obstacles to success.

The variety and extent of the uses to which the manufactures of this article are applicable, is another powerful argument in their favour.

And the faculty of the United States to produce the raw material in abundance, and of a quality which, though alledged to be inferior to some that is produced in other quarters, is nevertheless capable of being used with advantage in many fabrics, and is probably susceptible of being carried, by a more experienced culture, to much greater perfection, suggests an additional and a very cogent inducement to the vigorous pursuit of the cotton branch in its several subdivisions.

How much has been already done has been stated in a preceding part of these remarks.

In addition it may be announced, that a society is formed with a capital, which is expected to be extended to at least half a million of dollars; on behalf of which measures are already in train for prosecuting on a large scale the making and printing of cotton goods.

These circumstances conspire to indicate the expediency of the government removing any obstructions which may happen to exist to the advantageous prosecution of the manufactories in question, and of adding such encouragements as may appear necessary and proper.

Cotton not being, like hemp, an universal production of the country, it affords less assurance of an adequate internal supply; but the chief objection arises from the doubts which are entertained concerning the quality of the national cotton. It is alledged, that the fibre of it is considerably shorter and weaker than that of some other places; and it has been observed as a general rule, that the nearer the place of growth to the equator, the better the quality of the cotton; that which comes from Cayenne, Surinam, and Demarara, is said to be preferable, even at material difference of price, to the cotton of the islands.

While an expectation may reasonably be indulged, that with due care and attention the cotton in the United States may be made to approach nearer than it now does to that of regions somewhat more favoured by climate; and while facts authorise an opinion, that very great use may be made of it, and that it is a resource which gives greater security to the cotton fabrics of America than can be enjoyed by any which depends wholly on external supply, it will certainly be wise, in every view, to let their infant manufactures have the full benefit of the best materials on the cheapest terms. It is obvious, that the necessity of having such materials is proportioned to the unskilfulness and inexperience of the workmen employed, who, if inexpert, will not fail to commit great waste, where the materials they are to work with are of an indifferent kind.

To secure to the national manufacturers so essential an advantage, a repeal of the present duty on imported cotton is indispensable.

A substitute for this, far more encouraging to domestic production, will be to grant a bounty on the cotton grown in the United States, when wrought at a home manufactory, to which a bounty on the exportation of it may be added. Either, or both, would do much more towards promoting the growth of the article than the merely nominal encouragement which it is proposed to abolish. The first would also have a direct influence in encouraging the manufacture.



The bounty, which has been mentioned as existing in Great Britain, upon the exportation of coarse linens not exceeding a certain value, applies also to certain descriptions of cotton goods of similar value.

This furnishes an additional argument for allowing to the manufacturers the species of encouragement just suggested, and indeed for adding some other aid.

One cent per yard, not less than of a given width, on all goods of cotton, or of cotton and linen mixed, which are manufactured in the United States, with the addition of one cent per lb. weight of the material, if made of national cotton, would amount to an aid of considerable importance, both to the production and to the manufacture of that valuable article. And the expence would be well justified by the magnitude of the object.

The printing and staining of cotton goods is known to be a distinct business from the fabrication of them. It is one easily accomplished, and which, as it adds materially to the value of the article in its white state, and prepares it for a variety of new uses, is of importance to be promoted.

As imported cottons, equally with those which are made at home, may be the objects of this manufacture, it is worthy of consideration, whether it would not be for the advantage of the States that the whole, or part of the duty, on the white goods, ought not to be allowed to be drawn back in favour of those who print or stain them. This measure would certainly operate as a powerful encouragement to the business, and though it may in a degree counteract the original fabrication of the articles, it would probably more than compensate for this disadvantage in the rapid growth of a collateral branch, which is of a nature sooner to attain to maturity. When a sufficient progress shall have been made the drawback may be abrogated, and by that time the domestic supply of the articles to be printed or stained will have been extended.

If the duty of  $7\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. on certain kinds of cotton goods were extended to all goods of cotton, or of which it is the principal material, it would probably more than counterbalance the effect of the drawback proposed, in relation to the fabrication of the article; and no material objection occurs to such an extension. The duty then, considering all the circumstances which attend goods of this description, could not be deemed inconveniently high; and it may be inferred, from various causes, that the prices of them would still continue moderate.

Manufactories of cotton goods, not long since established at Beverley, in Massachusetts, and at Providence, in the state of Rhode Island, and

at New York, and conducted with a perseverance corresponding with the patriotic motives which began them, seem to have overcome the first obstacles to success, producing corduroys, velvets, fustians, jeans, and other similar articles, of a quality which will bear a comparison with the like articles from Manchester. The one at Providence has the merit of being the first in introducing into the United States the celebrated cotton mill, which not only furnishes the materials for that manufactory itself, but for the supply of private families for household manufacture.

Other manufactories of the same material, as regular businesses, have also been begun at different places in the state of Connecticut, but all upon a smaller scale than those above mentioned. Some essays are also making in the printing and staining of cotton goods. There are several small establishments of this kind already on foot.

#### WOOL.

In a country, the climate of which partakes of so considerable a proportion of winter, as that of a great part of the United States, the woollen branch cannot be regarded as inferior to any which relates to the cloathing of the inhabitants.

Household manufactures of this material are carried on, in different parts of the United States, to a very interesting extent; but there is only one branch, which as a regular business, can be said to have acquired maturity; this is the making of hats.

Hats of wool, and of wool mixed with fur, are made in large quantities in different states, and nothing seems wanting, but an adequate supply of materials to render the manufacture commensurate with the demand.

A promising essay towards the fabrication of cloths, cassimeres, and other woollen goods, is likewise going on at Hartford, in Connecticut. Specimens of the different kinds which are made, evince, that these fabrics have attained a very considerable degree of perfection. Their quality certainly surpasses any thing that could have been looked for, in so short a time, and under so great disadvantages, and conspires with the scantiness of the means, which have been at the command of the directors, to form the eulogium of that public spirit, perseverance and judgment, which have been able to accomplish so much.

Measures, which tend to promote an abundant supply of wool of good quality, would probably afford the most efficacious aid that present circumstances permit to this and similar manufactures.

To encourage the raising and improving the breed of sheep in the United States would certainly be the most desirable expedient for that purpose;

purpose ; but it may not be alone sufficient, especially as it is yet a problem, whether their wool is capable of such a degree of improvement as to render it fit for the finer fabrics.

Premiums would probably be found the best means of promoting the domestic, and bounties the foreign supply ; and they ought of course to be adjusted with an eye to quality as well as quantity.

A fund for this purpose may be derived from the addition of  $2\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. to the present rate of duty on carpets and carpeting imported into the states ; an increase to which the nature of the articles suggests no objection, and which may at the same time furnish a motive the more to the fabrication of them at home, towards which some beginnings have been made.

## S I L K.

The production of this article is attended with great facility in most parts of the United States. Some pleasing essays are making in Connecticut, as well towards that as towards the manufacture of what is produced. Stockings, handkerchiefs, ribbons, and buttons, are made, though as yet but in small quantities.

A manufactory of lace, upon a scale not very extensive, has been long memorable at Ipswich in the state of Massachusetts.

An exemption of the material from the duty which it now pays on importation, and premiums upon the production, seem to be the only species of encouragement advisable at so early a stage.

## G L A S S.

The materials for making glass are found every where ; in the United States there is no deficiency of them. The sands and stones called Tarso, which include flinty and chrystalline substances generally, and the salts of various plants, particularly the sea-weed kali, or kelp, constitute the essential ingredients. An extraordinary abundance of fuel is a particular advantage enjoyed by America for such manufactures ; they, however, require large capitals, and involve much manual labour.

Different manufactories of glass are now on foot in the United States. The present duty of  $12\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. laid by the states on all imported articles of glass amount to a considerable encouragement to those manufactories ; if any thing in addition is judged eligible, the most proper would appear to be a direct bounty on window glass and black bottles.

The first recommends itself as an object of general convenience, the last adds to that character the circumstance of being an important item in breweries. A complaint is made of great deficiency in this respect.

## GUNPOWDER.

No small progress has been of late made in the manufacture of this important article; it may, indeed, be considered as already established, but its high importance renders its farther extension very desirable.

The encouragements which it already enjoys, are a duty of ten per cent. on the foreign rival article, and an exemption of salt-petre, one of the principal ingredients of which it is composed, from duty. A like exemption of sulphur, another chief ingredient, would appear to be equally proper. No quantity of this article has yet been produced from any internal sources of the States. This consideration, and the use made of it, in finishing the bottoms of ships, is an additional inducement to placing it in the class of free goods. Regulations for the careful inspection of the article would have a favourable tendency.

## PAPER.

Manufactories of paper are among those which are arrived at the greatest maturity in the United States, and are most adequate to national supply. That of paper hangings is a branch in which respectable progress has been made.

Nothing material seems wanting to the farther success of this valuable branch, which is already protected by a competent duty on similar important articles.

In the enumeration of the several kinds made subject to duty on importation into the States, sheathing and cartridge paper have been omitted; these being the most simple manufactures of the sort, and necessary to military supply as well as ship-building, recommend themselves equally with those of other descriptions to encouragement, and appear to be as fully within the compass of domestic exertions.

## PRINTED BOOKS.

The great number of presses disseminated throughout the Union seem to afford an assurance, that there is no need of being indebted to foreign countries for the printing of the books which are used in the United States. A duty of ten per cent. on the importation, instead of

five,



five, which is now charged upon the article, would have a tendency to aid the business internally.

It occurs, as an objection to this, that it may have an unfavourable aspect towards literature, by raising the prices of books in universal use, in private families, schools, and other seminaries of learning; but the difference, it is conceived, would be without effect.

As to books which usually fill the libraries of the wealthier classes, and of professional men, such an augmentation of prices as might be occasioned by an additional duty of five per cent. would be too little felt to be an impediment to the acquisition.

And with regard to books which may be specially imported for the use of particular seminaries of learning, and of public libraries, a total exemption from all duty would be advisable, which would go far towards obviating the objection just mentioned; they are now subject to a duty of five per cent.

As to the books in most general family use, the constancy and universality of the demand would ensure exertions to furnish them in the different states, and the means are completely adequate. It may also be expected ultimately, in this and in other cases, that the extension of the domestic manufacture would conduce to the cheapness of the article.

It ought not to pass unremarked, that to encourage the printing of books is to encourage the manufacture of paper.

#### REFINED SUGARS AND CHOCOLATE

Are among the number of extensive and prosperous domestic manufactures, in the United States.

Drawbacks of the duties upon the materials of which they are respectively made, in cases of exportation, would have a beneficial influence upon the manufacture, and would conform to a precedent which has been already furnished in the instance of molasses, on the exportation of distilled spirits.

Cocoa, the raw material, now pays a duty of one cent per lb. while chocolate, which is a prevailing and very simple manufacture, is comprised in the mass of articles, rated at no more than five per cent.

There would appear to be a propriety in encouraging the manufacture by a somewhat higher duty on its foreign rival, than is paid on the raw material. Two cents per lb. on imported chocolate would, it is presumed, be without inconvenience.

## WINES.

The manufacture of wines, is an object worthy of legislative attention and encouragement in the United States. Successful experiments have already been made, by some new settlers of French people, on the river Ohio, which evince the practicability of the manufacture of wines of excellent quality: and as grapes are the spontaneous production of all the United States, and, by culture, might be raised in any desirable quantity, and in great perfection, this manufacture, with proper legislative encouragement, might be carried on to such an extent, as greatly to diminish, and in time, perhaps, wholly to preclude foreign importations.

## MAPLE SUGAR.

The manufacture of maple sugar, though it has for many years been carried on, in the small way, in the eastern States, has but very lately become an object of public attention.—The eastern and middle States furnish a sufficient number of maple trees to supply the United States with the article of sugar; and, it is asserted, of a quality “equal, in the opinion of competent judges, to the best sugars imported from the West India Islands.” A person, whose judgement on this subject is much to be relied on, as well from his experience in the business, as his established character for candor and integrity, has given it as his opinion, “That four active and industrious men, well provided with materials and conveniences proper for carrying on the business, may make, in a common season, which lasts from four to six weeks, 4000lbs. of sugar, that is 1000lbs. to each man.” If such be the amazing product of six weeks labour of an individual, what may be expected from the labours of the many thousands of people who now inhabit, and may hereafter inhabit, the extensive tracts of country which abound with the sugar maple tree? This manufacture is so important and interesting, that it respects the wealth and prosperity of their country, and the cause of humanity, that it deserves the countenance of every good citizen, and even national encouragement. No less than eighteen millions of pounds of West India sugars, manufactured by the hands of slaves, is annually imported into and consumed in the United States. In proportion as this quantity can be lessened by their own manufacturers, by the hands of freemen, the wealth of the United States will be increased, and the cause of humanity promoted.

The foregoing heads comprise the most important of the several kinds of manufactures which have occurred as requiring, and, at the same time, as most proper for public encouragement in the United States;

and offer such measures for affording it, as have appeared best calculated to answer the end proposed.

The measures, which have been submitted, though some of them may have a tendency to insure the revenue, yet when taken aggregately, they will, for a long time to come, rather augment than decrease it.

There is little room to expect that the progress of manufactures will so equally keep pace with the progress of population as to prevent even a gradual augmentation of the product of the duties on imported articles.

As, nevertheless, an abolition in some instances, and a reduction in others of duties which have been pledged for the public debt is proposed, it is essential that it should be accompanied with a competent substitute. In order to this, it is requisite that all the additional duties which shall be laid be appropriated, in the first instance, to replace all defalcations which may proceed from any such abolition or diminution. It is evident at first glance, that they will not only be adequate to this, but will yield a considerable surplus.

There is reason to believe that the progress of particular manufactures in the United States has been much retarded by the want of skilful workmen: and it often happens that the capitals employed are not equal to the purposes of engaging workmen of a superior kind from Europe. Here, in cases worthy of it, the auxiliary agency of government would in all probability be useful. There are also valuable workmen in every branch who are prevented from emigrating solely by the want of means. Occasional aids to such persons, properly administered, might be a source of valuable acquisition to the States.

The propriety of stimulating by rewards the invention and introduction of useful improvements is admitted without difficulty. But the success of attempts in this way must evidently depend much on the manner of conducting them. It is probable that the placing of the dispensation of those rewards under some proper discretionary direction, where they may be accompanied by collateral expedients, will serve to give them the surest efficacy. It seems impracticable to apportion by general rules specific compensations for discoveries of unknown and disproportionate utility.

The great use which any country may make of a fund of this nature to procure and import foreign improvements, is particularly obvious. Among these, the article of machines form a most important item.

The operation and utility of premiums have been adverted to, together with the advantages which have resulted from their dispensation under the direction of certain public and private societies. Of this, some experience has been had in the instance of the Pennsylvania society for the promotion

promotion of manufactures and useful arts; but the funds of that association have been too contracted to produce more than a very small portion of the good to which the principles of it would have led. It may confidently be affirmed, that there is scarcely any thing which has been devised better calculated to excite a general spirit of improvement than the institutions of this nature. They are truly invaluable.

In countries where there is great private wealth much may be effected by the voluntary contributions of patriotic individuals; but in a community situated like that of the United States, the public purse must supply the deficiency of private resource. In what can it be so useful as in promoting and improving the efforts of industry?

### BANK.

Connected with the agriculture, commerce, and manufactures, is the bank of the United States, the happy effects, and benefits of which, have been experienced to a very considerable degree. This bank was incorporated by act of congress, February 25th, 1791, by the name and stile of *The President, Directors, and Company of the Bank of the United States*. The amount of the capital stock is ten million dollars, one fourth of which is in gold and silver; the other three fourths in that part of the public debt of the United States, which, at the time of payment, bears an accruing interest of six percent. per annum. Two millions of this capital stock of ten millions, is subscribed by the president, in behalf of the United States. The stockholders are to continue a corporate body by the act, until the 4th day of March 1811; and are capable, in law, of holding property to an amount not exceeding, in the whole, fifteen million dollars, including the aforesaid ten million dollars, capital stock. The corporation may not at any time owe, whether by bond, bill or note, or other contract, more than ten million dollars, over and above the monies then actually deposited in the bank for safe keeping; unless the contracting of any greater debt shall have been previously authorised by a law of the United States. The corporation is not at liberty to receive more than six per cent. per annum for or upon its loans or discounts, nor to purchase any public debt whatever, or to deal or trade, directly or indirectly, in in any thing except bills of exchange, gold or silver bullion, or in the sale of goods really and truly pledged for money lent, and not redeemed in due time, or of goods which shall be the produce of its bonds; they may sell any part of the public debt of which its stock shall be composed. Loans, not exceeding 100,000 dollars, may be made to the



United States, and to particular states, of a sum not exceeding 50,000 dollars.

Offices for the purposes of discount and deposit only, may be established within the United States, upon the same terms, and in the same manner, as shall be practised at the bank. Four of these offices, called BRANCH BANKS, have been already established, viz. at BOSTON, NEW YORK, BALTIMORE, and CHARLESTON. The faith of the United States, is pledged, that no other bank shall be established by any future law of the United States, during the continuance of the above corporation.

### MILITARY STRENGTH.

The governments of Europe, for the most part, though they in many things differ materially from each other, agree in keeping up a large military force, the excuses for which, are the jealousies they entertain of each other, and the necessity of preserving a ballance of power. To render these excuses plausible, national prejudices and animosities have been artfully encouraged, and the people, blinded by these, have been brought to acquiesce in the schemes of their governors, in creating a power which being entirely at the disposal of the latter, has often been used against the just rights of those whose property is exhausted for its support. But if the policy of keeping standing armies was fully investigated, it would be found to have its origin, not in the jealousies of one nation with respect to another, but in the tyrannic principles and fears of different governments, with respect to their subjects at home. The fact is notorious, that the origin of most of the old governments, has been in conquest and usurpation. Few of them which subsist in Europe, have originated where they ought, (from the people) the consequence of which has been, that princes, anxiously concerned for the preservation of their own power, and dreading that their subjects should recover their just rights, have found it necessary to detach a large part of them from the general mass, and by military habits and rewards, to blind them to their own interests, and to unite them more intimately to themselves. Standing armies are therefore unnecessary, and inconsistent in a republican government; America of course has none. Their military strength lies in a well-disciplined militia. According to the late census, there were in the United States, eight hundred and fourteen thousand men of sixteen years old and upwards, whites, and these have since rapidly increased. Suppose that the superannuated, the officers of government, and the other classes of people who are excused from military duty, amount to one hundred and fourteen thousand, there will remain

remain a militia of more than seven hundred thousand men. Of these a great proportion are well-disciplined, veteran troops. Scarcely any nation or kingdom in Europe can bring into the field an army of equal numbers, or more formidable than can be raised in the United States.

Five thousand regular troops have, however, been enlisted for three years, and an attempt has been made by the senate, on account of the present posture of affairs,\* to increase that number to fifteen thousand, but the House of Representatives have refused to comply, rather chusing, in case of a war, to trust to the energy and exertions of the militia, than thus to risk the introduction of a military standing force.

### NAVAL STRENGTH.

Marine strength, in a strict sense, the United States have none, many of their merchants vessels might, however, soon be converted into ships of war of considerable force, and their situation and resources will enable them to establish and support a navy equal to that of any nation in the world, should they determine on so doing, and that they will deem it necessary to establish and support a naval power, there can be little doubt. The actual habits of their citizens attach them to commerce. They will exercise it for themselves. Wars then we fear, must sometimes be their lot; and all the wise can do, will be to avoid that half of them which would be produced by their own follies, and their acts of injustice; and to make for the other half the best preparations they can. Of what nature, it may be asked, should these be? A land army would be useless for offence, and not the best nor safest instrument of defence. For either of these purposes, the sea is the field on which they should meet an European enemy. On that element it is necessary they should therefore possess some power. To aim at such a navy as the greater nations of Europe possess, would be a foolish and wicked waste of the energies of their citizens. It would be to pull on their own heads that load of military expence, which makes the EUROPEAN LABOURER GO SUPPERLESS TO BED, AND MOISTENS HIS BREAD WITH THE SWEAT OF HIS BROW. It will be enough if they enable themselves to prevent insults from those nations of Europe which are weak on the sea, because circumstances exist, which render even the stronger ones weak as to them. Providence has placed the richest and most defenceless European possessions at their door; has obliged their most precious commerce to pass as it were in review before the United States. To protect this, or to assail them, a small part only of their naval force will ever be risked across the Atlantic. The dangers to which the elements expose them there are too well known, and the

greater dangers to which they would be exposed at home, were any general calamity to involve their whole fleet. They can attack them by detachment only; and it will suffice for the United States to make themselves equal to what they may detach. Even a smaller force than any of the nations of Europe may detach, will be rendered equal or superior by the quickness with which any check may be repaired with the Americans, while losses with European powers will be irreparable till too late. A small naval force then is sufficient for the States, and a small one is necessary. What this should be, we will not undertake to say; it should, however, by no means be so great as they are able to make it. Mr. Jefferson observes, that Virginia alone, can annually spare without distress, a million of dollars, or three hundred thousand pounds; suppose this sum to be applied to the creating a navy, a single year's contribution would build, equip, man, and send to sea, a force which would carry three hundred guns. The rest of the confederacy, exerting themselves in the same proportion, would equip in the same time fifteen hundred guns more. So that one year's contributions would set up a navy of eighteen hundred guns. British ships of the line average seventy-six guns, and their frigates thirty-eight. Eighteen hundred guns then would form a fleet of thirty ships, eighteen of which might be of the line, and twelve frigates. Allowing eight men, the British average for every gun, their annual expence, including subsistence, clothing, pay, and ordinary repairs, would be about twelve hundred and eighty dollars for every gun, or two million three hundred and four thousand dollars for the whole. This is only stated as one year's possible exertion, without deciding whether more or less than a year's exertion should be thus applied, or would be necessary.

#### RELIGION.

The constitution of the United States discovers in no one instance more excellence than in providing against the making of any law respecting an *establishment* of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise of it. And the constitutions of the respective States are equally entitled to praise in this respect, in them religious liberty is a fundamental principle. And in this important article, the American government is distinguished from that of every other nation, IF WE EXCEPT FRANCE. Religion in the United States is placed on its proper basis; without the feeble and *unwarranted aid* of the civil power, it is left to be supported by its own evidence, the lives of its professors, and the Almighty care of its Divine Author.

All being thus left at liberty to choose their own religion, the people, as might easily be supposed, have varied in their choice. The bulk of the people denominate themselves Christians; a small portion of them are Jews; some plead the sufficiency of natural religion, and reject revelation as unnecessary and fabulous; and many, we have reason to believe, have yet their religion to choose. Christians profess their religion under various forms, and with different ideas of its doctrines, ordinances, and precepts. The following denominations of Christians are more or less numerous in the United States, viz. CONGREGATIONALISTS, PRESBYTERIANS, DUTCH REFORMED CHURCH, EPISCOPALIANS, BAPTISTS, UNITARIANS, QUAKERS OR FRIENDS, METHODISTS, ROMAN CATHOLICS, GERMAN LUTHERANS, GERMAN CALVINISTS OR PRESBYTERIANS, MORAVIANS, TUNKERS, MENNONISTS, UNIVERSALISTS, and SHAKERS.

## CONGREGATIONALISTS.

Of these the Congregationalists are the most numerous. In New England alone, besides those which are scattered through the middle and southern States, there are not less than a thousand congregations of this denomination, viz,

In New Hampshire	200
Massachusetts	440
Rhode Island	13
Connecticut	197
Vermont (say)	150
Total	1000

It is difficult to say what is the present ecclesiastical constitution of the Congregational churches. Formerly their ecclesiastical proceedings were regulated, in Massachusetts, by the Cambridge Platform of church discipline, established by the synod in 1648; and in Connecticut, by the Saybrook Platform of discipline; but since the revolution, less regard has been paid to these constitutions, and in many instances they are wholly disused. Congregationalists are pretty generally agreed in this opinion, that "Every church or particular congregation of visible saints, in gospel order, being furnished with a Pastor or Bishop, and walking together in truth and peace; has received from the Lord Jesus full power and authority ecclesiastical within itself, regularly to administer all the ordinances of Christ, and is not under any other ecclesiastical jurisdiction whatever." Their churches, with some exceptions, disclaim



disclaim the term *Independent*, as applicable to them, and claim a sisterly relation to each other.

From the answer of the elders, and other messengers of the churches assembled at Boston, in the year 1662, to the questions proposed to them by order of the General Court, it appears that the churches, at that period, professed to hold communion with each other in the following acts, viz.

“ In hearty care and prayer one for another. In affording relief, by communicating of their gifts in temporal or spiritual necessities. In maintaining unity and peace, by giving account one to another of their public actions, when it is properly desired; to strengthen one another in their regular administrations; in particular by a concurrent testimony against persons justly censured. To seek and accept help from, and afford help to each other, in case of divisions and contentions, whereby the peace of any church is disturbed; in matters of more than ordinary importance, as the ordination, installation, removal, and deposition of pastors or bishops; in doubtful and difficult questions and controversies, doctrinal or practical, that may arise; and for the rectifying of mal-administration, and healing of errors and scandals that are not healed among themselves. In taking notice, with a spirit of love and faithfulness, of the troubles and difficulties, errors and scandals of another church, and to administer help, when the case manifestly calls for it, though they should so neglect their own good and duty, as not to seek it. In admonishing one another, when there is cause for it; and after a due course of means, patiently to withdraw from a church, or peccant party therein, obstinately persisting in error or scandal.”

A consociation of churches was, at the period mentioned, considered by them as necessary to a communion of churches, the former being but an agreement to maintain the latter, and therefore a duty.—The consociation of churches they defined to be, Their mutual and solemn agreement to exercise communion in the acts above recited, amongst themselves, with special reference to those churches which, by Providence, were planted in a convenient vicinity, though with liberty reserved without offence, to make use of others, as the nature of the case, or the advantage of the opportunity might lead thereunto.

The ministers of the Congregational order are pretty generally associated for the purposes of licensing candidates for the ministry, and friendly intercourse and improvement; but there are few Congregational churches that are consociated on the above principles; and the practice has very generally gone into disuse, and with it the communion of churches in most of the acts before recited. In Connecticut and the

western parts of Massachusetts, the churches have deviated less from their original constitution. The degeneracy of the Congregational churches from that order, fellowship, and harmony, in discipline, doctrines, and friendly advice and assistance in ecclesiastical matters, which formerly subsisted between them, is matter of deep regret to many, not to say to most people of the denomination. A reformation, or a return to a practice conformable to the original principles of the Congregational churches, is an event more earnestly desired, than confidently expected by them.

Congregationalists are divided in opinion respecting the doctrines of the gospel, and the proper subjects of its ordinances. The body of them are Calvinists; a respectable proportion are what may be denominated Hopkensian Calvinists; besides these, some are Arminians, some Arians, a few Socinians, and a number who have adopted Doctor Chauncey's scheme of the final salvation of all men.

#### PRESBYTERIANS.

Next to the Congregationalists, Presbyterians are the most numerous denomination of Christians in the United States. They have a constitution by which they regulate all their ecclesiastical proceedings, and a confession of faith, which all church officers and church members are required to subscribe. Hence they have preserved a singular uniformity in their religious sentiments, and have conducted their ecclesiastical affairs with a great degree of order and harmony.

The body of the Presbyterians inhabit the middle and southern States, and are united under the same constitution. By this constitution, the Presbyterians who are governed by it, are divided into five Synods and seventeen Presbyteries; viz.—SYNOD OF NEW YORK, five presbyteries, ninety-four congregations, and sixty-one settled ministers.—SYNOD OF PHILADELPHIA, five presbyteries, ninety-two congregations, and sixty settled ministers, besides the ministers and congregations belonging to Baltimore presbytery.—SYNOD OF VIRGINIA, four presbyteries, seventy congregations, and forty settled ministers, exclusive of the congregations and ministers of Transylvania presbytery.—SYNOD OF THE CAROLINAS, three presbyteries, eighty-two congregations, and forty-two settled ministers, the ministers and congregations in Abington presbytery not included. If we suppose the number of congregations in the presbyteries which made no returns to their synods, to be one hundred, and the number of settled ministers in the same to be forty, the whole number of presbyterian congregations in this connection will be four hundred and thirty-eight, which are supplied by two hundred and twenty-three settled ministers, and between seventy and

eighty candidates, besides a number of ordained ministers who have no particular charges. Each of the synods meet annually; besides which they have a joint meeting, by their commissioners, once a year, in general assembly at Philadelphia.

The Presbyterian churches are governed by congregational, presbyterial, and synodical assemblies: these assemblies possess no civil jurisdiction. Their power is wholly moral or spiritual, and that only ministerial or declarative. They possess by their constitution the right of requiring obedience to the rules of their societies, and of excluding the disobedient from the privileges of the church; and the powers requisite for obtaining evidence and inflicting censure; but the highest punishment, to which their authority extends, is to exclude the contumacious and impenitent from the congregation to which they belong.

THE CHURCH SESSION, which is the congregational assembly of judicatory, consists of the minister or ministers and elders of a particular congregation. This body is invested with the spiritual government of the congregation; and have power to enquire into the knowledge and Christian conduct of all its members; to call before them offenders and witnesses, of their own denomination; to admonish, suspend, or exclude from church fellowship such as deserve these censures; to concert measures for promoting the spiritual interests of the congregation, and to appoint delegates to the higher judicatories of the church.

A PRESBYTERY, consists of all the ministers, and one ruling elder from each congregation, within a certain district. Three ministers and three elders, constitutionally convened, are competent to do business. This body have cognizance of all things that regard the welfare of the particular churches within their bounds, which are not cognizable by the session. Also, they have a power of receiving and issuing appeals from the sessions—of examining and licensing candidates for the ministry—of ordaining, settling, removing, or judging ministers—of resolving questions of doctrine or discipline—of condemning erroneous opinions, that injure the purity or peace of the church—of visiting particular churches, to enquire into their state, and redress the evils that may have arisen in them—of uniting or dividing congregations, at the request of the people, and whatever else pertains to the spiritual concerns of the churches under their care.

A SYNOD, is a convention of several presbyteries. The synod have power to admit and judge of appeals, regularly brought up from the presbyteries—to give their judgement on all references made to them of an ecclesiastical kind—to correct and regulate the proceedings of presbyteries—



presbyteries—to take effectual care that presbyteries observe the constitution of the church, &c.

The highest judicatory of the Presbyterian church is styled, **THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA**. This grand Assembly consists of an equal delegation of bishops and elders from each presbytery within their jurisdiction, by the title of Commissioners to the General Assembly. Fourteen commissioners make a quorum. The General Assembly constitute the bond of union, peace, correspondence, and mutual confidence among all their churches; and have power to receive and issue all appeals and references which may regularly be brought before them from inferior judicatories—to regulate and correct the proceedings of the synods, &c. To the General Assembly also belongs the power of consulting, reasoning, and judging in controversies respecting doctrine and discipline—of reproving, warning, or bearing testimony against error in doctrine, or immorality in practice in any church, presbytery, or synod—of corresponding with foreign churches—of putting a stop to schismatical contentions and disputations—of recommending and attempting a reformation of manners—of promoting charity, truth, and holiness, in all the churches—and also of erecting new synods when they judge it necessary.

The confession of faith adopted by the Presbyterian church, embraces what are called the Calvinistic doctrines; and none who disbelieve these doctrines are admitted into fellowship with their churches. The General Assembly of the Presbyterian church, hold a friendly correspondence with the General Association in Connecticut, by letter, and by admitting delegates from their respective bodies to sit in each other's general meetings.

Unconnected with the churches of which we have been speaking, there are four small presbyteries in New England, who have a similar form of ecclesiastical government and discipline, and profess the same doctrines.

Besides these, there is the **ASSOCIATE PRESBYTERY OF PENNSYLVANIA**, having a separate ecclesiastical jurisdiction in America, and belonging to the Associate Synod of Edinburgh, which they declare is the only ecclesiastical body, either in Britain or America, with which they are agreed concerning the doctrine and order of the church of Christ, and concerning the duty of confessing the truth, and bearing witness to it by a public testimony against the errors of the times. This connection is not to be understood as indicating subjection to a foreign jurisdiction; but is preserved for the sake of maintaining unity



with their brethren in the profession of the Christian faith, and such an intercourse as might be of service to the interests of religion. This sect of Presbyterians are commonly known by the name of Seceders, on account of their having seceded from the national church of Scotland in 1736.

#### DUTCH REFORMED CHURCH.

The Dutch reformed Churches in the United States, who maintain the doctrine of the synod of Dort, held in 1618, are between seventy and eighty in number, constituting six classes, which form one synod, styled The DUTCH REFORMED SYNOD of New York and New Jersey. The classes consist of ministers and ruling elders; each class delegates two ministers and an elder to represent them in synod. From the first planting of the Dutch churches in New York and New Jersey, they have, under the direction of the classes of Amsterdam, been formed exactly upon the plan of the established church of Holland as far as that is ecclesiastical. A strict correspondence is maintained between the Dutch Reformed Synod of New York and New Jersey, and the synod of North Holland and the classes of Amsterdam. The acts of their synods are mutually exchanged every year, and mutual advice is given and received in disputes respecting doctrinal points and church discipline.

#### PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH.

The Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States, *the churches of that denomination in New England excepted*, met in Convention at Philadelphia, in October 1785, and revised the book of common prayer, and administration of the sacraments, and other rites and ceremonies, with a view to render the liturgy consistent with the American Revolution. But this revised form was adopted by none of the churches, except one or two in Philadelphia.

In October 1789, at another meeting of their convention, a plan of union among all the Protestant Episcopal churches in the United States of America was agreed upon and settled: and an adequate representation from the several States being present, they again revised the book of common prayer, which is now published and generally adopted by their churches. They also agreed upon and published seventeen canons for the government of their church, the first of which declares, that "there shall, in this church, be three orders in the ministry, viz. BISHOPS, PRIESTS, and DEACONS."

At the same time they agreed upon a Constitution, which provides that there shall be a general convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States, on the second Tuesday in September, of every third year from 1789—That each state is entitled to a representation

tation of both the clergy and laity, or either of them, and may send deputies, not exceeding four of each order, chosen by the convention of the State.—That the bishops of the church, when three or more are present, shall, in their general conventions, form a separate house, with a right to originate and propose acts for the concurrence of the house of deputies, composed of clergy and laity; and with a power to negative acts passed by the house of deputies, unless adhered to by four-fifths of the other house.—That every bishop shall confine the exercise of his episcopal office to his proper diocese.—That no person shall be admitted to holy orders, until examined by the bishop and two presbyters—and shall not be ordained until he shall have subscribed the following declaration—“ I do believe the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testament to be the Word of God, and to contain all things necessary to salvation; and I do solemnly engage to conform to the doctrines and worship of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States.”

They have not yet adopted any Articles of religion other than those contained in the Apostles and Nicene Creeds. The number of their churches in the United States is not ascertained; in New England there are between forty and fifty; but in the southern states, they are much more numerous. Four Bishops, viz. of Connecticut, New York, Pennsylvania, and Virginia, have been elected by the conventions of their respective States, and have been duly consecrated. The former by the Bishops of the Scotch Church, the three latter, by the Bishops of the English church. And these, in September 1792, united in the consecration of a fifth, elected by the convention of the state of Maryland.

#### BAPTISTS.

The Baptists, with some exceptions, are upon the Calvinistic plan, as to doctrines, and independents as to church government and discipline. Except those who are styled “ open communion baptists,” of whom there is but one association, they refuse to communicate in the ordinance of the Lord’s Supper with other denominations; because they hold that immersion only is the true baptism, and that baptism is necessary to communion; it is, therefore inconsistent, in their opinion, to admit unbaptized persons to join with them in this ordinance; though they allow ministers of other denominations to preach to their congregations, and to assist in ordaining their ministers.

They have regular college establishments, and maintain a constant communication with each other by means of annual and half yearly associations.—These associations, as they stood in the year 1790, were as follows:

*Associations.*

<i>Associations.</i>		<i>States in which they meet.</i>
1	Bowdoinham —	Massachusetts —
2	New Hampshire —	New Hampshire —
3	Woodstock —	New Hampshire and Vermont —
4	Vermont —	Vermont —
5	Warren —	Massachusetts —
6	Rhode Island —	Rhode Island and Massachusetts —
7	Groton —	Connecticut —
8	Stonington —	Rhode Island and Connecticut —
9	Danbury —	Connecticut —
10	Shaftsbury —	Massachusetts and New York —
11	Philadelphia —	Pennsylvania —
12	Redstone —	Ditto —
13	Salisbury —	Maryland and Virginia —
14	* Ketockton —	Virginia —
15	* Chapawamsick —	Ditto —
16	* Orange District —	Ditto —
17	* Dover ditto —	Ditto —
18	* Lower do. † and Kehukey —	Ditto and North Carolina —
19	* Middle ditto —	Ditto —
20	* Upper ditto —	Ditto —
21	* Roanoak ditto —	Ditto and North Carolina —
22	* South Kentucky —	Ditto —
23	North Kentucky —	Ditto —
24	Ohio —	Ditto —
25	Holston —	North Carolina —
26	Sandy Creek —	Ditto —
27	Yadkin —	Ditto —
28	Charleston —	South Carolina —
29	Bethel —	Ditto —
30	Georgia —	Georgia —

*Note.*—The nine Associations in the above list marked \* meet in a General Committee by their representatives at Richmond, in the month of May annually.

† A separation of these Associations has since taken place, and this now bears the name of the Virginia Portsmouth Association.

<i>Times of Meeting.</i>	<i>Min.</i>	<i>Chs.</i>	<i>Members.</i>
September —	8	8	500
Second Wednesday in June —	7	8	500
Fourth Wednesday in September —	14	24	950
First Wednesday in October —	6	11	500
Tuesday after the first Wednesday in Sept.	25	41	3400
Third Friday in September —	15	12	500
Third Friday in June —	8	11	1500
Third Tuesday in October —	10	13	1000
Fourth Wednesday in September —	14	15	870
First Wednesday in June —	10	22	1500
First Tuesday in October —	49	56	4100
Third Saturday in October —	9	11	600
Third Saturday in August and October	6	14	1400
Third Friday in August —	10	12	650
Second Wednesday in September —	7	14	850
Second Friday in October —	22	32	4600
First Friday in May and October —	36	26	5100
Fourth Saturday in May, and 2d in Oct.	45	51	5500
First Saturday in May and October —	24	25	2000
Fourth Saturday in May, and 1st in Oct.	11	18	1200
Second Saturday in June, and 4th in Oct.	18	18	2200
Fourth Friday in May and October —	15	14	1200
May and October —	10	12	1100
—	4	5	300
First Saturday in June, and 2d in Oct.	10	17	1200
Fourth Saturday in October —	10	13	1200
Fourth Saturday in April and Sept. —	11	14	800
Fourth Saturday in October —	16	19	1850
Second Saturday in August —	9	16	1200
Second Saturday in May and October	22	31	2700
	452	533	50970
Churches not belonging to Associations,	100	150	8000
	552	733	58970
Seventh Day Baptists —	12	15	2000
Total	564	748	60970



Since the above period, accounts of six other associations have reached England, and, according to an account taken by Mr. John Asplund, a minister of the baptist denomination, who has travelled through the United States, to ascertain their number and state. The statement of their churches, ministers and church members, is as follows.

STATES	MINISTERS			MEMBERS.
	CHURCHES	ordained	licensed	
In New Hampshire	32	23	17	1732
Massachusetts	107	95	31	7116
Rhode Island	38	37	39	3502
Connecticut	55	44	21	3214
Vermont	34	21	15	1610
New York	57	53	30	3987
New Jersey	26	20	9	2279
Pennsylvania	28	26	7	1231
Delaware	7	9	1	409
Maryland	12	8	3	776
Virginia	207	157	109	20157
Kentucky	42	40	21	3105
Western Territory	1	—	—	30
North Carolina	94	81	76	7742
Deceded Territory	18	15	6	889
South Carolina	68	48	28	4012
Georgia	42	33	9	3184
Total	868	1710	422	64975

To this account, it is presumed, that about two thousand five hundred members, and forty-five churches, ought to be added—making the whole number of churches about nine hundred and ten, and the members about sixty-seven thousand. But at least *three times* as many attend their meetings for public worship as have joined their churches, which, we may suppose, are in principle Baptists, these will make the whole number of that denomination in the United States two hundred and one thousand, or a twenty-fifth part of the inhabitants.

The leading principles of the regular or particular Baptists are—The imputation of Adam's sin to his posterity—the inability of man to recover himself—effectual calling by sovereign grace—justification by the imputed righteousness of Christ—baptism by immersion, and that on profession of faith and repentance—congregational churches, their independency.

independency, and reception into them upon evidence of sound conversion.

#### UNITARIANS.

The Unitarians, or as they are denominated, though not with strict propriety, Socinians, are far from being numerous in the United States, they have, however, received considerable additions of late from different parts of Great Britain; the generous attachment of this body of Christians, to the cause of civil and religious liberty, has marked them out as objects of the dread and vengeance of the British government, every manoeuvre has been tried, and every influence exerted to sink them in the esteem of their countrymen, the consequence of which has been, that many of them have found it necessary to seek a residence in a country more congenial with their sentiments and views of the rights of mankind, and where they can enjoy their religious principles without political degradation. Among the characters which are an ornament to this class of Christians, and whom the ungrateful and unrelenting hand of persecution has driven to the hospitable shores of the United States, the names of PRIESTLEY, RUSSEL, and COOPER, deserve particular notice; the former of these characters has long been celebrated as a philosopher, and the avowed champion of the Unitarian Faith. In both these situations, however we may differ from him in opinion, his candour, zeal, and perseverance, entitle him to our admiration; but as the FRIEND OF MANKIND, he claims more than admiration—HE COMMANDS OUR ESTEEM—the direction of his philosophical pursuits to the benefit of his fellow-creatures—the warmth and ability with which he has espoused and defended the cause of civil and religious liberty—the patience, fortitude, and resignation with which he has endured the most cruel and unjust persecutions—the discovery of the most amiable disposition to those who differed with, and even persecuted him, will endear his memory to posterity, and awaken the utmost abhorrence and indignation at that spirit of bigotry and party rage, which forced him from his country and friends, and obliged him, at an advanced period of life, to seek an asylum across the Atlantic: America will, however, value what Britain despised, and will no doubt amply reward him for all his past sufferings—his name will live in the affections of succeeding ages, while those of his persecutors will be consigned to the infamy they merit.

It will be unnecessary here to say any thing on the peculiar tenets of the Unitarians, as they have been of late so amply and ably discussed, and

in a variety of forms, adapted to every class of readers,\* we shall therefore pass to a consideration of the people called Quakers.

### QUAKERS.

This denomination of Christians arose about the year 1648, and were first collected into religious societies by their highly respected elder, GEORGE FOX. They emigrated to America as early as 1656. The first settlers of Pennsylvania were all of this denomination; and the number of their meetings in the United States, at present, is about three hundred and twenty.

Their doctrinal tenets may be concisely expressed as follows—In common with other Christians, they believe in One Eternal God, and in Jesus Christ the Messiah and Mediator of the new covenant. To Christ alone, in whose divinity they believe, they give the title of the *Word* of God, and not to the Scriptures; yet they profess a high esteem for these sacred writings, in subordination to the Spirit who indited them, and believe that they are able, through faith, to make men wise to salvation—They reverence the excellent precepts of Scripture, and believe them practicable and binding on every Christian; and that in the life to come, every man will be rewarded according to his works. In order to enable mankind to put in practice these precepts, they believe, that every man coming into the world is endued with a measure of the Light, Grace, or Good Spirit of Christ; by which he is enabled to distinguish good from evil, and correct the disorderly passions and corrupt propensities of his nature, which mere reason is altogether insufficient to overcome—that this divine grace is, to those who sincerely seek it, an all-sufficient and present help in time of need—and that by it the snares of the enemy are detected, his allurements avoided, and deliverance experienced, through faith in its effectual operation, and the soul translated out of the kingdom of darkness into the marvellous light and kingdom of the Son of God—Thus persuaded, they think this divine influence especially necessary to the performance of the highest act of which the human mind is capable, the worship of God in spirit and in truth; and therefore consider, as obstruction to pure worship, all forms which divert the mind from the secret influence of this unction of the Holy One—Though true worship is not confined to time or place, they believe it is incumbent on churches to meet often together, but dare not depend for acceptance on a formal repetition of the words and experience of others—

\* If the reader should wish for information on the subject, he is referred to Lindsey's *Historical view of the Unitarian Doctrine &c.*

They think it their duty to wait in silence to have a true sight of their condition bestowed on them; and believe even a single sigh, arising from a sense of their infirmities and need of divine help to be more acceptable to God, than any performances which originate in the will of man.

They believe the renewed assistance of the light and power of Christ, which is not at command, nor attainable by study, but the free gift of God, to be indispensably necessary to a true gospel ministry---Hence arises their testimony against preaching for hire, and conscientious refusal to support any such ministry by tythes or other means. As they dare not encourage any ministry, but such as they believe to spring from the influence of the Holy Spirit; so neither dare they attempt to restrain this influence to persons of any condition in life, or to the male sex---but allow such of the female sex as appear to be qualified, to exercise their gifts for the general edification of the church.

They hold that as there is one Lord and one faith, so his baptism is one in nature and operation; and that nothing short of it can make us living members of his mystical body; and that baptism with water belonged to a dispensation inferior to the present. With respect to the Lord's Supper, they believe that communication between Christ and his church is not maintained by that nor any other external ordinance, but only by a real participation of his divine nature, through faith; that this is the supper alluded to in Rev. iii. 20---and that where the substance is attained, it is unnecessary to attend to the shadow.

Believing that the grace of God is alone sufficient for salvation, they can neither admit that it is conferred on a few only, while others are left without it; nor, thus asserting its universality, can they limit its operation to a partial cleansing of the soul from sin, even in this life---On the contrary they believe that God doth vouchsafe to assist the obedient to submit to the guidance of his pure spirit, through whose assistance they are enabled to bring forth fruits unto holiness, and to stand *perfect* in their present rank.

As to oaths, they abide literally by Christ's positive injunction, "SWEAR NOT AT ALL." They believe that "WARS AND FIGHTINGS" are, in their origin and effects, utterly repugnant to the Gospel, which breathes peace and good will to men\*. They also are firmly persuaded, that if the benevolence of the Gospel were generally prevalent in the minds of men, it would effectually prevent them from oppress-

\* During the late war, some of their number, contrary to this article of their faith, thought it their duty to take up arms in defence of their country. This laid the foundation of a secession from their brethren, and they now form a separate congregation in Philadelphia, by the name of the "Resisting or fighting Quakers."



ing, much more from enslaving \* their brethren, of whatever complexion; and would even influence their treatment of the brute creation, which would no longer groan the victims of their avarice, or of their false ideas of pleasure.---They profess that their principles, which inculcate submission to the laws in all cases wherein conscience is not violated, are a security to the salutary purposes of government. But they hold that the civil magistrate has no right to interfere in matters of religion, and think persecution, in any degree, unwarrantable. They reject the use of those names of the months and days, which, having been given in *honour of the heroes or gods of the heathen*, originated in their flattery or superstition; and the custom of speaking to a single person in the plural number, as having arisen also from motives of adulation. Compliments, superfluity of apparel or furniture, outward shews of rejoicing or mourning, and observations of days and times, they deem incompatible with the simplicity and sincerity of a Christian life---and they condemn public diversions, gaming, and other vain amusements of the world. They require no formal subscription to any articles, either as the condition of membership, or to qualify for the service of the church.

To effect the salutary purposes of discipline, MONTHLY, QUARTERLY, and YEARLY meetings are established. A monthly meeting is composed of several neighbouring congregations. Its business is to provide for the subsistence of the poor, and for the education of their offspring—to judge of the sincerity and fitness of persons appearing to be convinced of the religious principles of the society, and desiring to be admitted to membership; to excite due attention to the discharge of religious and moral duties; to deal with disorderly members—to appoint overseers to see that the rules of their discipline are put in practice—to allow of marriages, &c.†

\* In the present struggle of liberality and humanity, against avarice and cruelty, in defence of the Blacks, the Quakers have had the signal honour of having first set the illustrious example of aiming at a total emancipation.

† Their mode of marrying is as follows—Those who intend to marry, appear together, and propose their intention to the monthly meeting, and if not attended by their parents or guardians, produce a written certificate of their consent, signed in the presence of witnesses. The meeting then appoints a committee to inquire whether they are clear of other engagements respecting marriage; and if at a subsequent meeting, to which the parties also come and declare the continuance of their intention, no objections are reported, they have the meeting's consent to solemnize their intended marriage. This is done in a public meeting for worship, towards the close of which the parties stand up and solemnly take each other for husband and wife. A certificate of the proceedings is then publicly read, and signed by the parties, and afterwards by the relations and others as witnesses, which closes the solemnity.

A quarterly meeting is composed of several monthly meetings. At this meeting are produced written answers from monthly meetings, to certain questions respecting the conduct of their members and the meeting's care over them. The accounts thus received, are digested and sent by representatives to the yearly meeting. Appeals from the judgement of monthly meetings are brought to the quarterly meetings.

The yearly meeting has the general superintendence of the society in the country in which it is established.\* The business of this meeting is to give forth its advice—make such regulations as appear to be requisite, or excite to the observance of those already made, &c. Appeals from the judgement of quarterly meetings are here finally determined; and a brotherly correspondence, by epistles, is maintained with other yearly meetings.

As they believe women may be rightly called to the work of the ministry, they also think they may share in the Christian discipline. Accordingly *they* have monthly, quarterly, and yearly meetings of their own sex; held at the same time, and in the same place with those of the men; but separately, and without the power of making rules.

Their elders and ministers have meetings peculiar to themselves. These meetings, called Meetings of ministers and elders, are generally held in the compass of each monthly, quarterly, and yearly meeting—for the purpose of exciting each other to the discharge of their several duties—of extending advice to those who may appear weak, &c. They also, in the intervals of the yearly meetings, give certificates to those ministers who travel abroad in the work of the ministry.

The yearly meeting, held in London, in 1675, appointed a meeting to be held in that city, for the purpose of advising or assisting in cases of suffering for conscience sake, called a Meeting for sufferings, which is yet continued. It is composed of Friends under the name of correspondents, chosen by the several quarterly meetings, who reside in and near the city. This meeting is entrusted with the care of printing and distributing books, and with the management of its stock, and considered as a standing committee of the yearly meeting. In none of their meetings have they a President, as they believe Divine wisdom alone ought to preside; nor has any member a right to claim pre-eminence over the rest.

\* The Quakers have, in all, *seven* yearly meetings. One in London, to which come representatives from Ireland. The other six are in the United States. 1. New England, 2. New York, 3. New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, 4. Maryland, 5. Virginia, 6. The Carolinas and Georgia



Since this estimate of their numbers was taken, some few scattering societies have been collected in different parts of the New England States, and their numbers increased in other parts; so that in 1790, the whole connexion amounted to fifty-seven thousand six hundred and twenty-one. To superintend the methodist connexion in America, they had, in 1788, two bishops, thirty elders, and fifty deacons.

#### ROMAN CATHOLICS.

The whole number of ROMAN CATHOLICS in the United States is estimated at about fifty thousand; one half of which are in the State of Maryland. Their peculiar and leading doctrines and tenets are too generally known to need a recital here. They have a BISHOP, who resides in Baltimore, and many of their congregations are large and respectable.

#### GERMAN LUTHERANS AND CALVINISTS.

The German inhabitants in these states, who principally belong to Pennsylvania and New York, are divided into a variety of sects; the principal of which are, LUTHERANS, CALVINISTS, MORAVIANS, TUNKERS, and MENNONISTS. Of these the German Lutherans are the most numerous. Of this denomination, and the German Calvinists, who are next to them in numbers, there are upwards of sixty ministers in Pennsylvania—and the former have twelve, and the latter six churches in the state of New York. Many of their churches are large and splendid, and in some instances furnished with organs. These two denominations live together in the greatest harmony, often preaching in each other's churches, and sometimes uniting in the erection of a church, in which they alternately worship.

#### MORAVIANS.

The MORAVIANS are a respectable body of Christians in these States. Of this denomination, there were, in 1788, about one thousand three hundred souls in Pennsylvania; viz. at Bethlehem, between five and six hundred, which number has since increased—at Nazareth, four hundred and fifty—at Litiz, upwards of three hundred. Their other settlements, in the United States, are at Hope, in New Jersey, about one hundred souls; at Wachovia, on Yadkin river, North Carolina, containing six churches. Besides these regular settlements, formed by such only as are members of the brethren's church, and live together  
in



in good order and harmony, there are in different parts of Pennsylvania, Maryland, and New Jersey, and in the cities of Newport, (Rhode Island) New York, Philadelphia, Lancaster, York-town, &c. congregations of the brethren, who have their own churches and ministers, and hold the same principles, and doctrinal tenets, and church rites and ceremonies as the former, though their local situation does not admit of such particular regulations, as are peculiar to the regular settlements.

They call themselves "The UNITED BRETHREN OF THE PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH." They are called Moravians, because the first settlers in the English dominions were chiefly emigrants from Moravia. These were the remnant and genuine descendants of the antient United Brethren, established in Bohemia and Moravia, as early as the year 1456. About the middle of the last century, they left their native country to avoid persecution, and to enjoy liberty of conscience, and the true exercise of the religion of their forefathers. They were received in Saxony, and other Protestant dominions, and were encouraged to settle among them, and were joined by many serious people of other dominions. They adhere to the Augustine Confession of Faith, which was drawn up by the Protestant divines at the time of the reformation in Germany, in the year 1530, and presented at the diet of the empire at Augsburg; and which, at that time, contained the doctrinal system of all the established Protestant churches. They retain the discipline of their ancient church, and make use of Episcopal ordination, which has been handed down to them in a direct line of succession for more than three hundred years.\*

They profess to live in strict obedience to the ordinances of Christ, such as the observation of the Sabbath, INFANT Baptism, and the Lord's Supper; and in addition to these, they practice the foot washing, the kiss of love, and the use of the lot.

They were introduced into America by count Zinzendorf, and settled at Bethlehem, which is their principal settlement in America, as early as 1741. Regularity, industry, ingenuity, and economy, are characteristics of this people.

\* See David Crantz' Hist. of 'The ancient and modern United Brethren's Church, translated from the German, by the Rev. Benjamin La Trobe.' London, 1780 Those who wish to obtain a thorough and impartial knowledge of their religious sentiments and customs, may see them excellently summed up in a plain, but nervous style, in 'An exposition of Christian Doctrine, as taught in the Protestant church of the United Brethren,' written in German, by A. G. Spangenberg, and translated and published in English in 1784.

## TUNKERS.

The TUNKERS are so called in derision, from the word TUNKEN, *to put a morsel in sauce*. The English word that conveys the proper meaning of Tunkers is *Sops or Dippers*. They have been also called Tumblers, from the manner in which they perform baptism, which is by putting the person, while kneeling, head first under water, so as to resemble the motion of the body in the action of tumbling. The Germans found the letters *t* and *b* like *d* and *p*; hence the words Tunkers and Tumblers, have been corruptly written Dunkers and Dumplers.

The first appearing of these people in America was in the year 1719, when about twenty families landed in Philadelphia, and dispersed themselves in various parts of Pennsylvania. They are what are called General Baptists, and hold the doctrine of general redemption and general salvation. They use great plainness of dress and language, and will *neither swear nor fight, nor go to law, nor take interest for the money they lend*. They commonly wear their beards—keep the first day Sabbath, except one congregation—have the Lord's Supper with its ancient attendants of Love-feasts, with washing of feet, kiss of charity, and right hand of fellowship. They anoint the sick with oil for their recovery, and use the trine immersion, with laying on of hands and prayer, even while the person baptised is in the water. Their church government and discipline are for the most part similar with those of the English Baptists, except that every brother is allowed to speak in the congregation; and their best speaker is usually ordained to be their minister. They have deacons, deaconesses, from among their ancient widows, and exhorters, who are all licensed to use their gifts stately. On the whole, notwithstanding their peculiarities, they appear to be HUMBLE, WELL-MEANING CHRISTIANS, and have acquired the character of the *harmless* \* Tunkers.

Their principal settlement is at Ephrata, sometimes called Tunkers Town, in Lancaster county, sixty miles westward of Philadelphia. It consists of about forty buildings, of which three are places of worship: one is called *Sharon*, and adjoins the sister's apartment as a chapel; another, belonging to the brother's apartment, is called *Bethany*. To these the brethren and sisters resort, separately to worship morning and evening, and sometimes in the night. The third is a common church, called *Zion*, where all in the settlement meet once a week for public wor-

\* It would be exceedingly happy for mankind, if this epithet could be bestowed on the professed followers of every other religious persuasion.

ship. The brethren have adopted the White Frier's dress, with some alterations; the sisters that of the nuns; and many of both like them have taken the vow of celibacy. All, however, do not keep the vow. When they marry, they leave their cells and go among the married people. They subsist by cultivating their lands, by attending a printing office, a grist mill, a paper mill, an oil mill, &c. and the sisters by spinning, weaving, sewing, &c. They at first slept on board couches, but now on beds, and have otherwise abated much of their former severity. This congregation keep the seventh day Sabbath. Their singing is charming, owing to the pleasantness of their voices, the variety of parts, and the devout manner of performance. Besides this congregation at Ephrata, there were, in 1770, fourteen others in various other parts of Pennsylvania, and some in Maryland. The whole, exclusive of those in Maryland, amounted to upwards of two thousand souls.

#### MENNONISTS.

The MENNONISTS derive their name from Menno Simon, a native of Witmars in Germany, a man of learning, born in the year 1505, in the time of the reformation by Luther and Calvin. He was a famous Roman Catholic preacher, till about the year 1531, when he became a Baptist. Some of his followers came into Pennsylvania from New York and settled at German-town, as early as 1692. This is at present their principal congregation, and the mother of the rest. Their whole number, in 1770, in Pennsylvania, was upwards of four thousand, divided into thirteen churches, and forty-two congregations, under the care of fifteen ordained ministers, and fifty-three licensed preachers.

The Mennonists do not, like the Tunkers, hold the doctrine of general salvation; yet like them, *they will neither swear nor fight, nor bear any civil office, nor go to law, nor take interest for the money they lend*; many, however, break this last rule. Some of them wear their beards; wash each others feet, &c. and all use plainness of speech and dress. Some have been expelled their society for wearing buckles in their shoes, and having pocket-holes in their coats. Their church government is democratical. They call themselves the HARMLESS CHRISTIANS, REVENGELESS CHRISTIANS, and WEAPONLESS CHRISTIANS. They are Baptists rather in name than in fact; for they do not use immersion. Their common mode of baptism is this; the person to be baptized kneels; the minister holds his hands over him, into which the deacon pours water, which runs through upon the head of the person kneeling. After this, follows imposition of hands and prayer.

## UNIVERSALISTS.

The denomination stiled UNIVERSALISTS, though their schemes are very various, may properly enough be divided into two classes, viz. Those who embrace the scheme of Dr. Chauncey, exhibited in his book entitled "The Salvation of all Men;" and the disciples of Mr. Winchester and Mr. John Murray.

A judicious summary of Dr. Chauncey's sentiments, has been given in H. Adams's View of Religions, as follows:

"That the scheme of revelation has the happiness of all mankind lying at bottom, as its great and ultimate end; that it gradually tends to this end; and will not fail of its accomplishment, when fully completed. Some, in consequence of its operation, as conducted by the Son of God, will be disposed and enabled, in this present state, to make such improvements in virtue, the only rational preparative for happiness, as that they shall enter upon the enjoyment of it in the next state. Others who have proved incurable under the means which have been used with them in this state, instead of being happy in the next, will be awfully miserable; not to continue so finally, but that they may be convinced of their folly, and recovered to a virtuous frame of mind: and this will be the effect of the future torments upon many; the consequence whereof will be their salvation, they being thus fitted for it. And there may be yet other states, before the scheme of God may be perfected, and mankind universally cured of their moral disorders, and in this way qualified for, and finally instated in, eternal happiness. But however many states some of the individuals of the human species may pass through, and of however long continuance they may be, the whole is intended to subserve the grand design of *universal happiness*, and will finally terminate in it; inasmuch, that the *Son of God* and *Saviour of men* will not deliver up his trust into the hands of his *Father*, who committed it to him, till he has discharged his obligations in virtue of it; having finally fixed all men in heaven, when God will be *All in All*."

The number of this denomination is not known. The open advocates of this scheme are few; though the number is larger who embrace the doctrine of the salvation of all men, upon principles somewhat similar, but variously differing from those on which the above-mentioned scheme is grounded.

Article *Universalists*, where the reader may find also a summary of the arguments for and against his scheme.



The latter class of Universalists have a new scheme, differing essentially from that of the former, which they reject as inconsistent and absurd: and they cannot conceive how they who embrace it, can, “with any degree of propriety, be called UNIVERSALISTS, on Apostolic principles, as it does not appear that they have any idea of being saved by, or in the Lord, with an everlasting, or with any salvation.”—Hence they call them “PHARISAICAL UNIVERSALISTS, who are *willing to justify themselves*,\*.”

It is difficult to say what is the present scheme of the denomination of which we are now speaking; for they differ not only from all other Universalists, and from each other, but even from themselves at different periods. The reader, however, may form an idea of some of their tenets from what follows, collected from the letter referred to in the note. This letter, written by a man of first rate talents, and the head of the denomination, and professing to rectify mistakes respecting doctrines propagated under the Christian name—to give the character of a CONSISTENT UNIVERSALIST—and to acquaint the world with their REAL sentiments, we have reason to conclude, gives as true an account of their scheme as can be obtained.

From this letter it appears, that they believe “that Religion of *some* sort or *other*, is a public benefit;” and that every person is at liberty, and is bound to support what he conceives to be the *true* Religion—That public worship on *every* first day of the week, is an incumbent duty on *all* real lovers of divine truth—that prayer, as it indicates trust *in*, and dependence *on* God, is part of his worship—They believe that the *Deceiver*, who beguiled Eve, and not our *first* parents themselves, did the deed which brought *ruin* and death on all the human race—That there are two classes of fallen sinners—the ANGELS who kept not their first estate, and the HUMAN NATURE, deceived by the former, and *apparently* destroyed consequent thereon;—that a *just* God, in the law given by Moses, has denounced death and the curse on *every one who continueth not in all things, written in the book of the law to do them*—but that the *same* God was manifested in the flesh as the head of every man, *made under the law, to redeem them that are under the law, being made a curse for them*—that *he tasted death for every man*, being a Saviour, not of a *few* only, but of *all men*—and that the declaration of this is the *Gospel*.—They believe that when God denounces on the human race, woes, wrath, tribulation, death, damnation, &c. in the Scriptures, he speaks in his legislative capacity, as the just God who will *by no means clear the guilty*—that

\* \* \* Mr. Murray’s “Letter to a Friend,” page 40, 41. printed in Boston, 1791.

when he speaks of mercy, grace, peace, of life as the gift of God, and salvation in whole or in part, he speaks in the character of the *just God and Saviour*,—that the former is the language of the law; the latter is the language of the Gospel.

They believe that the Prince of Peace came to save the *human nature* from the power and dominion of the *Devil*, and his works—that he came to destroy the latter, that he might save the former—That “Sin is the work of the Devil—that he is the *Worker* and *Doer* of whatever gives offence”—That Jesus, as the Saviour of the world, shall separate from his kingdom, both the *evil Worker* and his evil works; the *evil Worker*, in the character of *goats*—the *evil works* in the character of *tares*. They suppose that what is wicked in mankind, is represented by the *evil seed* sown by the *evil One* in *human nature*, and that “when the Sower of the evil seed, and all the evil seed sown, shall be separated from the seed which God sowed, then the seed which is properly God’s seed, will be like him who sowed it, *pure and holy*.”

They consider all ordinances as *merely shadows*; yet they celebrate the Lord’s Supper, by eating and drinking wine—and some of them suppose that *every* time they eat bread and drink wine, they comply with our Lord’s injunction, “Do this in remembrance of me.”—Various other opinions prevail among them respecting this ordinance, and that of baptism. They “admit of but *one* baptism, the baptizer Jesus Christ; the elements made use of, the Holy Ghost and fire”—yet they are willing, in order to avoid contention, “to become all things to all men,” and to baptize INFANTS BY SPRINKLING, OR ADULTS BY IMMERSION—or to omit these signs altogether, according as the opinions of parents may vary upon this subject—Some think it proper to *dedicate* their children to the Lord, by putting them into the arms of the minister, to be by him presented to Christ, to be baptized with his baptism, in the name of the Trinity, the minister at the same time to bless them in the words in which God commanded Aaron and his sons to bless the children of Israel—“The Lord bless thee, &c.” It appears in short, that their notions respecting these ordinances are various, and with many vague, and unsettled.

They believe in a judgment *past* and a judgment to come—that the *past* judgment is either that in which the world was judged in the second Adam, according to the word of the Saviour, “*Now is the judgment of this world—now is the Prince of this world cast out* and judgment executed on *them* and on the whole *human nature*, according to the righteous judgment of God—or that which every man is to exercise upon himself

himself, according to the words "*judge yourselves and ye shall not be judged*"—"The judgment to come is that in which all who have not judged themselves—all unbelievers of the human race, and all the fallen angels, shall be judged by the Saviour—but these two characters, viz. *unbelievers of the human race*, and the *fallen angels*, shall be placed, the former on the right, the latter on the left hand of their Judge; the one under the denomination of *sheep*, for whose salvation the Saviour laid down his life—the other under the denomination of *goats*, who are the accursed; whose nature he passed by—"The *human nature*," i. e. the *sheep* or unbelievers of the human race, "as the offspring of the everlasting Father, and the *ransomed of the Lord*—shall be brought, by divine power, into the kingdom prepared for them, before the foundation of the world—the other nature, i. e. the goats, or fallen angels, "will be sent into the fire prepared for them."\* From which it appears, that it is their opinion, that *unbelievers of the human race*, or *sheep*, and the *fallen angels*, or *goats*, will be the only classes of creatures concerned in the awards of the last judgment—and that the righteous, or believers in Christ, will not then be judged, having previously judged themselves†—"But the rest of mankind," say they, "will be the subjects of this judgment, when our Saviour shall be revealed from heaven in flaming fire, taking vengeance on them that know not God, and obey not the gospel; and they shall then be punished with everlasting destruction from the presence of the Lord and the glory of his power." Their inferences from, and exposition of this passage, are peculiar, and will serve to give the reader an idea of their manner of explaining other parallel passages of Scripture. From this awful revelation of the Saviour, to take vengeance on them that know not God, and obey not the gospel, they infer this consequence, they shall then be made to know God, and obey the gospel.—The everlasting destruction, from the presence of the Lord and the glory of his

\* The reader will doubtless notice that the plural pronoun *them*, is several times used to express the singular noun *human nature*, and *Prince of this world*, as the *human nature*, &c. shall be brought into the kingdom prepared for *them*; the other nature will be sent into the fire prepared for *them*—the *Prince of this world* shall be cast out, and judgment be executed on *them*. This is a phraseology apparently peculiar to this denomination.

† In the following passage, the contrary seems to be asserted. Speaking of the last judgement it is said, "Here, instead of head and members being judged together, by the head, Christ, the divine nature, the members are considered in their distinct characters, as good and evil, or *believer* and *unbeliever*, as *children of light*, and children of darkness—and judged by their own head."

power, with which they *shall* be punished, they suppose is suffered by unbelievers, in consequence of the *revelation* of the everlasting destruction, *previous* to this awful period---and that they will suffer no punishment *after* it---for “it is not said,” they say, “that they shall be *everlastingly* punished with destruction.” They explain their idea of *everlasting punishment* and *suffering the* pain of eternal fire, thus, “Were it *possible* to find a culinary fire that never would be extinguished, but remain in the strictest sense of the word, *everlasting* or *eternal*---should any member of the body pass through that burning flame, though but a *moment of time* had been thus spent in passing through; yet even in that *moment*, it would suffer the pain of *eternal fire*.” But whether they believe it *possible* that there should be such a fire, or that unbelievers shall be doomed to suffer the *punishment of eternal fire* by thus passing through it, I do not find expressly asserted, but it is highly probable that they do.

They do not suppose that “all mankind will be on a level in the article of death, but that they who die in unbelief, will *lie down in sorrow*, and rise to the resurrection of damnation, or condemnation; and when the books shall be opened, and the dead, both small and great, shall be judged out of the things written in the books---every mouth shall be stopped, and all the world become guilty before God; and while conscious of guilt, but *ignorant* of a Saviour---they shall call on the rocks and mountains to fall on them to hide them from the wrath of the Lamb---But that in *this judgment* the judge is the Saviour---they will be judged by *their own head*,” and as the head of every man is Christ---all of course must be acquitted and saved.

Although they believe that the Devil is the *doer* or *worker* of every thing that gives offence; yet they assert that “*all men at all times* are sinners, and come short of the glory of God”---but they believe that what Christ suffered, “was considered by the *Great Lawgiver*, as done and suffered by every man in his own person; and that every man is as much interested in what Christ, the second Adam did, as they were in what the first Adam did”---This idea appears to be incongruous with any future judgment of any kind, The *Consistent Universalist*, therefore “does not consider himself under the law any more than a woman considers herself under the direction or dominion of a husband that is dead and buried---nor is he afraid of death, being assured that Jesus hath abolished death, and left nothing of it but the *shadow*.”

The Universalists of this denomination, in common with other Christians, profess themselves to be the advocates of *piety*, *religion*, and *morality*.---They assert the duty of doing right as men—as members of civil society



society—and as Christians. As *mere men*,” they hold, that “they must *follow nature*, or they will sink beneath the level of the beasts of the field,”—and yet they assert that “*all the righteousness found in the best of mere human nature is but a filthy rag*”—That as members of civil society they must submit to the laws, or if thought too severe, they may avoid them by a removal from the state.”—That as Christians they must be under the direction of Christ, and *do whatsoever he commands them*; and these are his commandments, “*that we believe in him, and love one another.*”

This denomination of Universalists, are not very numerous in the United States, some are in Pennsylvania—some in different parts of New York, Connecticut, Rhode Island, and New Hampshire; but the body of them are in Boston, and Gloucester, in Massachusetts. They have several constituted churches, which are governed by an ecclesiastical constitution, formed in 1789, by a convention of their ministers at Philadelphia.

#### SHAKERS.

This is a small and singular sect of Christians, which have sprung up in America as lately as 1774; when a few of this sect went from England to New York, and there being joined by a few others, they settled at Nisqueneia, above Albany, which is their principal settlement: a few others are scattered in different parts of the country.

The head of this party, while she lived, \* was Anna Leese, styled the Elect Lady. Her followers asserted, that she was the woman spoken of in the twelfth chapter of the Revelations, and that she spoke seventy-two tongues: and although these tongues were unintelligible to the living, she conversed with the dead who understood her language. They alleged also that she was the mother of all the *Eleas*; that she travailed for the whole world—that no blessing could descend to any person but only by and through her, and that in the way of her being possessed of their sins, by their confessing and repenting of them, one by one, according to her direction,

Their leading doctrinal tenets, as given by one of their own denomination, are, “That the first resurrection is already come, and now is the time to judge themselves. That they have power to heal the sick, to raise the dead, and cast out devils. That they have a correspondence

\* This woman asserted, that she should never die; but notwithstanding her predictions and assertions to the contrary, she died in 1784; and was succeeded by one James Whitaker, who also died in 1787. Joseph Meacham, who has attained the reputation of a prophet among them, is at present their leader.

with angels, the spirits of the saints and their departed friends. That they speak with divers kind of tongues in their public assemblies. That it is lawful to practise *vocal music* with *dancing* in the Christian churches, if it be practised in praising the Lord. That their church is come out of the order of natural generation, to be as Christ was; and that those who have wives are as though they had none. That by these means heaven begins upon earth, and they thereby lose their earthly and sensual relation to Adam the first, and come to be transparent in their ideas, in the bright and heavenly visions of God. That some of their people are of the number of the hundred and forty-four thousand, who were redeemed from the earth, and were not defiled with women. That the word everlasting, when applied to the punishment of the wicked, means only a *limited period, except in the case of those who fall from their church*; and that for such there is no forgiveness, neither in this world nor that which is to come. That it is unlawful to swear, game, or use compliments—and that water baptism and the Lord's Supper are abolished. That Adam's sin is not imputed to his posterity—and that the doctrines of election and reprobation are to be rejected."

The discipline of this denomination is founded on the supposed perfection of their leaders. The Mother, or the Elect Lady, it is said, obeys God through Christ. *European* elders obey her. *American* labourers, and common people obey them: while confession is made of every secret thing, from the oldest to the youngest. The people are made to believe that they are seen through and through in the gospel glass of perfection, by their teachers, who behold the state of the dead, and innumerable worlds of spirits good and bad.

These people are generally instructed to be very industrious, and to *bring in according to their ability*, to keep up the meeting. They vary in their exercises. Their heavy dancing, as it is called, is performed by a perpetual springing from the house floor, about four inches up and down, both in the mens and womens apartment, moving about with extraordinary transport, singing sometimes one at a time, sometimes more.

This elevation affects the nerves, so that they have intervals of *shuddering*, as if they were in a strong fit of the ague, they sometimes clap hands and leap so as to strike the joists above their heads. They throw off their outside garments in these exercises, and spend their strength very cheerfully this way. Their chief speaker often calls for attention; when they all stop and hear some harangue, and then fall to dancing again. They assert that their dancing is the token of the great joy and happiness of the new *Jerusalem state*, and denotes the victory over

fin. One of the postures which *increases* among them, is turning round very swift for an hour or two. This, they say, is to show the great power of God.

They sometimes fall on their knees and make a sound like the roaring of many waters, in groans and cries to God, as they say, for the wicked world who persecute them. \*

#### JEWES.

The Jews are not numerous in the United States. They have, however, synagogues at Savannah, Charleston, (South Carolina) Philadelphia, New York, and Newport. Besides those who reside at these places, there are others scattered in different towns in the United States.

The Jews in Charleston, among other peculiarities in burying their dead, have these: After the funeral dirge is sung, and just before the corpse is deposited in the grave, the coffin is opened, and a small bag of earth, taken from the grave, is carefully put under the head of the deceased; then some powder, said to be earth brought from Jerusalem, and carefully kept for this purpose, is taken and put upon the eyes of the corpse, in token of their remembrance of the holy land, and of their expectations of returning thither in God's appointed time.

The articles of their faith are well known, and therefore need no description. They generally expect a glorious return to the Holy Land, when they shall be exalted above all the nations of the earth. And they flatter themselves that the period of their return will speedily arrive, though they do not venture to fix the precise time.

The whole number of persons who profess the Jewish religion, in all parts of the world, is supposed to be about three millions, who, *as their phrase is*, are witnesses of the unity of God in all the nations in the world.

Besides the religious sects here enumerated, there are a few of the German inhabitants in Pennsylvania, who are styled SWINSEILDIANS, and, in Maryland, a small number called NICOLITES or NEW QUAKERS; but the distinguishing sentiments of these sects are not material, consisting chiefly of a few peculiarities.

\* H. Adams's "View of Religions." Article *Shakers*.

## HISTORY

OF THE

RISE, PROGRESS, AND ESTABLISHMENT

OF THE

INDEPENDENCE

OF

THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

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IN addition to what we have already written of the discovery and settlement of North America, we shall give a brief history of the late war with Great Britain, with a sketch of the events which preceded and prepared the way for the revolution. This general view of the history of the United States will serve as a suitable introduction to the particular histories of the several states, which will be given in their proper places.

America was originally peopled by uncivilized nations, which lived mostly by hunting and fishing. The Europeans, who first visited these shores, treating the natives as wild beasts of the forest, which have no property in the woods where they roam, planted the standard of their respective masters where they first landed, and in their names claimed the country by *right of discovery*.

Henry the Seventh of England granted to John Cabot and his three sons a commission, "to navigate all parts of the ocean for the purpose of discovering islands, countries, regions, or provinces, either of Gentiles or Infidels, which have been hitherto unknown to all Christian people, with power to set up his standard, and to take possession of the same as vassals of the crown of England." By virtue of this commission, in 1498,



Sebastian Cabot explored and took possession of a great part of the North American continent, in the name and on behalf of the king of England.

The country thus discovered by Cabot, was possessed by numerous tribes or nations of people. As these had been till then unknown to all other princes or states, they could not possibly have owed their allegiance or subjection to any foreign power on earth; they must have therefore been independent communities, and as such, capable of acquiring territorial property, in the same manner as other nations. Of the various principles on which a right to soil has been founded, there is none superior to immemorial occupancy. From what time the Aborigines of America had resided therein, or from what place they migrated thither, were questions of doubtful solution, but it was certain that they had long been sole occupants of the country. In this state no European prince could derive a title to the soil from discovery, because that can give a right only to lands and things which either have never been owned or possessed, or which, after being owned or possessed, have been voluntarily deserted. The right of the Indian nations to the soil in their possession was founded in nature. It was the free and liberal gift of heaven to them, and such as no foreigner could rightfully annul. The blinded superstition of the times regarded the Deity as the partial God of Christians, and not as the common father of saints and savages. The pervading influence of philosophy, reason, and truth, has, since that period, given us better notions of the rights of mankind, and of the obligations of morality. These unquestionably are not confined to particular modes of faith, but extend universally to Jews and Gentiles, to Christians and Infidels.

Unfounded, however, as the claims of European Sovereigns to American territories were, they severally proceeded to act upon them. By tacit consent they adopted as a new law of nations, that the countries which each explored should be the absolute property of the discoverer. While they thus sported with the rights of unoffending nations, they could not agree in their respective shares of the common spoil. The Portuguese and Spaniards, inflamed by the same spirit of national aggrandizement, contended for the exclusive sovereignty of what Columbus had explored. Animated by the rancour of commercial jealousy, the Dutch and Portuguese fought for the Brazils. Contrary to her genuine interests, England commenced a war in order that her contraband traders on the Mexican coast, claimed by the king of Spain, might no longer be searched. No farther back than the middle of the  
present

present century, a contest concerning boundaries of American territory belonging to neither, occasioned a long and bloody war between France and England.

Though Queen Elizabeth and James the First denied the authority of the Pope of Rome to give away the country of infidels, yet they so far adopted the fanciful distinction between the rights of Heathens and the rights of Christians, as to make it the foundation of their respective grants. They freely gave away what did not belong to them with no other proviso, than that "the territories and districts so granted, be not previously occupied and possessed by the subjects of any other Christian prince or state." The first English patent which was given for the purpose of colonizing the country discovered by the Cabots, was granted by Queen Elizabeth to Sir Humphry Gilbert, in 1578, but this proved abortive. In 1584, she licenced Walter Raleigh, "to search for Heathen lands not inhabited by Christian people," and granted to him in fee all the soil "within two hundred leagues of the places where his people should make their dwellings and abidings." Under his auspices an inconsiderable colony took possession of a part of the American coast, which now forms North-Carolina. In honour of the Virgin Queen his sovereign, he gave to the whole country the name of Virginia. These first settlers, and several others who followed them, were either destroyed by the natives, removed by succeeding navigators, or died without leaving any behind to tell their melancholy story, for they were never more heard of. No permanent settlement was effected till the reign of James the First.

In the course of little more than a century, was the English North-American continent peopled and parcelled out into distinct governments. Little did the wisdom of the two preceding centuries foresee the consequences both good and evil, that were to result to the old world from discovering and colonizing the new. When we consider the immense floods of gold and silver which have flowed from it into Europe, the subsequent increase of industry and population, the prodigious extension of commerce, manufactures, and navigation, and the influence of the whole on manners and arts, we see such an accumulation of good, as leads us to rank Columbus among the greatest benefactors of the human race: but when we view the injustice done the natives, the extirpation of many of their numerous nations, whose names are no more heard;—The havoc made among the first settlers;—The slavery of the Africans, to which America has furnished the temptation; and the many long and bloody wars which it has occasioned, we behold such a crowd

of woes, as excites an apprehension, that the evil has outweighed the good.

In vain do we look among ancient nations for examples of colonies established on principles of policy, similar to those of the colonies of Great-Britain. England did not, like the republics of Greece, oblige her sons to form distant communities in the wiles of the earth. Like Rome she did not give lands as a gratuity to soldiers, who became a military force for the defence of her frontiers. She did not, like Carthage, subdue the neighbouring states, in order to acquire an exclusive right to their commerce. No conquest was ever attempted over the Aborigines of America. Their right to the soil was disregarded, and their country looked upon as waste, which was open to the occupancy and use of other nations. It was considered that settlements might be there formed for the advantage of those who should migrate thither, as well as of the Mother Country. The rights and interests of the native proprietors were, all this time, deemed of no account.

What was the extent of obligations by which colonies planted under these circumstances were bound to the Mother Country, is a subject of nice discussion. Whether these arose from nature and the constitution, or from compact, is a question necessarily connected with many others. While the friends of Union contended that the king of England had a property in the soil of America, by virtue of a right derived from prior discovery: and that his subjects, by migrating from one part of his dominions to another, did not lessen their obligations to obey the supreme power of the nation, it was inferred, that the emigrants to English America continued to owe the same obedience to the king and parliament, as if they had never quitted the land of their nativity. But if as others contended, the Indians were the only lawful proprietors of the country in which their Creator had placed them, and they sold their right to emigrants who, as men, had a right to leave their native country, and as subjects, had obtained chartered permission to do so, it follows from these premises, that the obligations of the colonists to their parent state must have resulted more from compact, and the prospect of reciprocal advantage, than from natural obligation. The latter opinions seem to have been adopted by several of the colonists, particularly in New-England. Sundry persons of influence in that country always held, that birth was no necessary cause of subjection, for that the subject of any prince or state had a natural right to remove to any other state or quarter of the globe, especially if deprived of liberty of conscience, and that, upon such removal, his subjection ceased.



The validity of charters about which the emigrants to America were universally anxious, rests upon the same foundation. If the right of the sovereigns of England to the soil of America was ideal, and contrary to natural justice, and if no one can give what is not his own, their charters were on several accounts a nullity. In the eye of reason and philosophy, they could give no right to American territory. The only validity which such grants could have, was, that the grantees had from their sovereign a permission to depart from their native country, and negotiate with the proprietors for the purchase of the soil, and thereupon to acquire a power of jurisdiction subject to his crown. These were the opinions of many of the settlers in New-England. They looked upon their charters as a voluntary compact between their sovereign and themselves, by which they were bound neither to be subject to, nor seek protection from any other prince, nor to make any laws repugnant to those of England: but did not consider them as inferring an obligation of obedience to a parliament, in which they were unrepresented. The prospects of advantage which the emigrants to America expected from the protection of their native sovereign, and the prospect of aggrandisement which their native sovereign expected from the extension of his empire, made the former very solicitous for charters, and the latter very ready to grant them. Neither reasoned clearly on their nature, nor well understood their extent. In less than eight years one thousand five hundred miles of the sea coast were granted away, and so little did they who gave, or they who accepted of charters, understand their own transactions, that in several cases the same ground was covered by contradictory grants, and with an absurdity that can only be palliated by the ignorance of the parties, some of the grants extended to the South Sea, over a country whose breadth is yet unknown, and which to this day is unexplored.

Ideal as these charters were, they answered a temporary purpose. The Colonists reposed confidence in them, and were excited to industry on their credit. They also deterred European powers from disturbing them, because, agreeable to the late law of nations, relative to the appropriation of newly discovered Heathen countries, they inferred the protection of the sovereign who gave them. They also opposed a barrier to open and gross encroachments of the mother country on the rights of the colonists; a particular detail of these is not now necessary. Some general remarks may, nevertheless, be made on the early periods of colonial history, as they cast light on the late revolution. Long before the declaration of independence, several of the colonies on different occasions declared, that they ought not to be taxed but by their own provincial assemblies, and that they considered subjection to acts of a British Parliament,



liament, in which they had no representation, as a grievance. It is also worthy of being noted, that of the thirteen colonies, formed into states at the end of the war, no one (Georgia excepted) was settled at the expence of government. Towards the settlement of that southern frontier, considerable sums had at different times been granted by parliament, but the twelve more northern provinces had been wholly settled by private adventurers, without any advances from the national treasury. It does not appear, from existing records, that any compensation for their lands was ever made to the Aborigines of America by the crown or parliament of England; but policy, as well as justice, led the colonists to purchase and pay for what they occupied. This was done in almost every settlement, and they prospered most, who by justice and kindness took the greatest pains to conciliate the good-will of the natives.

It is in vain to look for well-balanced constitutions in the early periods of colonial history. Till the revolution in the year 1688, a period subsequent to the settlement of the colonies, England herself can scarcely be said to have had a fixed constitution. At that eventful æra the line was first drawn between the privileges of subjects, and the prerogatives of sovereigns. The legal and constitutional history of the colonies, in their early periods, therefore, affords but little instruction. It is sufficient in general to observe, that in less than eighty years from the first permanent English settlement in North America; the two original patents granted to the Plymouth and London Companies were divided, and subdivided, into twelve distinct and unconnected provinces, and in fifty years more a thirteenth, by the name of Georgia, was added to the southern extreme of previous establishments.

To each of these, after various changes, there was ultimately granted a form of government resembling, in its most essential parts, as far as local circumstances would permit, that which was established in the parent state. A minute description of constitutions, which no longer exist, would be both tedious and unprofitable. In general, it may be observed, that agreeably to the spirit of the British constitution, ample provision was made for the liberties of the inhabitants. The prerogatives of royalty and dependence on the mother country, were but feebly impressed on the colonial forms of government. In some of the provinces the inhabitants chose their governors, and all other public officers, and their legislatures were under little or no controul. In others, the crown delegated most of its power to particular persons, who were also invested with the property of the soil. In those which were most immediately dependent on the king, he exercised no higher prerogatives over the colonists

colonists than over their fellow subjects in England, and his power over the provincial legislative assemblies was not greater than what he was constitutionally vested with, over the House of Commons in the mother country. From the acquiescence of the parent state, the spirit of her constitution, and daily experience, the colonists grew up in a belief, that their local assemblies stood in the same relation to them, as the parliament of Great Britain to the inhabitants of that island. The benefits of legislation were conferred on both, only through these constitutional channels.

It is remarkable, that though the English possessions in America were far inferior in natural riches to those which fell to the lot of other Europeans, yet the security of property and of liberty, derived from the English constitution, gave them a consequence to which the colonies of other powers, though settled at an earlier day, have not yet attained. The wise and liberal policy of England towards her colonies, during the first century and half, after their settlement, had a considerable influence in exalting them to this pre-eminence. She gave them full liberty to govern themselves by such laws as the local legislatures thought necessary, and left their trade open to every individual in her dominions. She also gave them the amplest permission to pursue their respective interests in such manner as they thought proper, and reserved little for herself, but the benefit of their trade, and that of a political union under the same head. The colonies, founded by other powers, experienced no such indulgencies. Portugal and Spain burdened theirs with many vexatious regulations, gave encouragement only to what was for their own interest, and punished whatever had a contrary tendency. France and Holland did not adopt such oppressive maxims, but were, in fact, not much less rigorous and coercive. They parted, as it were, with the propriety of their colonies to mercantile associations, which sold to the colonists the commodities of Europe, at an enormous advance, and took the produce of their lands at a low price, and, at the same time, discouraged the growth of any more than they could dispose of, at excessive profits. These oppressive regulations were followed with their natural consequence: the settlements thus restricted advanced but slowly in population and in wealth.

The English Colonies participated in that excellent form of government with which their parent isle was blessed, and which has raised it to an admirable height of agriculture, commerce, and manufactures. After many struggles, it had been acknowledged to be essential to the constitution of Great Britain, that the people could not be compelled to pay any taxes, nor be bound by any laws, but such as had been granted or enacted.

enacted with the consent of themselves, or of their representatives. It was also one of their privileges, that they could not be affected either in their property, their liberties, or their persons, but by the unanimous consent of twelve of their peers,

From the operation of these general principles of liberty, and the wise policy of Great Britain, her American settlements increased in number, wealth and resources, with a rapidity which surpassed all previous calculations. Neither ancient nor modern history can produce an example of Colonies governed with equal wisdom, or flourishing with equal rapidity. In the short space of one hundred and fifty years their numbers increased to three millions, and their commerce to such a degree, as to be more than a third of that of Great Britain. They also extended their settlements fifteen hundred miles on the sea coast, and three hundred to the westward. Their rapid population, though partly accelerated by the influx of strangers, was principally owing to internal causes. In consequence of the equality of fortune and simplicity of manners, which prevailed among them, their inhabitants multiplied far beyond the proportion of old nations, corrupted and weakened by the vices of wealth, and above all, of vanity, than which, perhaps, there is no greater enemy to the increase of the human species.

The good effects of a wise policy and equal government were not only discernible in raising the Colonies of England to a pre-eminence over those of other European powers, but in raising some among themselves to greater importance than others. Their relative population and wealth were by no means correspondent to their respective advantages of soil and climate. From the common disproportion between the natural and artificial wealth of different countries, it seems to be a general rule, that the more nature does for any body of men, the less they are disposed to do for themselves,

The New-England provinces, though possessed of comparatively a barren country, were improved much faster than others, which were blessed with a superior soil and milder climate. Their first settlers were animated with a high degree of that religious fervor which excites to great undertakings: they also settled their vacant lands on principles of the wisest policy. Instead of granting large tracts to individuals, they sold the soil in small farms, to those who personally cultivated the same. Instead of disseminating their inhabitants over an extensive country, they formed successive settlements, in townships of six miles square. They also made such arrangements, in these townships, as co-extended the blessings of education and of religious instruction with their settlements.

By these means industry and morality were propagated, and knowledge was generally diffused.

In proportion to their respective members, it is probable that no other country in the world contained more sober orderly citizens, and fewer who were profligate and abandoned. Those high crimes which are usually punished with death, were so rare in New-England, that many years have elapsed, in large populous settlements, without a single execution. Their less fertile soil disposed them to a spirit of adventure, and their victorious industry rose superior to every obstacle. In carrying on the whale fishery, they not only penetrated the deepest frozen recesses of Hudson's Bay, and Davis' Straits; but pierced into the opposite regions of polar cold. While some of them were striking the harpoon on the coast of Africa, others pursued their gigantic game near the shores of Brasil. While they were yet in their infancy as a political society, they carried on this perilous business to an extent exceeding all that the perseverance of Holland, the activity of France, or the vigour of English enterprise, had ever accomplished. A spirit of liberty prompted their industry, and a free constitution guarded their civil rights. The country was settled with yeomanry, who were both proprietors, and cultivators, of the soil. Luxury was estranged from their borders. Enervating wealth and pinching poverty were both equally rare. Early marriages, and a numerous offspring, were common---thence population was rapid, and the inhabitants generally possessed that happy state of mediocrity, which favours the improvement both of mind and body.

New-York joined New-England, but did not increase with equal rapidity. A few, by monopolizing large tracts of lands, reduced many to the necessity of being tenants, or of removing to other provinces, where land could be obtained on more favourable terms. The increase of population, in this province, was nevertheless great, when compared with that of old countries. This appears from the following statement of their numbers at different periods. In 1756, the province of New-York contained eighty-three thousand two hundred and thirty-three whites, and in 1771, one hundred and forty-eight thousand one hundred and twenty-four, an increase of nearly two for one, in the space of fifteen years.

Pennsylvania was at first settled under the auspices of the celebrated William Penn, who introduced a number of industrious inhabitants, chiefly of the sect of Quakers. The population of this country advanced equally with that of the New-England provinces. Among the inducements operating on foreigners to settle in Pennsylvania was a most excellent form of provincial government, which secured the religious as



well as the civil rights of its inhabitants. While the Mother Country laboured under an oppressive ecclesiastical establishment, and while partialities of the same kind were sanctioned by law, in some of the American provinces, perfect liberty of conscience, and an exact equality of all sects was, in every period, a part of the constitution of Pennsylvania.

Quaker simplicity, industry, and frugality, contributed, in like manner, to the flourishing of that province. The habits of that plain people correspond, admirably, with a new country, and with republican constitutions. Opposed to idleness and extravagance, they combined the whole force of religion, with customs and laws, to exile these vices from their society. The first quaker settlers were soon followed by Germans, whose industry was not inferior to their own. The emigrants from other countries who settled in Pennsylvania, followed these good examples, and industry and frugality became predominant virtues over the whole province.

The policy of a Loan-Office was also eminently beneficial. The proprietaries of Pennsylvania sold their lands in small tracts, and on long credit. The purchasers were indulged with the liberty of borrowing, on interest, paper bills of credit, out of the Loan-Office, on the mortgage of their lands. Perhaps there never was an institution which contributed more to the happiness of the people, or to the flourishing of a new country, than this land Loan-Office scheme. The province being enriched by the clear interest of its loaned paper, was thereby enabled to defray the expences of government with moderate taxes. The industrious farmer was furnished with the means of cultivating and stocking his farm. These improvements, by increasing the value of the land, not only established the credit of the paper, but enabled the borrower, in a few years, to pay off the original loan with the productions of the soil. The progressive improvement of Pennsylvania may be estimated from the increase of its trade. In the year 1704, that province imported goods from the Mother Country, amounting in value only to eleven thousand four hundred and ninety-nine pounds sterling, but in 1772, to the value of five hundred and seven thousand nine hundred and nine pounds, an increase of nearly fifty for one, in little more than half a century.

In Maryland and Virginia, a policy less favourable to population, and somewhat different from that of Pennsylvania, took place. The church of England was incorporated with the first settlement of Virginia, and in the lapse of time, it also became the established religion of Maryland. In both these provinces, long before the American revolution, that church possessed a legal pre-eminence, and was maintained at the expence, not only of its own members, but of all other denominations.

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This deterred great numbers, especially of the Presbyterian denomination, who had emigrated from Ireland, from settling within the limits of these governments, and fomented a spirit of discord between those who belonged to, and those who dissented from, the established church.

The first emigrants from England for colonising America, left the Mother Country at a time when the dread of arbitrary power was the predominant passion of the nation. Except the very modern charter of Georgia, in the year 1732, all the English Colonies obtained their charters and their greatest number of European settlers, between the years 1603 and 1688. In this period a remarkable struggle between prerogative and privilege commenced, and was carried on till it terminated in a revolution highly favourable to the liberties of the people. In the year 1621, when the English House of Commons claimed freedom of speech, "as their ancient and undoubted right, and an inheritance transmitted to them from their ancestors;" King James the First replied, "that he could not allow of their style, in mentioning their ancient and undoubted rights, but would rather have wished they had said, that their privileges were derived from the grace and permission of their sovereign." This was the opening of a dispute which occupied the tongues, pens, and swords, of the most active men in the nation, for a period of seventy years. It is remarkable that the same period is exactly co-incident with the settlement of the English Colonies. James, educated in the arbitrary sentiments of the divine right of Kings, conceived his subjects to be his property, and that their privileges were matters of grace and favour flowing from his generosity. This high claim of prerogative excited opposition in support of the rights of the people. In the progress of the dispute, Charles the First, son of King James, in attempting to levy ship-money, and other revenues without consent of Parliament, involved himself in a war with his subjects, in which, after various conflicts, he was brought to the block and suffered death as an enemy to the constitution of his country. Though the monarchy was restored under Charles the Second, and transmitted to James the Second, yet the same arbitrary maxims being pursued, the nation, tenacious of its rights, invited the Prince of Orange to the sovereignty of the island, and expelled the reigning family from the throne. While these spirited exertions were made, in support of the liberties of the parent isle, the English Colonies, were settled, and chiefly with inhabitants of that class of people, which was most hostile to the claims of prerogative. Every transaction in that period of English history, supported the position that the people have a right to resist their sovereign,  
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when he invades their liberties, and to transfer the crown from one to another, when the good of the community requires it.

The English Colonists were from their first settlement in America, devoted to liberty, on English ideas, and English principles. They not only conceived themselves to inherit the privileges of Englishmen, but though in a colonial situation, actually possessed them.

After a long war between King and Parliament, and a Revolution—these privileges were settled on the following fundamental principles: “That it was the undoubted right of English subjects, being freemen or freeholders, to give their property, only by their own consent. That the House of Commons exercised the sole right of granting the money of the people of England, because that House alone, represented them. That taxes were the free gifts of the people to their rulers. That the authority of sovereigns was to be exercised only for the good of their subjects. That it was the right of the people to meet together, and peaceably to consider of their grievances—to petition for a redress of them, and finally, when intolerable grievances were unredressed, to seek relief, on the failure of petitions and remonstrances, by forcible means.”

Opinions of this kind generally prevailing, produced, among the Colonists, a more determined spirit of opposition to all encroachments on their rights, than would probably have taken place, had they emigrated from the Mother Country in the preceding century, when the doctrines of passive obedience, non-resistance, and the divine right of kings, were generally received.

That attachment to their sovereign, which was diminished in the first emigrants to America, by being removed to a great distance from his influence, was still farther diminished in their descendants. When the American revolution commenced, the inhabitants of the Colonies were for the most part, the third and fourth, and sometimes the fifth, or sixth generation, from the original emigrants. In the same degree as they were removed from the parent stock, they were weaned from that partial attachment, which bound their forefathers to the place of their nativity. The affection for the Mother Country, as far as it was a natural passion, wore away in successive generations, till at last it had scarcely any existence.

The mercantile intercourse, which connects different countries, was, in the early periods of the English Colonies, far short of that degree, which is necessary to perpetuate a friendly union. Had the first great colonial establishments been made in the Southern Provinces, where the suitableness of native commodities would have maintained a brisk and direct trade with England---the constant exchange of good offices be-

tween the two countries would have been more likely to perpetuate their friendship. But as the Eastern Provinces were the first, which were thickly settled, and they did not for a long time cultivate an extensive trade with England, their descendants speedily lost the fond attachment, which their forefathers felt to their Parent State. The bulk of the people in New-England knew little of the Mother Country, having only heard of her as a distant kingdom, the rulers of which had, in the preceding century, persecuted and banished their ancestors to the woods of America.

The distance of America from Great-Britain generated ideas in the minds of the Colonists favourable to liberty. Three thousand miles of ocean separated them from the Mother Country. Seas rolled, and months passed, between orders and their execution. In large governments the circulation of power is enfeebled at the extremities. This results from the nature of things, and is the eternal law of extensive or detached empire. Colonists, growing up to maturity, at such an immense distance from the seat of government, perceived the obligation of dependence much more feebly, than the inhabitants of the parent isle, who not only saw, but daily felt, the fangs of power. The wide extent and nature of the country contributed to the same effect. The natural seat of freedom is among high mountains and pathless deserts, such as abound in the wilds of America.

The religion of the Colonists also nurtured a love for liberty. They were chiefly Protestants, and all Protestantism is founded on a strong claim to natural liberty, and the right of private judgment. A majority of them were of that class of men, who, in England, are called Dissenters. Their tenets being the Protestantism of the Protestant religion, are hostile to all interference of authority in matters of opinion, and predispose to a jealousy for civil liberty. They who belonged to the Church of England were for the most part independents, as far as church government and hierarchy were concerned. They used the liturgy of that church, but were without bishops, and were strangers to those systems, which make religion an engine of state. That policy, which unites the lowest curate with the greatest metropolitan, and connects both with the sovereign, was unknown among the Colonists. Their religion was their own, and neither imposed by authority, nor made subservient to political purposes. Though there was a variety of sects, they all agreed in the communion of liberty, and all reprobated the courtly doctrines of passive obedience, and non-resistance. The same dispositions were fostered by the usual modes of education in the Colonies. The study of law was common and fashionable, The infinity of disputes, in



a new and free country, made it lucrative, and multiplied its followers. No order of men has, in all ages, been more favourable to liberty, than lawyers. Where they are not won over to the service of government, they are formidable adversaries to it. Professionally taught the rights of human nature, they keenly and quickly perceive every attack made on them. While others judge of bad principles by the actual grievances they occasion, lawyers discover them at a distance, and trace future mischiefs from gilded innovations.

The reading of those Colonies who were inclined to books, generally favoured the cause of liberty. Large libraries were uncommon in the New World. Disquisitions on abstruse subjects, and curious researches into antiquity, did not accord with the genius of a people, settled in an uncultivated country, where every surrounding object impelled to action, and little leisure was left for speculation. Their books were generally small in size, and few in number: a great part of them consisted of those fashionable authors, who have defended the cause of liberty. Cato's letters, the Independent Whig, and such productions, were common in one extreme of the Colonies, while in the other, histories of the Puritans kept alive the remembrance of the sufferings of their forefathers, and inspired a warm attachment, both to the civil and the religious rights of human nature.

In the Southern Colonies, slavery nurtured a spirit of liberty among the free inhabitants. All masters of slaves who enjoy personal liberty will be both proud and jealous of their freedom. It is, in their opinion, not only an enjoyment, but a kind of rank and privilege. In them, the haughtiness of domination combines with the spirit of liberty. Nothing could more effectually animate the opposition of a planter to the claims of Great-Britain, than a conviction that those claims in their extent degraded him to a degree of dependence on his fellow subjects, equally humiliating with that which existed between his slaves and himself.

The state of society in the Colonies favoured a spirit of liberty and independence. Their inhabitants were all of one rank. Kings, nobles, and bishops, were unknown among them. From their first settlements, the English provinces received impressions favourable to democratic forms of government. Their dependent situation forbade any inordinate ambition, among their native sons, and the humility of their society, abstracted as they were from the splendour and amusements of the Old World, held forth few allurements to invite the residence of such from the Mother Country as aspired to hereditary honours. In modern Europe, the remains of the feudal system have occasioned an order of men superior to that of the commonalty, but, as few of that class

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migrated to the Colonies, they were settled with the yeomanry. Their inhabitants, unaccustomed to that distinction of ranks, which the policy of Europe has established, were strongly impressed with an opinion, that all men are by nature equal. They could not easily be persuaded that their grants of land, or their civil rights, flowed from the munificence of Princes. Many of them had never heard of Magna Charta, and those who knew the circumstances of the remarkable period of English history, when that was obtained, did not rest their claims to liberty and property on the transactions of that important day. They looked up to Heaven as the source of their rights, and claimed, not from the promises of kings, but from the parent of the universe. The political creed of an American Colonist was short but substantial. He believed that God made all mankind originally equal: that he endowed them with the rights of life, property, and as much liberty as was consistent with the rights of others. That he had bestowed on his vast family of the human race, the earth for their support, and that all government was a political institution between men naturally equal, not for the aggrandizement of one, or a few, but for the general happiness of the whole community. Impressed with sentiments of this kind, they grew up, from their earliest infancy, with that confidence which is well calculated to inspire a love for liberty, and a prepossession in favour of independence.

In consequence of the vast extent of vacant country, every Colonist was, or easily might be, a freeholder. Settled on lands of his own, he was both farmer and landlord---producing all the necessities of life from his own grounds, he felt himself both free and independent. Each individual might hunt, fish, or fowl, without injury to his neighbours. These immunities which, in old countries, are guarded by the sanction of penal laws, and monopolized by a few, are the common privileges of all in America. Colonists, growing up in the enjoyment of such rights, felt the restraint of law more feebly than they, who are educated in countries, where long habits have made submission familiar. The mind of man naturally relishes liberty---wherever from the extent of a new and unsettled country, some abridgements thereof are useless, and others impracticable, this natural desire of freedom is strengthened, and the independent mind revolts at the idea of subjection.

The Colonists were also preserved from the contagion of ministerial influence by their distance from the metropolis. Remote from the seat of power and corruption, they were not over-awed by the one, nor debauched by the other. Few were the means of detaching individuals from the interest of the public. High offices were neither sufficiently numerous nor lucrative to purchase many adherents, and the most valu-

able of these were conferred on natives of Britain. Every man occupied that rank only, which his own industry, or that of his near ancestors, had procured him. Each individual being cut off from all means of rising to importance, but by his personal talents, was encouraged to make the most of those with which he was endowed. Prospects of this kind excited emulation, and produced an enterprising laborious set of men, not easily overcome by difficulties, and full of projects for bettering their condition.

The enervating opulence of Europe had not yet reached the colonists. They were destitute of gold and silver, but abounded in the riches of nature. A sameness of circumstances and occupations created a great sense of equality, and disposed them to union in any common cause, from the success of which, they might expect to partake of equal advantages.

The Colonies were communities of separate independent individuals, under no general influence, but that of their personal feelings and opinions. They were not led by powerful families, nor by great officers in church or state. Residing chiefly on lands of their own, and employed in the wholesome labours of the field, they were in a great measure strangers to luxury. Their wants were few, and among the great bulk of the people, for the most part, supplied from their own grounds. Their enjoyments were neither far-fetched, nor dearly purchased, and were so moderate in their kind, as to leave both mind and body unimpaired. Inured from their early years to the toils of a country life, they dwelled in the midst of rural plenty. Unacquainted with ideal wants, they delighted in personal independence. Removed from the pressures of indigence, and the indulgence of affluence, their bodies were strong, and their minds vigorous.

The great bulk of the British colonists were farmers, or planters, who were also proprietors of the soil. The merchants, mechanics, and manufacturers, taken collectively, did not amount to one fifteenth of the whole number of the inhabitants. While the cultivators of the soil depend on nothing but Heaven and their own industry, other classes of men contract more or less of servility, from depending on the caprice of their customers. The excess of the farmers over the collective numbers of all the other inhabitants, gave a cast of independence to the manners of the people, and diffused the exalting sentiments, which have always predominated among those who are cultivators of their own grounds: these were farther promoted by their moderate circumstances, which deprived them of all superfluity for idleness, or effeminate indulgence.



The provincial constitutions of the English colonies nurtured a spirit of liberty. The king and government of Great Britain held no patronage in America, which could create a portion of attachment and influence, sufficient to counteract that spirit in popular assemblies, which, when left to itself, ill brooks any authority that interferes with its own.

The inhabitants of the colonies from the beginning, especially in New England, enjoyed a government which was but little short of being independent. They had not only the image, but the substance of the English constitution. They chose most of their magistrates, and paid them all. They had in effect the sole direction of their internal government. The chief mark of their subordination consisted in their making no laws repugnant to the laws of their mother country; in their submitting to have such laws as they made to be repealed by the king; and their obeying such restrictions as were laid on their trade by Parliament. The latter were often evaded, and with impunity. The other small checks were scarcely felt, and for a long time were in no respects injurious to their interests.

Under these favourable circumstances, colonies in the new world had advanced nearly to the magnitude of a nation, while the greatest part of Europe was almost wholly ignorant of their progress. Some arbitrary proceedings of governors, proprietary partialities, or democratical jealousies, now and then interrupted the political calm which generally prevailed among them, but these and other occasional impediments of their prosperity, for the most part, soon subsided. The circumstances of the country afforded but little scope for the intrigues of politicians, or the turbulence of demagogues. The colonists being but remotely affected by the bustlings of the old world, and having but few objects of ambition or contention among themselves, were absorbed in the ordinary cares of domestic life, and for a long time exempted from a great proportion of those evils, which the governed too often experience from the passions and follies of statesmen. But all this time they were rising higher, and though not sensible of it, growing to a greater degree of political consequence.

One of the first events which, as an evidence of their increasing importance, drew on the colonies a share of public attention, was the taking of Louisbourg, in the year 1745, from France, while that country was at war with Great Britain. This enterprise was projected by Governor Shirley, of Massachusetts, and undertaken by the sole authority of the legislature of that colony. It was carried by only a single vote to make the attempt; but after the adoption of the measure, there was an immediate union of all parties, and all were equally zealous in carrying it into execution. The expedition was committed to General



Pepperell, and upwards of five thousand men were speedily raised for the service, and put under his command. This force arrived at Canso on the 4th of April: a British marine force from the West-Indies, commanded by Commodore Warren, which arrived in the same month, acted in concert with these land forces. Their combined operations were carried on with so much judgment, that on the 17th of June the fortress capitulated.

The war in which Louisbourg was taken, was scarcely ended when another began, in which the colonies were distinguished parties. The reduction of that fortress, by colonial troops, must have given both to France and England, enlarged ideas of the value of American territory, and might have given rise to that eagerness for extending the boundaries of their respective colonies, which soon after, by a collision of claims to the same ground, laid the foundation of a bloody war between the two nations. It is neither possible nor necessary to decide on the rights of either to the lands about which this contest began. It is certain that the prospects of convenience and future advantage had much more influence on both, than the considerations of equity. As the contending powers considered the rights of the native inhabitants of no account, it is not wonderful that they should not agree in settling their own. The war was brought on in the following manner: about the year 1749, a grant of six hundred thousand acres of land in the neighbourhood of the Ohio, was made out in favour of certain persons in Westminster, London, and Virginia, who had associated under the title of the Ohio Company. At this time France was in possession of the country, on both sides of the mouth of the Mississippi, as well as of Canada, and wished to form a communication between these two extremities of her territories in North-America. She was, therefore, alarmed at the scheme in agitation by the Ohio Company inasmuch as the land granted to them lay between her northern and southern settlements. Remonstrances against British encroachments as they were called, having been made in vain by the Governor of Canada, the French, at length, in 1753, seized some British subjects who were trading among the Twightwees, a nation of Indians near the Ohio, as intruders on the land of his Most Christian Majesty, and sent them to a fort on the south side of Lake Erie. The Twightwees, by way of retaliation for capturing British traders, whom they deemed their allies, seized three French traders, and sent them to Pennsylvania. The French persisting in their claims to the country on the Ohio, as part of Canada, strengthened themselves by erecting new forts in its vicinity, and at length began to seize and plunder every British trader found on

any part of that river. Repeated complaints of these violences being made to the Governor of Virginia, it was at length determined to send a suitable person to the French commandant near the Ohio, to demand the reason of his hostile proceedings, and to insist on his evacuating a fort he had lately built. Major Washington, being then but little more than twenty-one years of age, offered his service, which was thankfully accepted. The distance to the French settlement was more than four hundred miles, and one half of the rout led through a wilderness, inhabited only by Indians. He nevertheless set out in an uncommonly severe season, attended only by one companion. From Winchester, he proceeded on foot, with his provisions on his back. When he arrived and delivered his message, the French commandant refused to comply, and claimed the country as belonging to the King his master, and declared that he should continue to seize and send as prisoners to Canada, every Englishman that should attempt to trade on the Ohio, or any of its branches. Before Major Washington returned, the Virginians had sent out workmen and materials, to erect a fort at the conflux of the Ohio, and the Monongahela. While they were engaged in this work, the French came upon them, drove them out of the country, and erected a regular fortification on the same spot. These spirited proceedings overset the schemes of the Ohio Company, but its members both in England and America were too powerful to brook the disappointment. It was therefore resolved to instruct the Colonies to oppose with arms the encroachments of the French on the British territories, as these western lands were called. In obedience to these instructions, Virginia raised three hundred men, put them under the command of Colonel Washington, and sent them on towards the Ohio. May 28, 1754, an engagement between them and a party of French took place, in which the latter were defeated. On this Mr. de Villier, the French commandant, marched down with nine hundred men, besides Indians, and attacked the Virginians. Colonel Washington made a brave defence, behind a small unfinished intrenchment, called Fort Neceffity; but at length accepted of honourable terms of capitulation.

From the eagerness discovered by both nations for these lands, it occurred to all, that a rupture between France and England could not be far distant. It was also evident to the rulers of the latter, that the Colonies would be the most convenient centre of operation for repressing French encroachments. To draw forth their Colonial resources, in an uniform system of operations, then, for the first time, became an object of public attention. To digest a plan for this purpose, a general meeting of the Governors, and most influential members of the Provincial Assemblies,

Assemblies, was held at Albany in 1754. The commissioners, at this congress, were unanimously of opinion, that an union of the Colonies was necessary, and they proposed a plan to the following effect, "that a grand council should be formed of members, to be chosen by the Provincial Assemblies, which council, together with a Governor, to be appointed by the Crown, should be authorized to make general laws, and also to raise money from all the Colonies for their common defence." The leading members of the Provincial Assemblies were of opinion, that if this plan was adopted, they could defend themselves from the French, without any assistance from Great Britain. This plan, when sent to England, was not acceptable to the Ministry, and in lieu thereof, they proposed, "that the Governors of all the Colonies attended by one or two members of their respective councils," which were for the most part of royal appointment, "should from time to time concert measures for the whole of the Colonies; erect forts, and raise troops with a power to draw upon the British treasury in the first instance: but to be ultimately re-imburshed by a tax to be laid on the Colonies by act of Parliament." This was as much disrelished by the Colonists, as the former plan had been by the British Ministry. The principle of some general power, operating on the whole of the Colonies, was still kept in mind, though dropped for the present.

The ministerial plan laid down above was transmitted to Governor Shirley, and by him communicated to Dr. Franklin, and his opinion thereon requested. That sagacious patriot sent to the Governor an answer in writing, with remarks upon the proposed plan, in which, by his strong reasoning powers, on the first view of the new subject, he anticipated the substance of a controversy, which for twenty years employed the tongues, pens, and swords of both countries.

The policy of repressing the encroachments of the French on the British Colonies was generally approved both in England and America. It was therefore resolved to take effectual measures for driving them from the Ohio, and also for reducing Niagara, Crown-Point, and the other posts, which they held within the limits claimed by the King of Great Britain.

To effect the first purpose, General Braddock was sent from Ireland to Virginia, with two regiments, and was there joined by as many more, as amounted in the whole, to two thousand two hundred men. He was a brave man, but destitute of the other qualifications of a great officer. His haughtiness disgusted the Americans, and his severity made him disagreeable to the regular troops. He particularly slighted the country militia, and the Virginia officers. Colonel Washington begged his per-

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mission to go before him, and scour the woods with his provincial troops, who were well acquainted with that service, but this was refused. The General with one thousand four hundred men pushed on incautiously, till he fell into an ambuscade of French and Indians, by whom he was defeated, and mortally wounded, June 9, 1755. The regulars, as the British troops at that time were called, were thrown into confusion, but the provincials more used to Indian fighting, were not so much disconcerted. They continued in an unbroken body under Colonel Washington, and by covering the retreat of the regulars, prevented their being cut off entirely.

Notwithstanding these hostilities, war had not yet been formally declared. Previous to the adoption of that measure, Great Britain, contrary to the usages of nations, made prisoners of eight thousand French sailors. This heavy blow for a long time crippled the naval operations of France, but at the same time inspired her with a desire to retaliate, whenever a proper opportunity should present itself. For two or three years after Braddock's defeat, the war was carried on against France without vigour or success: but when Mr. Pitt was placed at the head of the ministry, public affairs assumed a new aspect. Victory every where, crowned the British arms, and, in a short time, the French were dispossessed, not only of all the British territories on which they had encroached, but also of Quebec, the capital of their ancient province, Canada.

In the course of this war, some of the colonies made exertions so far beyond their reasonable quota, to merit a re-imbursment from the national treasury; but this was not universally the case. In consequence of internal disputes, together with their greater domestic security, the necessary supplies had not been raised in due time by others of the Provincial Assemblies. That a British Minister should depend on colony legislatures, for the execution of his plans, did not well accord with the vigorous and decisive genius of Mr. Pitt, but it was not prudent, by any innovation, to irritate the Colonies, during a war, in which, from local circumstances, their exertions were peculiarly beneficial. The advantages that would result from an ability to draw forth the resources of the Colonies, by the same authority, which commanded the wealth of the Mother Country, might in these circumstances have suggested the idea of taxing the Colonies by authority of the British parliament. Mr. Pitt is said to have told Mr. Franklin, "that when the war closed, if he should be in the ministry, he would take measures to prevent the Colonies from having a power to refuse or delay the supplies that might be wanted for national purposes," but did not mention what those measures



tures should be. As often as money or men were wanted from the Colonies, a requisition was made to their legislatures. These were generally and cheerfully complied with. Their exertions with a few exceptions were great, and manifested a serious desire to carry into effect the plans of Great Britain for reducing the power of France.

In the prosecution of this war, the advantages which Great Britain derived from the Colonies were severely felt by her enemies. Upwards of four hundred privateers, which were fitted out of the ports of the British Colonies successfully cruized on French property. These not only ravaged the West India islands belonging to his most Christian Majesty, but made many captures on the coast of France. Besides distressing the French nation by privateering, the Colonies furnished twenty-three thousand eight hundred men, to co-operate with the British regular forces in North-America. They also sent powerful aids, both in men and provisions, out of their own limits which facilitated the reduction of Martinique, and of the Havannah. The success of their privateers—the co-operation of their land forces—the convenience of their harbours, and their contiguity to the West India islands, made the Colonies great acquisitions to Britain, and formidable adversaries to France. From their growing importance the latter had much to fear. Their continued union with Great Britain threatened the subversion of the commerce and American possessions of France.

After hostilities had raged nearly eight years, in 1763 a general peace was concluded, on terms, by which France ceded Canada to Great Britain. The Spaniards having also taken part in the war, were, at the termination of it, induced to relinquish to the same power, both East and West Florida. This peace gave Great Britain possession of an extent of country equal in dimensions to several kingdoms of Europe. The possession of Canada in the North, and of the two Floridas in the South, made her almost sole mistress of the North-American continent.

This laid the foundation of future greatness, which excited the envy and the fears of Europe. Her navy, her commerce, and her manufactures, had greatly increased, when she held but a part of the continent, and when she was bounded by the formidable powers of France and Spain. Her probable future greatness, when without a rival, and with a growing vent for her manufactures, and increasing employment for her marine, threatened to destroy that balance of power, which European sovereigns have for a long time endeavoured to preserve. Kings are republicans with respect to each other, and behold with democratic jealousy, any one of their order towering above the rest. The aggrandizement of one, tends to excite the combination, or, at least, the wishes of many,

to reduce him to the common level. From motives of this kind, a great part of Europe not long since combined against Venice; and soon after against Louis XIVth of France. With the same suspicious eye was the naval superiority of Great Britain viewed by her neighbours. They were, in general, disposed to favour any convulsion which promised a diminution of her overgrown power.

The addition to the British empire of new provinces, equal in extent to old kingdoms, not only excited the jealousy of European powers, but occasioned doubts in the minds of enlightened British politicians, whether or not such immense acquisitions of territory would contribute to the felicity of the Parent State. They saw, or thought they saw, the seeds of disunion planted in the too widely extended empire. Power, like all things human, has its limits, and there is a point beyond which the longest and sharpest sword fails of doing execution. To combine in one uniform system of government, the extensive territory then subjected to the British sway appeared to men of reflection, a work of doubtful practicability: nor were they mistaken in their conjectures.

The seeds of discord were soon planted, and speedily grew up to the rending of the empire. The high notions of liberty and independence, which were nurtured in the Colonies, by their local situation, and the state of society in the new world, were increased by the removal of hostile neighbours. The events of the war had also given them some experience in military operations, and some confidence in their own ability. Foreseeing their future importance, from the rapid increase of their numbers, and extension of their commerce, and being extremely jealous of their rights, they readily admitted, and with pleasure indulged, ideas and sentiments which were favourable to independence. While combustible materials were daily collecting, in the new world, a spark to kindle the whole was produced in the old. Nor were there wanting those who, from a jealousy of Great Britain, helped to fan the flame.

From the first settlement of English America, till the close of the war of 1755, the conduct of Great Britain towards her Colonies affords an useful lesson to those who are disposed to colonisation. From that era, it is equally worthy of the attention of those who wish for the reduction of great empires to small ones. In the first period, Great Britain regarded the provinces as instruments of commerce. Without charging herself with the care of their internal police, or seeking a revenue from them, she contented herself with a monopoly of their trade. She treated them as a judicious mother does her dutiful children. They shared in every privilege belonging to her native sons, and but slightly felt the inconveniences of subordination. Small was the catalogue of grievances with which

even democratical jealousy charged the Parent State, antecedent to the period before mentioned. The following appear to have been the chief. An act of the British Parliament for prohibiting the cutting down pitch and tar trees, not being within a fence or enclosure, and sundry acts which operated against colonial manufactures. By one of these, it was made illegal after the 24th of June, 1750, to erect in the Colonies, any mill or other engine for slitting or rolling of iron, or any plating forge to work with a tilt-hammer, or any furnace for making steel. By another, hatters were restrained from taking more than two apprentices at a time, or any for less than seven years, and from employing negroes in the business. The Colonists were also prohibited from transporting hats, and home manufactured woollens, from one province to another. These regulations were for the most part evaded, but if carried into execution, would have been slightly inconvenient, and only to a few. The articles, the manufacturing of which were thus prohibited, could be purchased at a cheaper rate from England, and the hands who made them, could be as well employed in agriculture.

Though these restrictions were a species of affront, by their implying, that the Colonists had not sense enough to discover their own interest, and though they seemed calculated to crush their native talents, and to keep them in a constant state of inferiority, without any hope of arriving at those advantages, to which, by the native riches of their country, they were prompted to aspire; yet if no other grievances had been superadded to what existed in 1763, these would have been soon forgotten, for their pressure was neither great, nor universal. The good resulting to the colonies, from their connection with Great Britain, infinitely outweighed the evil.

Till the year 1764, the colonial regulations seemed to have no other object but the common good of the whole empire; exceptions to the contrary were few, and had no appearance of system. When the approach of the Colonies to manhood made them more capable of resisting impositions. Great Britain changed the ancient system, under which her Colonies had long flourished. When policy would rather have dictated relaxation of authority, she rose in her demand, and multiplied her restraints.

From the conquest of Canada, in 1759, some have supposed, that France began secretly to lay schemes for wresting those Colonies from Great Britain which she was not able to conquer. Others alledge, that from that period the Colonists, released from all fears of dangerous neighbours, fixed their eyes on independence, and took sundry steps preparatory to the adoption of that measure. Without recurring to either of these opinions, the known selfishness of human nature is sufficient to



account for that demand on the one side, and that refusal on the other, which occasioned the revolution. It was natural for Great Britain to wish for an extension of her authority over the Colonies, and equally so for them, on their approach to maturity, to be more impatient of subordination, and to resist every innovation, for increasing the degree of their dependence.

The sad story of Colonial oppression commenced in the year 1764. Great Britain then adopted new regulations respecting her Colonies, which after disturbing the ancient harmony of the two countries for about twelve years, terminated in the dismemberment of the empire.

These consisted in restricting their former commerce, but more especially in subjecting them to taxation, by the British Parliament. By adhering to the spirit of the navigation act, in the course of a century, the trade of Great Britain had increased far beyond the expectation of her most sanguine sons, but by rigidly enforcing the strict letter of the same, in a different situation of public affairs, effects directly the reverse were produced.

From the enterprising commercial spirit of the colonists, the trade of America, after filling all its proper channels, swelled out on every side, and overflowed its proper banks with a rich redundancy. In the cure of evils, which are closely connected with the causes of national prosperity, vulgar precaution ought not to be employed. In severely checking a contraband trade, which was only the overflowing of an extensive fair trade, the remedy was worse than the disease.

For some time before and after the termination of the war of 1755, a considerable intercourse had been carried on between the British and Spanish Colonies, consisting of the manufactures of Great Britain, imported by the former, and sold by the latter, by which the British Colonies acquired gold and silver, and were enabled to make remittances to the Mother Country. This trade, though it did not clash with the spirit of the British navigation laws, was forbidden by their letter. On account of the advantages which all parties, and particularly Great Britain, reaped from this intercourse, it had long been winked at by persons in power; but at the period before-mentioned, some new regulations were adopted, by which it was almost destroyed. This was effected by armed cutters, whose commanders were enjoined to take the usual custom-house oaths, and to act in the capacity of revenue officers. So sudden a stoppage of an accustomed and beneficial commerce, by an unusually rigid execution of old laws, was a serious blow to the Northern Colonies. It was their misfortune, that though they stood in need of vast quantities of British manufactures, their country produced very



little that afforded a direct remittance to pay for them. They were, therefore, under a necessity of seeking elsewhere, a market for their produce, and by a circuitous route, acquiring the means of supporting their credit with the Mother Country. This they found by trading with the Spanish and French Colonies in their neighbourhood. From them they acquired gold, silver, and valuable commodities, the ultimate profits of which centered in Great Britain. This intercourse gave life to business of every denomination, and established a reciprocal circulation of money and merchandize, to the benefit of all parties concerned. Why a trade essential to the Colonies, and which, so far from being detrimental, was indirectly advantageous to Great Britain, should be so narrowly watched and so severely restrained, could not be accounted for by the Americans, without supposing that the rulers of Great Britain were jealous of their adventurous commercial spirit, and of their increasing number of seamen. Their actual sufferings were great, but their apprehensions were greater. Instead of viewing the Parent State as they had long done, in the light of an affectionate mother, they conceived her, as beginning to be influenced by the narrow views of an illiberal step-dame.

After the 29th of September, 1764, the trade between the British, and the French, and Spanish Colonies, was in some degree legalised, but under circumstances, that brought no relief to the Colonists, for it was loaded with such enormous duties, as were equivalent to a prohibition. The preamble to the act for this purpose was alarming, "Whereas it is just and necessary, that a revenue be raised in America, for defraying the expences of defending, protecting, and securing the same, We, the Commons, &c. towards raising the same, give and grant unto your Majesty, the sum of" (here followed a specification of duties upon foreign clayed sugar, indigo, and coffee, of foreign produce, upon all wines, except French, upon all wrought silk, and all calicoes, and upon every gallon of melasses and syrups, being the produce of a colony not under the dominion of his Majesty). It was also enacted, that the monies arising from the importation of these articles into the Colonies, should be paid into the receipt of his Majesty's exchequer, there to be entered separate, and reserved, to be disposed of by Parliament towards defraying the necessary expences of defending, protecting, and securing America. Till that act passed, no act avowedly for the purpose of revenue, and with the ordinary title and recital of such, was to be found in the parliamentary statute book. The wording of it made the Colonists fear, that the Parliament would go on, in charging them with such taxes as they pleased, and for the support of such military force as they should think proper. The act was the more disgusting, because the mo-  
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nies arising from it were ordered to be paid in specie, and regulations were adopted, against colonial paper money. To obstruct the avenues of acquiring gold and silver, and at the same time to interdict the use of paper money, appeared to the Colonists as a farther evidence that their interests were either misunderstood or disregarded. The imposition of duties, for the purpose of raising a revenue in America, was considered as a dangerous innovation, but the methods adopted for securing their collection, were resented as arbitrary and unconstitutional. It was enacted by Parliament, that whenever offences should be committed against the acts, which imposed them, the prosecutor might bring his action for the penalty in the courts of admiralty, by which means the defendant lost the advantage of being tried by a jury, and was subjected to the necessity of having his case decided upon by a single man, a creature of the crown, whose salary was to be paid out of forfeitures adjudged by himself; and also according to a course of law, which exempted the prosecutor from the trouble of proving his accusation, and obliged the defendant, either to evince his innocence, or to suffer. By these regulations, the guards which the constitution had placed round property, and the fences which the ancestors of both countries had erected against arbitrary power, were thrown down, as far as they concerned the Colonists, charged with violating the laws, for raising a revenue in America.

They who directed public affairs in Great Britain feared, that if the collection of these duties was enforced only in the customary way, payment would be often eluded. To obviate that disposition which the Colonists discovered to screen one another, in disobeying offensive acts of Parliament, regulations were adopted, bearing hard on their constitutional rights. Unwilling as the Colonists were to be excluded by the imposition of enormous duties, from an accustomed and beneficial line of business, it is not wonderful that they were disposed to represent the innovations of the mother country in the most unfavourable point of view. The heavy losses to which many individuals were subjected, and the general distress of the mercantile interest in several of the oldest Colonies, soured the minds of many. That the Mother Country should infringe her own constitution, to cramp the commerce of her Colonies, was a fruitful subject of declamation; but these murmurings would have evaporated in words, had Great Britain proceeded to no farther innovations. Instead of this, she adopted the novel idea of raising from the Colonies an efficient revenue, by direct internal taxes, laid by authority of her Parliament.

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Though all the Colonists disrelifhed, and many, from the preffure of actual fufferings, complained of the British reffrictions on their manufactures and commerce, yet a great majority was difpofed to fubmit to both. Mof of them acknowledged that the exercife of thefe powers was incident to the fovereignty of the Mother Country, efpecially when guarded by an implied contract, that they were to be only ufed for the common benefit of the empire. It was generally allowed, that as the planting of colonies was not defigned to erect an independant government, but to extend an old one, the Parent State had a right to reffrain their trade in every way, which conduced to the common emolument.

They for the moft part confidered the Mother Country as authorized to name ports and nations, to which alone their merchandize fhould be carried, and with which alone they fhould trade: but the novel claim of taxing them without their confent, was univerfally reprobated, as contrary to their natural, chartered, and conftitutional rights. In oppofition to it, they not only alledged the general principles of liberty, but ancient ufage. During the firft hundred and fifty years of their exiftence, they had been left to tax themfelves and in their own way. If there were any exceptions to this general rule, they were too inconfiderable to merit notice. In the war of 1755, the events of which were frefh in the recollection of every one, the Parliament had in no inftance attempted to raife either men or money in the Colonies by its own authority. As the claim of taxation on one fide, and the refufal of it on the other, was the very hinge on which the revolution turned, it merits a particular difcuffion.

Colonies were formerly planted by warlike nations, to keep their enemies in awe, to give vent to a furplus of inhabitants, or to difcharge a number of difcontented and troublefome citizens. But in modern ages, the fpirit of violence, being in fome meafure fheathed in commerce, colonies have been fettled, by the nations of Europe, for the purpofes of trade. Thefe were to be attained by their raifing, for the Mother Country, fuch commodities as ſhe did not produce, and fupplying themfelves from her with fuch things as they wanted. In fubferviency to thefe views, Great Britain planted Colonies, and made laws, obliging them to carry to her all their products which ſhe wanted, and all their raw materials which ſhe chofe to work up. Befides this reffriction, ſhe forbade them to procure manufacturers from any other part of the globe, or even the products of European countries, which could rival her, without being firft brought to her ports. By a variety of laws ſhe regulated their trade, in fuch a manner, as was thought moft conducive to their mutual advantage, and her own particular welfare.

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This principle of commercial monopoly run through no less than twenty-nine acts of Parliament, from 1660 to 1764. In all these acts the system of commerce was established, as that, from which alone, their contributions to the strength of the empire were expected. During this whole period, a parliamentary revenue was no part of the object of colonisation. Accordingly, in all the laws which regarded them, the technical words of revenue laws were avoided, Such have usually a title purporting their being "grants," and the words "give and grant," usually precede their enacting clauses, Although duties were imposed on America by previous acts of Parliament, no one title of "giving an aid to his Majesty," or any other of the usual titles to the revenue acts, was to be found in any of them. They were intended as regulations of trade, and not as sources of national supplies. Till the year 1764, all stood on commercial regulation and restraint.

While Great Britain attended to this first system of colonisation, her American settlements, though exposed in unknown climates, and unexplored wildernesses, grew and flourished, and in the same proportion the trade and riches of the Mother Country increased. Some estimate may be made of this increase, from the following statement; the whole export trade of England, including that to the Colonies, in the year 1704, amounted to £.6,509,000 sterling: but so immensely had the Colonies increased, that the exports to them alone in the year 1772, amounted to £.6,022,132 sterling, and they were yearly increasing. In the short space of sixty-eight years, the Colonies added nearly as much to the export commerce of Great Britain, as she had grown to by a progressive increase of improvement in 1700 years. And this increase of colonial trade was not at the expence of the general trade of the kingdom, for that increased in the same time from six millions to sixteen millions.

In this auspicious period, the Mother Country contented herself with exercising her supremacy in superintending the general concerns of the Colonies, and in harmonising the commercial interest of the whole empire. To this the most of them bowed down with such a filial submission as demonstrated that they, though not subjected to parliamentary taxes, could be kept in due subordination, and in perfect subserviency to the grand views of colonisation.

Immediately after the peace of Paris, 1763, a new scene was opened. The national debt of Great Britain then amounted to one hundred and forty-eight millions, for which an interest of nearly five millions was annually paid. While the British Minister was digesting plans for diminishing this amazing load of debt, he conceived the idea of raising a sub-



substantial revenue in the British Colonies, from taxes laid by the Parliament of the Parent State. On the one hand it was urged, that the late war originated on account of the Colonies—that it was reasonable, more especially as it had terminated in a manner so favourable to their interest, that they should contribute to the defraying the expences it had occasioned. Thus far both parties were agreed; but Great Britain contended, that her Parliament, as the supreme power, was constitutionally vested with an authority to lay them on every part of the empire. This doctrine, plausible in itself, and conformable to the letter of the British constitution, when the whole dominions were represented in one assembly, was reprobated in the Colonies, as contrary to the spirit of the same government, when the empire became so far extended, as to have many distinct representative assemblies. The colonists believed that the chief excellence of the British constitution consisted in the right of the subjects to grant, or withhold taxes, and in their having a share in enacting the laws by which they were to be bound.

They conceived, that the superiority of the British constitution, to other forms of government was, not because their supreme council was called a Parliament, but because the people had a share in it by appointing members, who constituted one of its constituent branches, and without whose concurrence, no law, binding on them, could be enacted. In the Mother Country, it was asserted to be essential to the unity of the empire, that the British Parliament should have a right of taxation over every part of the royal dominions. In the Colonies, it was believed, that taxation and representation were inseparable, and that they could neither be free nor happy if their property could be taken from them without their consent. The common people in America reasoned on this subject in a summary way: “If a British Parliament,” said they, “in which we are unrepresented, and over which we have no controul, can take from us any part of our property, by direct taxation, they may take as much as they please, and we have no security for any thing that remains, but a forbearance on their part, less likely to be exercised in our favour, as they lighten themselves of the burthens of government, in the same proportion that they impose them on us.” They well knew, that communities of mankind, as well as individuals, have a strong propensity to impose on others, when they can do it with impunity, and, especially, when there is a prospect, that the imposition will be attended with advantage to themselves. The Americans, from that jealousy of their liberties which their local situation nurtured, and which they inherited from their forefathers, viewed the exclusive right of laying taxes on themselves, free from extraneous influence, in the same light as the

British Parliament views its peculiar privilege of raising money, independent of the crown. The Parent State appeared to the Colonists to stand in the same relation to their local legislatures, as the monarch of Great Britain to the British Parliament. His prerogative is limited by that palladium of the people's liberty, the exclusive privilege of granting their own money. While this right rests in the hands of the people their liberties are secured. In the same manner reasoned the Colonists, "in order to be styled freemen, our local assemblies, elected by ourselves, must enjoy the exclusive privilege of imposing taxes upon us." They contended, that men settled in foreign parts to better their condition, and not to submit their liberties—to continue the equals, not to become the slaves of their less-adventurous fellow-citizens, and that by the novel doctrine of parliamentary power, they were degraded from being the subjects of a king, to the low condition of being subjects of subjects. They argued, that it was essentially involved in the idea of property, that the possessor had such a right therein, that it was a contradiction to suppose any other man, or body of men, possessed a right to take it from him without his consent. Precedents, in the History of England, justified this mode of reasoning. The love of property strengthened it, and it had a peculiar force on the minds of Colonists, three thousand miles removed from the seat of government, and growing up to maturity, in a new world, where, from the extent of country, and the state of society, even the necessary restraints of civil government were impatiently borne. On the other hand, the people of Great-Britain revolted against the claims of the Colonists. Educated in habits of submission to parliamentary taxation, they conceived it to be the height of contumacy for their Colonists to refuse obedience to the power, which they had been taught to revere. Not adverting to the common interest which existed between the people of Great-Britain and their representatives, they believed, that the same right existed, although the same community of interests was wanting. The pride of an opulent, conquering nation, aided this mode of reasoning. "What," said they, "shall we, who have so lately humbled France and Spain, be dictated to by our Colonists? Shall our subjects, educated by our care, and defended by our arms, presume to question the rights of Parliament, to which we are obliged to submit?" Reflections of this kind, congenial to the natural vanity of the human heart, operated so extensively, that the people of Great Britain spoke of their Colonies and of their Colonists, as a kind of possession annexed to their persons. The love of power and of property on the one side of the Atlantic were opposed by the same powerful passions on the other.

The disposition to tax the Colonies was also strengthened by exaggerated accounts of their wealth. It was said, "that the American planters lived in affluence, and with inconsiderable taxes, while the inhabitants of Great Britain were borne down by such oppressive burdens as to make a bare subsistence a matter of extreme difficulty." The officers who had served in America, during the late war, contributed to this delusion. Their observations were founded on what they had seen in cities, and at a time, when large sums were spent by government, in support of fleets and armies, and when American commodities were in great demand. To treat with attention those who came to fight for them, and also to gratify their own pride, the Colonists had made a parade of their riches, by frequently and sumptuously entertaining the gentlemen of the British army. These, judging from what they saw, without considering the general state of the country, concurred in representing the Colonists as very able to contribute largely towards defraying the common expences of the empire.

The charters, which were supposed to contain the principles on which the Colonies were founded, became the subject of serious investigation on both sides. One clause was found to run through the whole of them, except that which had been granted to Mr. Penn; this was a declaration, "that the emigrants to America should enjoy the same privileges, as if they had remained, or had been born within the realm;" but such was the subtilty of disputants, that both parties construed this general principle so as to favour their respective opinions. The American patriots contended, that as English freeholders could not be taxed but by representatives, in chusing whom they had a vote, neither could the Colonists: but it was replied, that if the Colonists had remained in England, they must have been bound to pay the taxes imposed by Parliament. It was therefore inferred, that though taxed by that authority, they lost none of the rights of native Englishmen residing at home. The partisans of the Mother Country could see nothing in charters, but security against taxes by royal authority. The Americans, adhering to the spirit more than to the letter, viewed their charters as a shield against all taxes, not imposed by representatives of their own choice. This construction they contended to be expressly recognized by the charter of Maryland. In that, King Charles bound both himself and his successors, not to assent to any bill, subjecting the inhabitants to internal taxation by external legislation.

The nature and extent of the connection between Great Britain and America was a great constitutional question, involving many interests, and the general principles of civil liberty. To decide this, recourse was



in vain had to parchment authorities, made at a distant time, when neither the grantors nor grantees of American territory had in contemplation any thing like the present state of the two countries.

Great and flourishing Colonies, daily increasing in numbers, and already grown to the magnitude of a nation, planted at an immense distance, and governed by constitutions resembling that of the country from which they sprung, were novelties in the history of the world. To combine Colonies, so circumstanced, in one uniform system of government with the Parent State, required a great knowledge of mankind, and an extensive comprehension of things. It was an arduous business, far beyond the grasp of ordinary statesmen, whose minds were narrowed by the formalities of laws, or the trammels of office. An original genius, unfettered with precedents, and exalted with just ideas of the rights of human nature, and the obligations of universal benevolence, might have struck out a middle line, which would have secured as much liberty to the Colonies, and as great a degree of supremacy to the Parent State, as their common good required: But the helm of Great Britain was not in such hands. The spirit of the British constitution on the one hand revolted at the idea, that the British Parliament should exercise the same unlimited authority over the unrepresented Colonies, which it exercised over the inhabitants of Great Britain. The Colonists on the other hand did not claim a total exemption from its authority. They in general allowed the Mother Country a certain undefined prerogative over them, and acquiesced in the right of Parliament to make many acts, binding them in many subjects of internal policy, and regulating their trade. Where parliamentary supremacy ended, and at what point colonial independency began, was not ascertained. Happy would it have been had the question never been agitated, but much more so, had it been compromised by an amicable compact, without the horrors of a civil war.

The English Colonies were originally established, not for the sake of revenue, but on the principles of a commercial monopoly. While England pursued trade and forgot revenue, her commerce increased at least fourfold. The Colonies took off the manufactures of Great Britain, and paid for them with provisions or raw materials. They united their arms in war, their commerce and their councils in peace, without nicely investigating the terms on which the connection of the two countries depended.

A perfect calm in the political world is not long to be expected. The reciprocal happiness, both of Great Britain and of the Colonies, was too great to be of long duration. The calamities of the war of 1755 had



scarcely ended, when the germ of another war was planted, which soon grew up and produced deadly fruit.

At that time (1764) sundry resolutions passed the British Parliament relative to the imposition of a stamp duty in America, which gave a general alarm. By them the right, the equity, the policy, and even the necessity of taxing the Colonies was formally avowed. These resolutions being considered as the preface of a system of American revenue, were deemed an introduction to evils of much greater magnitude. They opened a prospect of oppression, boundless in extent, and endless in duration. They were nevertheless not immediately followed by any legislative act. Time and an invitation were given to the Americans to suggest any other mode of taxation that might be equivalent in its produce to the stamp act: but they objected, not only to the mode, but the principle, and several of their assemblies, though in vain, petitioned against it. An American revenue was in England a very popular measure. The cry in favour of it was so strong, as to confound and silence the voice of petitions to the contrary. The equity of compelling the Americans to contribute to the common expences of the empire satisfied many, who, without enquiring into the policy or justice of taxing their unrepresented fellow-subjects, readily assented to the measures adopted by the Parliament for this purpose. The prospect of easing their own burdens, at the expence of the Colonists, dazzled the eyes of gentlemen of landed interest, so as to keep out of their view the probable consequences of the innovation.

The omnipotence of Parliament was so familiar a phrase on both sides of the Atlantic, that few in America, and still fewer in Great Britain, were impressed in the first instance, with any idea of the illegality of taxing the Colonies.

The illumination on that subject was gradual. The resolutions in favour of an American stamp act, which passed in March 1764, met with no opposition. In the course of the year which intervened between these resolutions, and the passing of a law grounded upon them, the subject was better understood, and constitutional objections against the measure were urged by several both in Great Britain and America. This astonished and chagrined the British ministry; but as the principle of taxing America had been for some time determined upon, they were unwilling to give it up. Impelled by a partiality for a long cherished idea, Mr. Grenville brought into the House of Commons his long expected bill, for laying a stamp duty in America. March, 1765. By this, after passing through the usual forms, it was enacted, that the instruments of writing which are in daily use among a commercial people, should

should be null and void, unless they were executed on stamped paper or parchment, charged with a duty imposed by the British Parliament.

When the bill was brought in, Mr. Charles Townsend concluded a speech in its favour, with words to the following effect, "And now will these Americans, children planted by our care, nourished up by our indulgence, till they are grown to a degree of strength and opulence, and protected by our arms, will they grudge to contribute their mite to relieve us from the heavy weight of that burden which we lie under?" To which Colonel Barré replied, "They planted by your care? No, your oppressions planted them in America. They fled from tyranny to a then uncultivated and inhospitable country, where they exposed themselves to almost all the hardships to which human nature is liable; and, among others, to the cruelty of a savage foe the most subtle, and I will take upon me to say, the most formidable of any people upon the face of the earth; and yet, actuated by principles of true English liberty, they met all hardships with pleasure compared with those they suffered in their own country, from the hands of those that should have been their friends—They nourished up by your indulgence? They grew up by your neglect of them. As soon as you began to care about them, that care was exercised in sending persons to rule them in one department and another, who were, perhaps, the deputies of deputies to some members of this House, sent to spy out their liberties, to misrepresent their actions, and to prey upon them.—Men whose behaviour on many occasions, has caused the blood of these sons of liberty to recoil within them.—Men promoted to the highest seats of justice, some, who to my knowledge, were glad, by going to a foreign country, to escape being brought to the bar of a court of justice in their own.—They protected by your arms; They have nobly taken up arms in your defence, have exerted a valour, amidst their constant and laborious industry, for the defence of a country whose frontier was drenched in blood, while its interior parts yielded all its little savings to your emolument. And believe me, remember I this day told you so, that same spirit of freedom which actuated that people at first will accompany them still: but prudence forbids me to explain myself farther. God knows, I do not at this time speak from any motives of party heat; what I deliver are the genuine sentiments of my heart. However superior to me in general knowledge and experience the respectable body of this House may be, yet I claim to know more of America than most of you, having seen and been conversant in that country. The people, I believe, are as truly  
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loyal as any subjects the King has, but a people jealous of their liberties, and who will vindicate them, if ever they should be violated: but the subject is too delicate—I will say no more.”

During the debate on the bill, the supporters of it insisted much on the Colonies being virtually represented in the same manner as Leeds, Halifax, and some other towns were. A recurrence to this plea was a virtual acknowledgement, that there ought not to be taxation without representation. It was replied, that the connexion between the electors and non-electors, of Parliament in Great Britain was so interwoven, from both being equally liable to pay the same common tax, as to give some security of property to the latter; but with respect to taxes laid by the British Parliament, and paid by the Americans, the situation of the parties was reversed. Instead of both parties bearing a proportionable share of the same common burden, what was laid on the one, was exactly so much taken off from the other.

The bill met with no opposition in the House of Lords, and on the 22d of March, 1765, it received the royal assent. The night after it passed, Dr. Franklin, wrote to Mr. Charles Thomson, “The sun of liberty is set, you must light up the candles of industry and economy.” Mr. Thomson answered, “He was apprehensive that other lights would be the consequence,” and foretold the opposition that shortly took place. On its being suggested from authority, that the stamp officers would not be sent from Great Britain; but selected from among the Americans, the Colony agents were desired to point out proper persons for the purpose. They generally nominated their friends, which affords a presumptive proof, that they supposed the act would have gone down. In this opinion they were far from being singular. That the Colonists would be ultimately obliged to submit to the stamp act, was at first commonly believed, both in England and America. The framers of it, in particular, flattered themselves that the confusion which would arise upon the disuse of writings, and the insecurity of property, which would result from using any other than that required by law, would compel the Colonies, however reluctant, to use the stamp paper, and consequently to pay the taxes imposed thereon: they therefore boasted that it was a law which would execute itself. By the terms of the stamp act, it was not to take effect till the first day of November, a period of more than seven months after its passing. This gave the Colonists an opportunity for leisurely canvassing the new subject, and examining it fully on every side. In the first part of this interval, struck with astonishment, they lay in silent consternation, and could not determine what course to pursue. By

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degrees they recovered their recollection. Virginia led the way in opposition to the stamp act. Mr. Patrick Henry brought into the House of Burgesses of that Colony, the following resolutions, which were substantially adopted:

Resolved, That the first adventurers, settlers of this his Majesty's Colony and dominion of Virginia, brought with them and transmitted to their posterity, and all other his Majesty's subjects, since inhabiting in this his Majesty's said Colony, all the liberties, privileges, and immunities that have at any time been held, enjoyed, and possessed by the people of Great Britain.

Resolved, That by two royal charters, granted by King James the First, the Colonies aforesaid are declared, and entitled to all liberties, privileges, and immunities of denizens, and natural subjects, to all intents and purposes as if they had been abiding, and born within the realm of England.

Resolved, That his Majesty's liege people, of this his ancient colony, have enjoyed the rights of being thus governed by their own assembly, in the article of taxes, and internal police, and that the same have never been forfeited, or yielded up, but have been constantly recognized by the king and people of Britain.

Resolved, therefore, That the general assembly of this Colony, together with his Majesty, or his substitutes, have, in their representative capacity, the only exclusive right and power, to lay taxes and imposts upon the inhabitants of this Colony, and that every attempt to vest such power in any other person or persons whatsoever, than the general assembly aforesaid, is illegal, and unconstitutional, and unjust, and hath a manifest tendency to destroy British, as well as American liberty.

Resolved, That his Majesty's liege people, the inhabitants of this Colony, are not bound to yield obedience to any law or ordinance whatever, designed to impose any taxation whatever upon them, other than the laws or ordinances of the general assembly aforesaid.

Resolved, That any person, who shall, by speaking or writing, assert or maintain, that any person or persons, other than the general assembly of this Colony, have any right or power to impose, or lay any taxation on the people here, shall be deemed an enemy to this his Majesty's Colony.

Upon reading these resolutions, the boldness and novelty of them affected one of the members to such a degree, that he cried out, "Treason! Treason!" They were, nevertheless, well received by the people, and immediately forwarded to the other provinces. They circulated



culated extensively, and gave a spring to all the discontented. Till they appeared, most were of opinion, that the act would be quietly adopted. Murmurs, indeed, were common, but they seemed to be such, as would soon die away. The countenance of so respectable a Colony as Virginia, confirmed the wavering, and emboldened the timid. Opposition to the stamp act, from that period, assumed a bolder face. The fire of liberty blazed forth from the press; some well-judged publications set the rights of the Colonists in a plain, but strong point of view. The tongues and the pens of the well-informed citizens laboured in kindling the latent sparks of patriotism. The flame spread from breast to breast, till the conflagration became general. In this business, New-England had a principal share. The inhabitants of that part of America, in particular, considered their obligations to the mother-country for past favours, to be very inconsiderable. They were fully informed, that their forefathers were driven by persecution to the woods of America, and had there, without any expence to the parent state, effected a settlement amidst rude creation. Their resentment for the invasion of their accustomed right of taxation was not so much mitigated by the recollection of late favours, as it was heightened by the tradition of grievous sufferings, to which their ancestors, by the rulers of England, had been subjected. The descendants of the exiled, persecuted, Puritans, of the last century, opposed the stamp act with the same spirit with which their forefathers were actuated, when they set themselves against the arbitrary impositions of the house of Stuart.

The heavy burdens, which the operation of the stamp act would have imposed on the Colonists, together with the precedent it would establish of future exactions, furnished the American patriots with arguments, calculated as well to move the passions, as to convince the judgments of their Fellow Colonists. In great warmth they exclaimed, "If the Parliament has a right to level the stamp duties, they may, by the same authority, lay on us imposts, excises, and other taxes, without end, till their rapacity is satisfied, or our abilities are exhausted. We cannot at future elections, displace these men, who so lavishly grant away our property. Their seats and their power are independent of us, and it will rest with their generosity where to stop, in transferring the expences of government from their own to our shoulders."

It was fortunate for the liberties of America, that news-papers were the subject of a heavy stamp duty. Printers, when uninfluenced by government, have generally arranged themselves on the side of liberty,

nor are they less remarkable for attention to the profits of their profession. A stamp duty, which openly invaded the first, and threatened a great diminution of the last, provoked their united zealous opposition. They daily presented to the public, original dissertations, tending to prove, that if the stamp act was suffered to operate, the liberties of America were at an end, and their property virtually transferred to their Trans-Atlantic fellow-subjects. The writers among the Americans, seriously alarmed for the fate of their country, came forward, with essays, to prove, that agreeable to the British Constitution, taxation and representation were inseparable, that the only constitutional mode of raising money from the Colonists was by acts of their own legislatures, that the Crown possessed no farther power than that of regulation, and that the parliamentary right of taxation was confined to the Mother Country, and there originated, from the natural right of man, to do what he pleased with his own, transferred by consent from the electors of Great Britain to those whom they chose to represent them in parliament. They also insisted much on the misapplication of public money by the British ministry. Great pains were taken to inform the Colonists of the large sums annually bestowed on pensioned favourites, and for the various purposes of bribery. Their passions were enflamed by high-coloured representations of the hardship of being obliged to pay the earnings of their industry into a British treasury, well known to be a fund for corruption.

The writers on the American side were opposed by arguments, drawn from the unity of the Empire; the necessity of one supreme head, the unlimited power of parliament, and the great numbers in the Mother Country, who, though legally disqualified from voting at elections, were, nevertheless, bound to pay the taxes imposed by the representatives of the nation. To these objections it was replied, that the very idea of subordination of parts excluded the notion of simple, undivided unity. That as England was the head, she could not be the head and the members too—that in all extensive empires, where the dead uniformity of servitude did not prevent, the subordinate parts had many local privileges and immunities—that between these privileges and the supreme common authority, the line was extremely nice; but nevertheless, the supremacy of the head had an ample field of exercise, without arrogating to itself the disposal of the property of the unrepresented subordinate parts. To the assertion, that the power of parliament was unlimited, the Colonists replied, that before it could constitutionally exercise that power, it must be constitutionally formed, and that, therefore, it must at least, in one of its branches, be constituted by the peo-

ple over whom it exercised unlimited power. That with respect to Great Britain, it was so constituted—with respect to America it was not. They therefore inferred, that its power ought not to be the same over both countries. They argued also, that the delegation of the people was the source of power in regard to taxation, and as that delegation was wanting in America, they concluded, the right of parliament to grant away their property could not exist. That the defective representation in Great Britain should be urged as an argument for taxing the Americans, without any representation at all, proved the encroaching nature of power. Instead of convincing the Colonists of the propriety of their submission, it demonstrated the wisdom of their resistance; for, said they, “one invasion of natural right is made the justification of another, much more injurious and oppressive.”

The advocates for parliamentary taxation laid great stress on the rights, supposed to accrue to Great Britain, on the score of her having reared up and protected the English settlements in America at great expence. It was, on the other hand, contended by the Colonists, that in all the wars which were common to both countries, they had taken their full share, but in all their own dangers, in all the difficulties belonging separately to their situation, which did not immediately concern Great Britain, they were left to themselves, and had to struggle through a hard infancy; and in particular, to defend themselves, without any aid from the Parent State, against the numerous savages in their vicinity. That when France had made war upon them, it was not on their own account, but as appendages to Great Britain. That confining their trade for the exclusive benefit of the Parent State, was an ample compensation for her protection, and a sufficient equivalent for their exemption from parliamentary taxation. That the taxes imposed on the inhabitants of Great Britain were incorporated with their manufactures, and ultimately fell on the Colonists, who were the consumers.

The advocates for the stamp act also contended, that as the Parliament was charged with the defence of the Colonies, it ought to possess the means of defraying the expences incurred thereby. The same argument had been used by King Charles the First, in support of ship money; and it was now answered in the same manner, as it was by the patriots of that day. “That the people who were defended or protected were the fittest to judge of and to provide the means of defraying the expences incurred on that account.” In the mean time, the minds of the Americans underwent a total transformation. Instead of their late peaceable and steady attachment to the British nation, they were daily

advancing



advancing to the opposite extreme. A new mode of displaying resentment against the friends of the stamp act began in Massachusetts, and was followed by the other Colonies. A few gentlemen hung out, early in the morning, August 14, on the limb of a large tree, towards the entrance of Boston, two effigies, one designed for the stamp master, the other for a jack boot, with a head and horns peeping out at the top. Great numbers both from town and country came to see them. A spirit of enthusiasm was diffused among the spectators. In the evening the whole was cut down and carried in procession by the populace shouting "liberty and property for ever; no stamps." They next pulled down a new building, lately erected by Mr. Oliver the stamp master. They then went to his house, before which they beheaded his effigy, and at the same time broke his windows. Eleven days after, similar violences were repeated. The mob attacked the house of Mr. William Storey, deputy register of the court of admiralty—broke his windows—forced into his dwelling house, and destroyed the books and files belonging to the said court, and ruined a great part of his furniture. They next proceeded to the house of Benjamin Hallowel, Comptroller of the customs, and repeated similar excesses, and drank and destroyed his liquors. They afterwards proceeded to the house of Mr. Hutchinson, and soon demolished it. They carried off his plate, furniture, and apparel, and scattered or destroyed manuscripts and other curious and useful papers which for thirty years he had been collecting. About half a dozen of the meanest of the mob were soon after taken up and committed, but they either broke jail, or otherwise escaped all punishment. The town of Boston condemned the whole proceeding, and for some time, private gentlemen kept watch at night, to prevent further violence.

Similar disturbances broke out in the adjacent Colonies, nearly about the same time. On the 27th August, 1765, the people in New-Port in Rhode Island, exhibited three effigies intended for Messieurs Howard, Moffatt, and Johnson, in a cart with halters about their necks, and after hanging them on a gallows for some time, cut them down and burnt them, amidst the acclamations of thousands. On the day following, the people collected at the house of Mr. Martin Howard, a lawyer, who had written in defence of the right of parliament to tax the Americans, and demolished every thing that belonged to it. They proceeded to Dr. Moffatt's, who, in conversation, had supported the same right, and made a similar devastation of his property.

In Connecticut they exhibited effigies in sundry places, and afterwards committed them to the flames.

In New-York, the stamp master having resigned, the stamp papers



were taken into Fort George, by Lieutenant Governor Colden, Nov. 1. The people, disliking his political sentiments, broke open his stable, took out his coach, and carried it in triumph through the principal streets to the gallows. On one end of this they suspended the effigy of the Lieut. Governor, having in his right hand a stamped bill of lading, and in the other a figure of the devil. After some time, they carried the apparatus to the gate of the fort, and from thence to the bowling-green, under the muzzles of the guns, and burned the whole amid the acclamations of many thousands. They went thence to Mayor James' house, stripped it of every article, and consumed the whole, because he was a friend to the stamp act.

The next evening the mob re-assembled, and insisted upon the Lieutenant Governor delivering the stamped papers into their hands, and threatened, in case of a refusal, to take them by force. After some negociation, it was agreed that they should be delivered to the corporation, and they were deposited in the city hall. Ten boxes of the same, which came by another conveyance, were burned.

The stamp act was not less odious to many of the inhabitants of the British West-India islands, than to those on the continent of North America. The people of St. Kitts obliged the stamp officer and his deputy to resign. Barbadoes, Canada, and Halifax, submitted to the act.

But when the ship which brought the stamp papers to Philadelphia, first appeared round Gloucester Point, all the vessels in the harbour hoisted their colours half mast high. The bells were rung muffled till evening, and every countenance added to the appearance of sincere mourning. A large number of people assembled, and endeavoured to procure the resignation of Mr. Hughes, the stamp distributor. He held out long, but at length found it necessary to comply.

As opportunities offered, the assemblies generally passed resolutions, asserting their exclusive right to lay taxes on their constituents. The people, in their town meetings, instructed their representatives to oppose the stamp act. As a specimen of these, the instructions given to Thomas Forster, their representative, by the freeholders and other inhabitants of the town of Plymouth, are subjoined. In these the yeomanry of the country spoke the determined language of freedom. After expressing the highest esteem for the British constitution, and setting forth their grievances, they proceeded as follows:

"You, Sir, represent a people, who are not only descended from the first settlers of this country, but inhabit the very spot they first possessed. Here was first laid the foundation of the British empire, in this part of America, which, from a very small beginning, has increased

creased and spread in a manner very surprising, and almost incredible, especially, when we consider, that all this has been effected without the aid or assistance of any power on earth; that we have defended, protected, and secured ourselves against the invasions and cruelties of savages, and the subtlety and inhumanity of our inveterate and natural enemies, the French; and all this without the appropriation of any tax by stamps, or stamp acts, laid upon our fellow subjects, in any part of the King's dominions, for defraying the expence thereof. This place, Sir, was at first the asylum of liberty, and we hope, will ever be preserved sacred to it, though it was then no more than a barren wilderness, inhabited only by savage men and beasts. To this place our fathers, (whose memories be revered) possessed of the principles of liberty in their purity, disdaining slavery, fled to enjoy those privileges, which they had an undoubted right to, but were deprived of, by the hands of violence and oppression, in their native country. We, Sir, their posterity, the freeholders, and other inhabitants of this town, legally assembled for that purpose, possessed of the same sentiments, and retaining the same ardour for liberty, think it our indispensable duty, on this occasion, to express to you these our sentiments of the stamp act, and its fatal consequences to this country, and to enjoin upon you, as you regard not only the welfare, but the very being of this people, that you (consistent with our allegiance to the King, and relation to the government of Great Britain) disregarding all proposals for that purpose, exert all your power and influence in opposition to the stamp act, at least till we hear the success of our petitions for relief. We likewise, to avoid disgracing the memories of our ancestors, as well as the reproaches of our own consciences, and the curses of posterity, recommend it to you, to obtain, if possible, in the honourable house of representatives of this province, a full and explicit assertion of our rights, and to have the same entered on their public records, that all generations yet to come may be convinced, that we have not only a just sense of our rights and liberties, but that we never, with submission to Divine Providence, will be slaves to any power on earth."

The expediency of calling a continental Congress to be composed of deputies from each of the provinces, had early occurred to the people of Massachusetts. The assembly of that province passed a resolution in favour of that measure, and fixed on New-York as the place, and the second Tuesday of October, 1765, as the time for holding the same. Soon after, they sent circular letters to the speakers of the several assemblies, requesting their concurrence. This first advance towards continental union

union was seconded in South-Carolina, before it had been agreed to by any Colony to the southward of New-England. The example of this province had a considerable influence in recommending the measure to others, who were divided in their opinions, on the propriety of it.

The assemblies of Virginia, North-Carolina, and Georgia, were prevented, by their governors, from sending a deputation to this Congress. Twenty-eight deputies from Massachusetts, Rhode-Island, Connecticut, New-York, New-Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, and South Carolina, met at New-York; and after mature deliberation agreed on a declaration of their rights, and on a statement of their grievances. They asserted in strong terms, their exemption from all taxes, not imposed by their own representatives. They also concurred in a petition to the King, and memorial to the House of Lords, and a petition to the House of Commons. The Colonies that were prevented from sending their representatives to this Congress, forwarded petitions, similar to those which were adopted by the deputies which attended.

While a variety of legal and illegal methods were adopted to oppose the stamp act, the first of November, on which it was to commence its operation, approached. This in Boston was ushered in by a funeral tolling of bells. Many shops and stores were shut. The effigies of the planners and friends of the stamp act were carried about the streets in public derision, and then torn in pieces by the enraged populace. It was remarkable that though a large crowd was assembled, there was not the least violence or disorder.

At Portsmouth in New-Hampshire, the morning of Nov. 1. was ushered in with tolling all the bells in town. In the course of the day, notice was given to the friends of liberty to attend her funeral. A coffin neatly ornamented, inscribed with the word *Liberty* in large letters, was carried to the grave. The funeral procession began from the state house, attended with two unbraced drums. While the inhabitants who followed the coffin were in motion, minute guns were fired, and continued till the corpse arrived at the place of interment. Then an oration in favour of the deceased was pronounced. It was scarcely ended before the corpse was taken up, it having been perceived that some remains of life were left, at which the inscription was immediately altered to "Liberty revived." The bells immediately exchanged their melancholy for a more joyful sound, and satisfaction appeared in every countenance. The whole was conducted with decency, and without injury or insult to any man's person or property.

In Maryland, the effigy of the stamp master, on one side of which



was written; "Tyranny," on the other, "Oppression," and across the breast, "Damn my country, I'll get money," was carried through the streets from the place of confinement to the whipping post, and from thence to the pillory. After suffering many indignities, it was first hanged and then burnt.

The general aversion to the stamp act was, by similar methods, in a variety of places demonstrated. It is remarkable, that the proceedings of the populace on these occasions, were carried on with decorum and regularity. They were not ebullitions of a thoughtless mob, but for the most part planned by leading men of character and influence, who were friends to peace and order. These, knowing well that the bulk of mankind are more led by their senses than by their reason, conducted the public exhibitions on that principle, with a view of making the stamp act and its friends both ridiculous and odious.

Though the stamp act was to have operated from the first of November, yet legal proceedings in the court were carried on as before. Vessels entered and departed without stamped papers. The printers boldly printed and circulated their newspapers, and found a sufficient number of readers, though they used common paper, in defiance of the act of parliament. In most departments, by common consent, business was carried on as though no stamp act had existed. This was accompanied by spirited resolutions to risque all consequences, rather than submit to use the paper required by law. While these matters were in agitation, the Colonists entered into associations against importing British manufactures, till the stamp act should be repealed. In this manner British liberty was made to operate against British tyranny. Agreeably to the free constitution of Great Britain, the subject was at liberty to buy, or not to buy, as he pleased. By suspending their future purchases till the repeal of the stamp act, the Colonists made it the interest of merchants and manufacturers to solicit for that repeal. They had usually taken off so great a proportion of British manufactures, that the sudden stoppage of all their orders, amounting annually to several millions sterling, threw some thousands in the Mother Country out of employment, and induced them, from a regard to their own interest, to advocate the measures wished for by America. The petitions from the Colonies were seconded by petitions from the merchants and manufacturers of Great Britain. What the former prayed for as a matter of right, and connected with their liberties, the latter also solicited from motives of immediate advantage. In order to remedy the deficiency of British goods, the Colonists betook themselves to a variety of necessary domestic manufactures. In a little time, large



large quantities of coarse and common cloaths were brought to market, and these, though dearer, and of a worse quality, were cheerfully preferred to similar articles imported from Britain. That wool might not be wanting, they entered into resolutions to abstain from eating lambs. Foreign elegancies were generally laid aside. The women were as exemplary as the men in various instances of self-denial. With great readiness, they refused every article of decoration for their persons, and of luxury for their tables. These restrictions, which the Colonists had voluntarily imposed on themselves, were so well observed, that multitudes of artificers in England were reduced to great distress, and some of their most flourishing manufactories were, in a great measure, at a stand. An association was entered into by many of the sons of liberty, the name given to those who were opposed to the stamp act, by which they agreed "to march with the utmost expedition, at their own proper cost and expence, with their whole force, to the relief of those that should be in danger from the stamp act, or its promoters and abettors, or any thing relative to it, on account of any thing that may have been done in opposition to its obtaining." This was subscribed by so many in New York and New England, that nothing but a repeal could have prevented the immediate commencement of a civil war.

From the decided opposition to the stamp act, which had been adopted by the Colonies, it became necessary for Great Britain to enforce or repeal it. Both methods of proceeding had supporters. The opposers of a repeal urged arguments, drawn from the dignity of the nation, the danger of giving way to the clamours of the Americans, and the consequences of weakening parliamentary authority over the Colonies. On the other hand, it was evident, from the determined opposition of the Colonies, that it could not be enforced without a civil war, by which, in every event, the nation must be a loser. In the course of these discussions, Dr. Franklin was examined at the bar of the House of Commons, and gave extensive information on the state of American affairs, and the impolicy of the stamp act, which contributed much to remove prejudices, and to produce a disposition that was friendly to a repeal.

Some speakers of great weight, in both Houses of Parliament, denied their right of taxing the Colonies. The most distinguished supporters of this opinion were Lord Camden in the House of Peers, and Mr. Pitt in the House of Commons. The former, in strong language, said, "My position is this, I repeat it, I will maintain it to my last hour. Taxation and representation are inseparable. This position is founded on the laws of nature. It is more, it is itself an eternal law

of nature. For whatever is a man's own is absolutely his own. No man has a right to take it from him without his consent. Whoever attempts to do it, attempts an injury; whoever does it, commits a robbery." Mr. Pitt, with an original boldness of expression, justified the Colonists in opposing the stamp act. "You have no right," said he, "to tax America. I rejoice that America has resisted. Three millions of our fellow subjects so lost to every sense of virtue, as tamely to give up their liberties, would be fit instruments to make slaves of the rest." He concluded with giving his advice, that the stamp act be repealed absolutely, totally, and immediately,—that the reason for the repeal be assigned, that it was founded on an erroneous principle. "At the same time," said he, "let the sovereign authority of this country over the Colonies, be asserted in as strong terms as can be devised, and be made to extend to every point of legislation whatsoever; that we may bind their trade, confine their manufactures, and exercise every power, except that of taking their money out of their pockets without their consent." The approbation of this illustrious statesman, whose distinguished abilities had raised Great Britain to the highest pitch of renown, inspired the Americans with additional confidence, in the rectitude of their claims of exemption from parliamentary taxation, and emboldened them to farther opposition, when at a future day, as shall be hereafter related, the project of an American revenue was resumed. After much debating, and two protests in the House of Lords, and passing an act "for securing the dependence of America on Great Britain," the repeal of the stamp act was finally carried March 18, 1766. This event gave great joy in London. Ships in the river Thames displayed their colours, and houses were illuminated all over the city. It was no sooner known in America, than the Colonists rescinded their resolutions, and recommenced their mercantile intercourse with the Mother Country. They presented their homespun cloaths to the poor, and imported more largely than ever. The churches resounded with thanksgivings, and their public and private rejoicings knew no bounds. By letters, addresses, and other means, almost all the Colonies shewed unequivocal marks of acknowledgement and gratitude. So sudden a calm recovered after so violent a storm, is without a parallel in history. By the judicious sacrifice of one law, the parliament of Great Britain procured an acquiescence in all that remained.

There were enlightened patriots, fully impressed with an idea, that the immoderate joy of the Colonists was disproportioned to the advantage they had gained.

The stamp act, though repealed, was not repealed on American prin-

ciples. The preamble assigned as the reason thereof, "That the collecting the several duties and revenues, as by the said act was directed, would be attended with many inconveniencies, and productive of consequences dangerous to the commercial interests of these kingdoms." Though this reason was a good one in England, it was by no means satisfactory in America. At the same time that the stamp act was repealed, the absolute, unlimited supremacy of parliament was, in words, asserted. The opposers of the repeal contended for this as essential, the friends of that measure acquiesced in it to strengthen their party, and make sure of their object. Many of both sides thought, that the dignity of Great Britain required something of the kind to counterbalance the loss of authority, that might result from her yielding to the clamours of the Colonists. The act for this purpose was called the Declaratory Act, and was in principle more hostile to American rights than the stamp act; for it annulled those resolutions and acts of the Provincial Assemblies, in which they had asserted their right to exemption from all taxes, not imposed by their own representatives; and also enacted, "That the parliament had, and of right ought to have, power to bind the Colonies, in all cases whatsoever."

The bulk of the Americans, intoxicated with the advantage they had gained, overlooked this statute, which, in one comprehensive sentence, not only deprived them of liberty and property, but of every right incident to humanity. They considered it as a salvo for the honour of parliament, in repealing an act, which had so lately received their sanction, and flattered themselves it would remain a dead letter, and that although the right of taxation was in words retained, it would never be exercised. Unwilling to contend about paper claims of ideal supremacy, they returned to their habits of good humour with the Parent State.

The repeal of the stamp act, in a relative connection with all its circumstances and consequences, was the first direct step to American independency. The claims of the two countries were not only left undecided, but a foundation was laid for their extending at a future period, to the impossibility of a compromise. Though for the present Great Britain receded from enforcing her claim of American revenue, a numerous party, adhering to that system, reserved themselves for more favourable circumstances to enforce it; and at the same time the Colonists, more enlightened on the subject, and more fully convinced of the rectitude of their claims, were encouraged to oppose it, under whatsoever form it should appear, or under whatsoever disguise it should cover itself.



Elevated with the advantage they had gained, from that day forward, instead of feeling themselves dependent on Great Britain, they conceived that, in respect to commerce, she was dependent on them. It inspired them with such high ideas of the importance of their trade, that they considered the Mother Country to be brought under greater obligations to them, for purchasing her manufactures, than they were to her for protection and the administration of civil government. The Freemen of British America, impressed with the exalting sentiments of patriotism and of liberty, conceived it to be within their power, by future combinations, at any time to convulse, if not to bankrupt, the nation from which they sprung.

Opinions of this kind were strengthened by their local situation, favouring ideas, as extensive as the unexplored continent of which they were inhabitants. While the pride of Britons revolted at the thought of their Colonies refusing subjection to that Parliament which they obeyed, the Americans with equal haughtiness exclaimed "shall the petty island of Great Britain, scarce a speck on the map of the world, controul the free citizens of the great continent of America?"

These high sounding pretensions would have been harmless, or at most, spent themselves in words, had not a ruinous policy, untaught by recent experience, called them into serious action. Though the stamp act was repealed, an American revenue was still a favourite object with many in Great Britain. The equity and the advantage of taxing the Colonists by parliamentary authority were very apparent to their understandings, but the mode of effecting it, without hazarding the public tranquility, was not so obvious. Mr. Charles Townsend, afterwards Chancellor of the Exchequer, pawned his credit to accomplish what many so earnestly desired. He accordingly brought into parliament, in 1767, a bill for granting duties in the British Colonies on glass, paper, painters colours, and tea, which was afterwards enacted into a law. If the small duties imposed on these articles had preceded the stamp act, they might have passed unobserved: but the late discussions occasioned by that act, had produced amongst the Colonists, not only an animated conviction of their exemption from parliamentary taxation, but a jealousy of the designs of Great Britain. The sentiments of the Americans on this subject bore a great resemblance to those of their British countrymen of the preceding century, in the case of ship money. The amount of that tax was very moderate, little exceeding twenty thousand pounds. It was distributed upon the people with equality, and expended for the honour and advantage of the kingdom, yet all these circumstances could not reconcile the people



of England to the imposition. It was entirely arbitrary. "By the same right," said they, "any other tax may be imposed." In like manner the Americans considered these small duties in the nature of an entering wedge, designed to make way for others, which would be greater and heavier. In a relative connection with late acts of Parliament, respecting domestic manufactures and foreign commerce, laws for imposing taxes on British commodities exported to the Colonies, formed a complete circle of oppression, from which there was no possibility of escaping. The Colonists had been, previously, restrained from manufacturing certain articles for their own consumption. Other acts confined them to the exclusive use of British merchandize. The addition of duties put them wholly in the power and discretion of Great Britain; "We are not," said they, "permitted to import from any nation, other than our own Parent State, and have been in some cases by her restrained from manufacturing for ourselves, and she claims a right to do so in every instance which is incompatible with her interest. To these restrictions we have hitherto submitted, but she now rises in her demands, and imposes duties on those commodities, the purchasing of which, elsewhere than at her market, her law forbids, and the manufacturing of which for our own use, she may, any moment she pleases, restrain. If her right is valid to lay a small tax, it is equally so to lay a large one, for from the nature of the case, she must be guided exclusively by her own opinions of our ability, and of the propriety of the duties she may impose. Nothing is left for us but to complain and pay." They contended that there was no real difference between the principle of these new duties and the stamp act, they were both designed to raise a revenue in America, and in the same manner. The payment of the duties imposed by the stamp act, might have been eluded by the total disuse of stamped paper, and so might the payment of these duties, by the total disuse of those articles on which they were laid, but in neither case, without great difficulty. The Colonists were therefore reduced to the hard alternative of being obliged totally to disuse articles of the greatest necessity in human life, or to pay a tax without their consent. The fire of opposition, which had been smothered by the repeal of the stamp act, burned afresh against the same principle of taxation, exhibited in its new form. Mr. Dickenson, of Pennsylvania, on this occasion presented to the public a series of letters signed the Farmer, proving the extreme danger which threatened the liberties of America, from their acquiescence in a precedent which might establish the claim of parliamentary taxation. They were written with great animation, and were read with un-

common

common avidity. Their reasoning was so convincing, that many of the candid and disinterested citizens of Great Britain acknowledged that the American opposition to parliamentary taxation was justifiable. The enormous sums which the stamp act would have collected, had thoroughly alarmed the Colonists for their property. It was now demonstrated by several writers, especially by the Pennsylvania Farmer, that a small tax, though more specious, was equally dangerous, as it established a precedent which eventually annihilated American property. The declaratory act, which at first was the subject of but a few comments, was now dilated upon as a foundation for every species of oppression; and the small duties lately imposed were considered as the beginning of a train of much greater evils.

Had the Colonists admitted the propriety of raising a parliamentary revenue among them, the erection of an American board of commissioners for managing it, which was about this time instituted at Boston, would have been a convenience rather than an injury; but united as they were in sentiments, of the contrariety of that measure to their natural and constitutional rights, they ill brooked the innovation. As it was coeval with the new duties, they considered it as a certain evidence that the project of an extensive American revenue, notwithstanding the repeal of the stamp act, was still in contemplation. A dislike to British taxation naturally produced a dislike to a board which was to be instrumental in that business, and occasioned many insults to its commissioners.

The revenue act of 1767 produced resolves, petitions, addresses, and remonstrances, similar to those with which the Colonists opposed the stamp act. It also gave rise to a second association for suspending farther importations of British manufactures, till these offensive duties should be taken off. Uniformity, in these measures, was promoted by a circular letter from the Assembly of Massachusetts to the speakers of other assemblies. This stated the petitions and representations, which they had forwarded against the late duties, and strongly pointed out the great difficulties, that must arise to themselves and their constituents, from the operation of acts of parliament imposing duties on the unrepresented American Colonies, and requested a reciprocal free communication on public affairs. Most of the Provincial Assemblies, as they had opportunities of deliberating on the subject, approved of the proceedings of the Massachusetts Assembly, and harmonized with them in the measures which they had adopted. In resolves, they stated their rights, in firm but decent language; and in petitions, they prayed for

for a repeal of the late acts, which they considered as infringements on their liberties.

It is not unreasonable to suppose, that the Minister who planned these duties, hoped that they would be regarded as regulations of trade. He might also presume, that as they amounted only to an inconsiderable sum, they would not give any alarm. The circular letter of the Massachusetts Assembly, which laid the foundation for united petitions against them, gave, therefore, great offence. Lord Hillsborough, who had lately been appointed Secretary of State for the American department, wrote letters to the governors of the respective provinces, urging them to exert their influence, to prevent the assemblies from taken any notice of it, and he called on the Massachusetts Assembly to rescind their proceedings on that subject. This measure was both injudicious and irritating. To require a public body to rescind a resolution, for sending a letter, which was already sent, answered, and acted upon, was a bad specimen of the wisdom of the new minister. To call a vote, for sending a circular letter to invite the assemblies of the neighbouring colonies to communicate together in the pursuit of legal measures to obtain a redress of grievances, "a flagitious attempt to disturb the public peace," appeared to the Colonists a very injudicious application of harsh epithets to their constitutional right of petitioning. To threaten a new house of assembly with dissolution, in case of their not agreeing to rescind an act of a former assembly which was not executory, but executed, clashed no less with the dictates of common sense, than the constitutional rights of British Colonists. The proposition for rescinding was negatived, by a majority of ninety-two to seventeen. The assembly was immediately dissolved, as had been threatened. This procedure of the new Secretary was considered by the Colonists as an attempt to suppress all communication of sentiment between them, and to prevent their united supplications from reaching the royal ear. It answered no one valuable purpose, but naturally tended to mischief.

The bad humour, which from successive irritation already too much prevailed, was about this time, June 10, 1768, wrought up to a high pitch of resentment and violence, on occasion of the seizure of Mr. Hancock's sloop Liberty, for not having entered all the wines she had brought from Madeira. The popularity of her owner, the name of the sloop, and the general aversion to the board of commissioners and parliamentary taxation, concurred to inflame the minds of the people. They resented the removal of the sloop from the wharf, as implying an apprehension of a rescue. They used every means in their power to interrupt the officers in the execution of their business; and numbers

swore



swore that they would be revenged. Mr. Harrifon the collector, Mr. Hallowell the comptroller, and Mr. Irwine the inspector of imports and exports, were so roughly handled, as to bring their lives in danger. The windows of some of their houses were broken, and the boat of the collector was dragged through the town, and burned on the common. Such was the temper and disposition of many of the inhabitants, that the commissioners of the customs thought proper to retire on board the Romney man of war; and afterwards to Castle William. The commissioners, from the first moment of their institution, had been an eye-sore to the people of Boston. This, though partly owing to their active zeal in detecting smugglers, principally arose from the association which existed in the minds of the inhabitants, between that board and an American revenue. The declaratory act of 1766, the revenue act of 1767; together with the pomp and expence of this board, so disproportionate to the small income of the present duties, conspired to convince not only the few who were benefited by smuggling, but the great body of enlightened freemen, that farther and greater impositions of parliamentary taxes were intended. In proportion, as this opinion gained ground, the inhabitants became more disrespectful to the executive officers of the revenue, and more disposed, in the frenzy of patriotism, to commit outrages on their persons and property. The constant bickering that existed between them and the inhabitants, together with the steady opposition given by the latter to the discharge of the official duties of the former, induced the commissioners and friends of the American revenue, to solicit the protection of a regular force, to be stationed at Boston. In compliance with their wishes, his Majesty ordered two regiments and some armed vessels to repair thither, for supporting and assisting the officers of the customs in the execution of their duty. This restrained the active exertion of that turbulent spirit, which since the passing of the late revenue laws had revived, but it added to the pre-existing causes thereof.

When it was reported in Boston, that one or more regiments were ordered there, a meeting of the inhabitants was called, and a committee appointed to request the Governor to issue precepts for convening a general assembly. He replied, "that he could not comply with their request, till he had received his Majesty's commands for that purpose." The answer being reported, September 13, some spirited resolutions were adopted. In particular, it was voted, that the select men of Boston should write to the select men of other towns, to propose, that a convention be held, of deputies from each, to meet at Faneuil-hall, in Boston, on the 22d instant. It was afterwards voted,

" That



“ That as there is apprehension in the minds of many, of an approaching war with France, those inhabitants, who are not provided, be requested to furnish themselves forthwith with arms.”

Ninety-six towns, and eight districts, agreed to the proposal made by the inhabitants of Boston, and appointed deputies to attend a convention, but the town of Hatfield refused its concurrence. When the deputies met, they conducted themselves with moderation, disclaimed all legislative authority, advised the people to pay the greatest deference to government, and to wait patiently for a redress of their grievances from his Majesty's wisdom and moderation. After stating to the world the causes of their meeting, and an account of their proceedings, they dissolved themselves, after a short session, and went home.

Within a day after the convention broke up, the expected regiments arrived, and were peaceably received. Hints had been thrown out by some idle people that they should not be permitted to come on shore. Preparations were made by the captains of the men of war in the harbour, to fire on the town, in case opposition had been made to their landing, but the crisis for an appeal to arms was not yet arrived. It was hoped by some, that the folly and rage of the Bostonians would have led them to this rash measure, and thereby have afforded an opportunity for giving them some naval and military correction, but both prudence and policy induced them to adopt a more temperate line of conduct.

While the contention was kept alive by the successive irritations, which have been mentioned, there was, particularly in Massachusetts, a species of warfare carried on between the royal governors, and the provincial assemblies. Each watched the other with all the jealousy, which strong distrust could inspire. The latter regarded the former as instruments of power, wishing to pay their court to the Mother Country, by curbing the spirit of American freedom, and the former kept a strict eye on the latter, lest they might smooth the way to independence, at which they were charged with aiming. Lieutenant Governor Hutchinson, of Massachusetts, virtually challenged the assembly to a dispute, on the ground of the controversy between the two countries. This was accepted by the latter, and the subject discussed with all the subtilty of argument, which the ingenuity of either party could suggest.

The war of words was not confined to the Colonies. While the American assemblies passed resolutions, asserting their exclusive right to tax their constituents, the Parliament by resolves asserted their unlimited supremacy in and over the Colonies. While the former, in their public acts, disclaimed all views of independence, they were successively represented in parliamentary resolves, royal speeches, and addresses from

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Lords and Commons, as being in a state of disobedience to law and government, and as having proceeded to measures subversive of the constitution, and manifesting a disposition to throw off all subordination to Great-Britain.

In February, 1769, both Houses of Parliament went one step beyond all that had preceded. They then concurred in a joint address to his Majesty, in which they expressed their satisfaction in the measures his Majesty had pursued—gave the strongest assurances, that they would effectually support him in such farther measures as might be found necessary to maintain the civil magistrates in a due execution of the laws, in Massachusetts-Bay, and beseeched him “to direct the governor to take the most effectual methods for procuring the fullest information, touching all treasons or misprisions of treasons committed within the government, since the 30th day of December, 1767; and to transmit the same, together with the names of the persons who were most active in the commission of such offences, to one of the secretaries of state, in order that his Majesty might issue a special commission for enquiring of, hearing, and determining, the said offences, within the realm of Great Britain, pursuant to the provisions of the statute of the 35th of King Henry the 8th.” The latter part of this address, which proposed the bringing of delinquents from Massachusetts, to be tried at a tribunal in Great Britain, for crimes committed in America, underwent many severe animadversions.

It was asserted to be totally inconsistent with the spirit of the constitution, for in England a man charged with a crime, had a right to be tried in the country in which his offence was supposed to have been committed. “Justice is regularly and impartially administered in our court,” said the Colonists, “and yet by direction of Parliament, offenders are to be taken by force, together with all such persons as may be pointed out as witnesses, and carried to England, there to be tried in a distant land, by a jury of strangers, and subject to all the disadvantages which result from want of friends, want of witnesses, and want of money.”

The House of Burgesses of Virginia met soon after official accounts of the joint addresses of Lords and Commons on this subject reached America; and in a few days after their meeting, passed resolutions expressing “their exclusive right to tax their constituents, and their right to petition their Sovereign for redress of grievances, and the lawfulness of procuring the concurrence of the other Colonies in praying for the royal interposition in favour of the violated rights of America; and that all trials for treason, or for any crime whatsoever, committed in

that Colony, ought to be before his Majesty's courts within the said Colony; and that the seizing any person residing in the said Colony, suspected of any crime whatsoever committed therein, and sending such person to places beyond the sea to be tried, was highly derogatory of the rights of British subjects." The next day Lord Botetourt, the governor of Virginia, sent for the House of Burgesses and addressed them as follows: "Mr. Speaker and gentlemen of the House of Burgesses, I have heard of your resolves, and augur ill of their effects. You have made it my duty to dissolve you, and you are dissolved accordingly."

The Assembly of North-Carolina adopted resolutions, similar to those of Virginia, for which Tyron their governor dissolved them. The members of the House of Burgesses in Virginia, and of the Assembly of North-Carolina, after their dissolution, met as private gentlemen, chose their late speakers moderators, and adopted resolutions against importing British goods. The non-importation agreement was in this manner forwarded by the very measures which were intended to curb the spirit of American freedom, from which it sprung. Meetings of the associators were regularly held in the various provinces. Committees were appointed to examine all vessels arriving from Britain. Censures were freely passed on such as refused to concur in these associations, and their names published in the newspapers as enemies to their country. The regular acts of the Provincial Assemblies were not so much respected and obeyed as the decrees of these committees, the associations were in general, as well observed as could be expected, notwithstanding there were some collusions. The fear of mobs, of public resentment and contempt, co-operating with patriotism, preponderated over private interest and convenience. One of the importing merchants of Boston, who hesitated in his compliance with the determination of the inhabitants, was waited upon by a committee of tradesmen, with an axeman and carpenter at their head, who informed him, "that one thousand men were waiting for his answer, and that if he refused to comply, they could not tell what might be the consequence." He complied, and the newspapers soon after published, that he did it voluntarily.

In Boston, Lieut. Governor Hutchinson endeavoured to promote a counter association, but without effect. The friends of importation objected, that till Parliament made provision for the punishment of the confederacies against importation, a counter-association would answer no other purpose, than to expose the associators to popular rage.

The Bostonians, about this time, went one step farther. They re-shipped goods to Great Britain, instead of storing them as formerly. This was resolved upon in a town meeting, on the information of an

inhabitant, who communicated a letter that he had lately received from a Member of Parliament, in which it was said, "that shipping back ten thousand pounds worth of goods would do more than storing a hundred thousand." This turned the scale, and procured a majority of votes for re-shipping. Not only in this, but in many other instances, the violences of the Colonists were fostered by individuals in Great Britain. A number of these were in principle with the Americans, in denying the right of Parliament to tax them, but others were more influenced by a spirit of opposition to the ministerial majority, than by a regard to the constitutional liberties of either country.

The non-importation agreement had now lasted some time, and by degrees had become general. Several of the colonial assemblies had been dissolved, or prorogued, for asserting the rights of their constituents. The royal governors, and other friends to an American revenue, were chagrined. The Colonists were irritated. Good men, both in England and America, deplored these untoward events, and beheld with concern an increasing ill humour between those, who were bound by interest and affection to be friends to each other.

In consequence of the American non-importation agreement, founded in opposition to the duties in 1767, the manufacturers of Great Britain experienced a renewal of the distresses, which followed the adoption of similar resolutions in the year 1765, the repeal of these duties was therefore solicited by the same influence, which had procured the repeal of the stamp act. The rulers of Great Britain acted without decision. Instead of persevering in their own system of coercion, or indeed in any one uniform system of colonial government, they struck out a middle line, embarrassed with the consequences, both of severity and of lenity, and which was without the complete benefits of either. Soon after the spirited address to his Majesty, last mentioned, had passed both Houses of Parliament, assurances were given for repealing all the duties imposed in 1767, excepting that of three-pence per pound on tea.

Anxious on the one hand to establish parliamentary supremacy, and on the other, afraid to stem the torrent of opposition, they conceded enough to weaken the former, and yet not enough to satisfy the latter. Had Great Britain generously repealed the whole, and for ever relinquished all claim to the right, or even the exercise of the right of taxation, the union of the two countries might have lasted for ages. Had she seriously determined to compel the submission of the Colonies, nothing could have been more unfriendly to this design, than her repeated concessions to their reiterated associations. The declaratory act, and the reservation of the duty on tea, left the cause of contention between the two countries in



full force; but the former was only a claim on paper, and the latter might be evaded, by refusing to purchase any tea on which the parliamentary tax was imposed. The Colonists, therefore, conceiving that their commerce might be re-newed, without establishing any precedent injurious to their liberties, relaxed in their associations, in every particular, except tea, and immediately recommenced the importation of all other articles of merchandise. A political calm once more took place. The Parent State might now have closed the dispute for ever, and honourably receded, without a formal relinquishment of her claims. Neither the reservation of the duty on tea, by the British Parliament, nor the exceptions made by the Colonists, of importing no tea, on which a duty was imposed, would, if they had been left to their own operation, have disturbed the returning harmony of the two countries. Without fresh irritation, their wounds might have healed, and not a scar been left behind.

These two abortive attempts to raise a parliamentary revenue in America, caused a fermentation in the minds of the Colonists, and gave birth to many inquiries respecting their natural rights. Reflections and reasonings on this subject produced a high sense of liberty, and a general conviction that there could be no security for their property, if they were to be taxed at the discretion of a British Parliament, in which they were unrepresented, and over which they had no controul. A determination not only to oppose this new claim of taxation, but to keep a strict watch, lest it might be established in some disguised form, took possession of their minds.

It commonly happens in the discussion of doubtful claims between states, that the ground of the original dispute insensibly changes. When the mind is employed in investigating one subject, others associated with it, naturally present themselves. In the course of inquiries on the subject of parliamentary taxation, the restriction on the trade of the Colonists—the necessity that was imposed on them to purchase British and other manufactures, loaded with their full proportion of all taxes paid by those who made or sold them, became more generally known. While American writers were vindicating their country from the charge of contributing nothing to the common expences of the empire, they were led to set off to their credit, the disadvantage of their being confined exclusively to purchase such manufactures in Britain. They instituted calculations, by which they demonstrated that the monopoly of their trade, drew from them greater sums for the support of government, than were usually paid by an equal number of their fellow citizens of Great Britain; and that taxation, superadded to such a monopoly, would  
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leave them in a state of perfect uncompensated slavery. The investigation of these subjects brought matters into view which the friends of union ought to have kept out of sight. These circumstances, together with the extensive population of the Eastern States, and their adventurous spirit of commerce, suggested to some bold spirits, that not only British taxation, but British navigation laws, were unfriendly to the interests of America. Speculations of this magnitude suited well with the extensive views of some capital merchants, but never would have roused the bulk of the people, had not new matter brought the dispute between the two countries to a point, in which every individual was interested.

On reviewing the conduct of the British ministry respecting the Colonies, much weakness as well as folly appears. For a succession of years there was a steady pursuit of American revenue, but great inconsistency in the projects for obtaining it. In one moment the Parliament was for enforcing their laws, the next for repealing them. Doing and undoing, menacing and submitting, straining and relaxing, followed each other in alternate succession. The object of administration, though twice relinquished as to present efficiency, was invariably pursued, but without any unity of system.

On the 9th of May, 1769, the King in his speech to Parliament highly applauded their hearty concurrence, in maintaining the execution of the laws in every part of his dominions. Five days after this speech, Lord Hillsborough, Secretary of State for the Colonies, wrote to Lord Botetourt, governor of Virginia: "I can take upon me to assure you, notwithstanding informations to the contrary, from men with factious and seditious views, that his Majesty's present administration have at no time entertained a design to propose to Parliament to lay any farther taxes upon America, for the purpose of raising a revenue, and that it is at present their intention to propose the next session of Parliament, to take off the duties upon glass, paper, and colours, upon consideration of such duties having been laid contrary to the true principles of commerce." The governor was also informed, that "his Majesty relied upon his prudence and fidelity, to make such an explanation of his Majesty's measures, as would tend to remove prejudices, and to re-establish mutual confidence and affection between the Mother Country and the Colonies." In the exact spirit of his instructions, Lord Botetourt addressed the Virginia Assembly as follows: "It may possibly be objected, that as his Majesty's present administration are not immortal, their successors may be inclined to attempt to undo what the present ministers shall have attempted to perform, and to that objection I can give  
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but this answer, that it is my firm opinion that the plan I have stated to you will certainly take place, that it will never be departed from; and so determined am I for ever to abide by it, that I will be content to be declared infamous, if I do not to the last hour of my life, at all times, in all places, and upon all occasions, exert every power, with which I either am, or ever shall be legally invested, in order to obtain and maintain for the continent of America, that satisfaction which I have been authorised to promise this day, by the confidential servants of our gracious Sovereign, who, to my certain knowledge, rates his honour so high, that he would rather part with his crown, than preserve it by deceit."

These assurances were received with transports of joy by the Virginians. They viewed them as pledging his Majesty for security, that the late design for raising a revenue in America was abandoned, and never more to be resumed. The Assembly of Virginia, in answer to Lord Botetourt, expressed themselves thus: "We are sure our most gracious sovereign, under whatever changes may happen in his confidential servants, will remain immutable in the ways of truth and justice, and that he is incapable of deceiving his faithful subjects; and we esteem your Lordship's information not only as warranted, but even sanctified by the royal word."

How far these solemn engagements with the Americans were observed, subsequent events will demonstrate. In a perfect reliance on them, most of the Colonists returned to their ancient habits of good humour, and flattered themselves that no future Parliament would undertake to give or grant away their property.

From the royal and ministerial assurances given in favour of America in the year 1769, and the subsequent repeal in 1770, of five sixths of the duties which had been imposed in 1767, together with the consequent renewal of the mercantile intercourse between Great Britain and the Colonies, many hoped that the contention between the two countries was finally closed. In all the provinces, excepting Massachusetts, appearances seemed to favour that opinion. Many incidents operated there to the prejudice of that harmony, which had begun elsewhere to return. The stationing a military force among them was a fruitful source of uneasiness. The royal army had been brought thither, with the avowed design of enforcing submission to the Mother Country. Speeches from the throne, and addresses from both Houses of Parliament, had taught them to look upon the inhabitants as a factious, turbulent people, who aimed at throwing off all subordination to Great Britain. They, on the other hand, were accustomed to look upon the  
soldiery

soldiery as instruments of tyranny, sent on purpose to dragoon them out of their liberties.

Reciprocal insults soured the tempers, and mutual injuries embittered the passions, of the opposite parties: besides, some fiery spirits who thought it an indignity to have troops quartered among them, were constantly exciting the towns-people to quarrel with the soldiers.

On the 2d of March, a fray took place near Mr. Gray's ropewalk, between a private foldier of the 29th regiment and an inhabitant. The former was supported by his comrades, the latter by the ropemakers, till several on both sides were involved in the consequences. On the 5th a more dreadful scene was presented. The foldiers, when under arms, were pressed upon, insulted, and pelted, by a mob armed with clubs, sticks, and snowballs covering stones: they were also dared to fire. In this situation, one of the foldiers who had received a blow, in resentment fired at the supposed aggressor. This was followed by a single discharge from six others. Three of the inhabitants were killed, and five were dangerously wounded. The town was immediately in commotion. Such was the temper, force, and number of the inhabitants, that nothing but an engagement to remove the troops out of the town, together with the advice of moderate men, prevented the townsmen from falling on the foldiers. The killed were buried in one vault, and in a most respectful manner, to express the indignation of the inhabitants at the slaughter of their brethren by foldiers quartered among them, in violation of their civil liberties. Preston the captain who commanded, and the party which fired on the inhabitants, were committed to jail, and afterwards tried. The captain and six of the men were acquitted. Two were brought in guilty of manslaughter. It appeared on the trial, that the foldiers were abused, insulted, threatened, and pelted, before they fired. It was also proved, that only seven guns were fired by the eight prisoners. These circumstances induced the jury to make a favourable verdict. The result of the trial reflected great honour on John Adams and Josiah Quincy, the council for the prisoners, and also on the integrity of the jury, who ventured to give an upright verdict, in defiance of popular opinions.

The events of this tragical night sunk deep in the minds of the people, and were made subservient to important purposes. The anniversary of it was observed with great solemnity. Eloquent orators were successively employed to deliver an annual oration, to preserve the remembrance of it fresh in their minds. On these occasions the blessings of liberty—the horrors of slavery—the dangers of a standing army—the rights of the Colonies, and a variety of such topics were presented to the public



view, under their most pleasing and alarming forms. These annual orations administered fuel to the fire of liberty, and kept it burning with an incessant flame.

The obstacles to returning harmony, which have already been mentioned, were increased, by making the governor and judges in Massachusetts independent of the province. Formerly, they had been paid by yearly grants from the Assembly, but about this time provision was made for paying their salaries by the crown. This was resented as a dangerous innovation, as an infraction of their charters, and as destroying that balance of power which is essential to free governments. That the Crown should pay the salary of the chief justice, was represented by the Assembly, as a species of bribery, tending to bias his judicial determinations. They made it the foundation for impeaching Mr. Justice Oliver, before the Governor, but he excepted to their proceedings as unconstitutional. The Assembly, nevertheless, gained two points: they rendered the governor more odious to the inhabitants, and increased the public respect for themselves, as the counterpart of the British House of Commons, and as guardians of the rights of the people.

A personal animosity between Lieut. Governor Hutchinson and some distinguished patriots in Massachusetts, contributed to perpetuate a flame of discontent in that province after it had elsewhere visibly abated. This was worked up, in the year 1773, to a high pitch, by a singular combination of circumstances. Some letters had been written, in the course of the dispute, by Governor Hutchinson, Lieut. Governor Oliver, and others, in Boston, to persons in power and office in England, which contained a very unfavorable representation of the state of public affairs, and tended to shew the necessity of coercive measures, and of changing the chartered system of government, to secure the obedience of the province. These letters fell into the hands of Dr. Franklin, agent of the province, who transmitted them to Boston. The indignation and animosity which was excited on the receipt of this, knew no bounds. The House of Assembly agreed on a petition and remonstrance to his Majesty, in which they charged their Governor and Lieut. Governor with being betrayers of their trusts and of the people they governed, and of giving private, partial, and false information. They also, Jan. 29, 1774, declared them enemies to the Colonies, and prayed for justice against them, and for their speedy removal from their places. These charges were carried through by a majority of eighty-two to twelve.

This petition and remonstrance being transmitted to England, the merits of it were discussed before his Majesty's privy-council. After an  
hearing

hearing before that board, in which Dr. Franklin represented the province of Massachusetts, the Governor and Lieut. Governor were acquitted. Mr. Wedderburne, who defended the accused royal servants, in the course of his pleadings, inveighed against Dr. Franklin in the severest language, as the fomentor of the disputes between the two countries. It was no protection to this venerable sage, that being the agent of Massachusetts, he conceived it his duty to inform his constituents of letters written on public affairs, calculated to overturn their chartered constitution. The age, respectability, and high literary character of the subject of Mr. Wedderburne's philippic, turned the attention of the public on the transaction. The insult offered to one of their public agents, and especially to one who was both the idol and ornament of his native country, sunk deep in the minds of the Americans. That a faithful servant, whom they loved and almost adored, should be insulted for discharging his official duty, rankled in their hearts. Dr. Franklin was also immediately dismissed from the office of deputy post-master general, which he held under the crown. It was not only by his transmission of these letters that he had given offence to the British ministry, but by his popular writings in favour of America. Two pieces of his, in particular, had lately attracted a large share of public attention, and had an extensive influence on both sides the Atlantic. The one purported to be an edict from the King of Prussia, for taxing the inhabitants of Great Britain, as descendants of emigrants from his dominions. The other was entitled, "Rules for reducing a great empire to a small one." In both these he had exposed the claims of the Mother Country, and the proceedings of the British ministry, with the severity of poignant satire.

For ten years there had now been but little intermission to the disputes between Great Britain and her colonies. Their respective claims had never been compromised on middle ground. The calm which followed the repeal of the stamp act, was in a few months disturbed by the revenue act of the year 1767. The tranquillity which followed the repeal of five sixths of that act in the year 1770, was nothing more than a truce. The reservation of the duty on tea, made as an avowed evidence of the claims of Great Britain to tax her colonies, kept alive the jealousy of the colonists, while at the same time the stationing of a standing army in Massachusetts—the continuance of a board of commissioners in Boston—the constituting the governors and judges of that province independent of the people, were constant sources of irritation. The altercations which, at this period, were common between the royal governors and the principal assemblies, together with numerous vindica-

tions of the claims of America, made the subject familiar to the colonists. The ground of the controversy was canvassed in every company. The more the Americans read, reasoned, and conversed on the subject, the more were they convinced of their right to the exclusive disposal of their property. This was followed by a determination to resist all encroachments on that palladium of British liberty. They were as strongly convinced of their right to refuse and resist parliamentary taxation, as the ruling powers of Great Britain, of their right to demand and enforce their submission to it.

The claims of the two countries being thus irreconcilably opposed to each other, the partial calm which followed the concession of Parliament in 1770, was liable to disturbance from every incident. Under such circumstances, nothing less than the most guarded conduct on both sides could prevent a renewal of the controversy. Instead of following those prudential measures which would have kept the ground of the dispute out of sight, an impolitic scheme was concerted between the British ministry and the East India Company, which placed the claims of Great Britain and of her colonies in hostile array against each other.

Matters were now ripe for the utmost extremities on the part of the Americans; and they were brought on in the following manner:— Though the colonists had entered into a non-importation agreement against tea, as well as all other commodities from Britain, it had nevertheless found its way into America, though in smaller quantities than before. This was sensibly felt by the East India Company, who had now agreed to pay a large sum annually to government; in recompence for which compliance, and to make up their losses in other respects, they were empowered to export their tea from any duty payable in Britain; and in consequence of this permission, several ships freighted with the commodity were sent to North America, and proper agents appointed for disposing of it. The Americans now perceiving that the tax was thus likely to be enforced whether they would or not, determined to take every possible method to prevent the tea from being landed, as well knowing that it would be impossible to hinder the sale, should the commodity once be brought on shore. For this purpose the people assembled in great numbers, forcing those to whom the tea was consigned to resign their offices, and to promise solemnly never to resume them; and committees were appointed to examine the accounts of merchants, and make public tests, declaring such as would not take them enemies to their country. Nor was this behaviour confined to the colony of Massachusetts's Bay; the rest of the provinces entered into the contest



contest with the same warmth, and manifested the same resolution to oppose the mother country.

In the midst of this confusion three ships laden with tea arrived at Boston; but so much were the captains alarmed at the disposition which seemed to prevail among the people, that they offered, providing they could obtain the proper discharges from the tea-consignees, customhouse, and governor, to return to Britain without landing their cargoes. The parties concerned, however, though they durst not order the tea to be landed, refused to grant the discharges required. The ships, therefore, would have been obliged to remain in the harbour; but the people, apprehensive that if they remained there the tea would be landed in small quantities, and disposed of in spite of every endeavour to prevent it, resolved to destroy it at once. This resolution was executed with equal speed and secrecy. The very evening after the above-mentioned discharges had been refused, a number of people dressed like Mohawk Indians, boarded the ships, and threw into the sea their whole cargoes, consisting of three hundred and forty-two chests of tea; after which they retired without making any further disturbance, or doing any more damage. No tea was destroyed in other places, though the same spirit was every where manifested. At Philadelphia the pilots were enjoined not to conduct the vessels up the river; and at New York, though the governor caused some tea to be landed under the protection of a man of war, he was obliged to deliver it up to the custody of the people, to prevent its being sold.

The destruction of the tea at Boston, which happened in November 1773, was the immediate prelude to the disasters attending civil discord. Government finding themselves every where insulted and despised, resolved to enforce their authority by all possible means; and as Boston had been the principle scene of the riots and outrages, it was determined to punish that city in an exemplary manner. Parliament was acquainted by a message from his Majesty with the undutiful behaviour of the city of Boston, as well as of all the colonies, recommending at the same time the most vigorous and spirited exertions to reduce them to obedience. The parliament in its address promised a ready compliance; and indeed the Americans, by their spirited behaviour, had now lost many of their partisans. It was proposed to lay a fine on the town of Boston equal to the price of the tea which had been destroyed, and to shut up its port by armed vessels until the refractory spirit of the inhabitants should be subdued; which it was thought must quickly yield, as a total stop would thus be put to their trade. The bill was strongly opposed on the same grounds that the



other had been; and it was predicted, that instead of having any tendency to reconcile or subdue the Americans, it would infallibly exasperate them beyond any possibility of reconciliation. The petitions against it, presented by the colony's agent, pointed out the same consequences in the strongest terms, and in the most positive manner declared that the Americans never would submit to it; but such was the infatuation attending every rank and degree of men, that it never was imagined the Americans would dare to resist the parent state openly, but in the end would submit implicitly to her commands. In this confidence a third bill was proposed for the impartial administration of justice on such persons as might be employed in the suppression of riots and tumults in the province of Massachusetts Bay. By this act it was provided, that should any persons acting in that capacity be indicted for murder, and not able to obtain a fair trial in the province, they might be sent by the governor to England, or to some other colony, if necessary, to be tried for the supposed crime.

These three bills having passed so easily, the ministry proposed a fourth, relative to the government of Canada; which, it was said, had not been settled on any proper plan. By this bill the extent of that province was greatly enlarged; its affairs were put under the direction of a council, in which Roman Catholics were to be admitted; the Roman Catholic clergy were secured in their possessions, and the usual perquisites from those of their own profession. The council above mentioned were to be appointed by the crown, to be removeable at its pleasure; and to be invested with every legislative power, excepting that of taxation,

No sooner were these laws made known in America, than they cemented the union of the colonies beyond any possibility of dissolving it. The assembly of Massachusetts Bay had passed a vote against the judges accepting salaries from the crown, and put the question, Whether they would accept them as usual from the general assembly? Four answered in the affirmative; but Peter Oliver the chief-justice refused. A petition against him, and an accusation, were brought before the governor; but the latter refused the accusation, and declined to interfere in the matter; but as they still insisted for what they called justice against Mr. Oliver, the governor thought proper to put an end to the matter by dissolving the assembly.

In this situation of affairs a new alarm was occasioned by the news of the port-bill. This had been totally unexpected, and was received with the most extravagant expressions of displeasure among the populace; and while these continued, the new governor, General Gage, arrived from England.

England. He had been chosen to this office on account of his being well acquainted in America, and generally agreeable to the people; but human wisdom could not now point out a method by which the flame could be allayed. The first act of his office as governor was to remove the assembly to Salem, a town seventeen miles distant, in consequence of the late act. When this was intimated to the assembly, they replied by requesting him to appoint a day of public humiliation for deprecating the wrath of heaven, but met with a refusal. When met at Salem, they passed a resolution, declaring the necessity of a general congress composed of delegates from all the provinces, in order to take the affairs of the colonies at large into consideration; and five gentlemen, remarkable for their opposition to the British measures, were chosen to represent that of Massachusetts Bay. They then proceeded with all expedition to draw up a declaration, containing a detail of the grievances they laboured under, and the necessity of exerting themselves against lawless power; they set forth the disregard shown to their petitions, and the attempts of Great Britain to destroy their ancient constitution; and concluded with exhorting the inhabitants of the colony to obstruct, by every method in their power, such evil designs, recommending at the same time a total renunciation of every thing imported from Great Britain till a redress of grievances could be procured.

Intelligence of this declaration was carried to the governor on the very day that it was completed; on which he dissolved the assembly. This was followed by an address from the inhabitants of Salem in favour of those of Boston, and concluding with these remarkable words: "By shutting up the port of Boston, some imagine that the course of trade might be turned hither, and to our benefit; but nature, in the formation of our harbour, forbids our becoming rivals in commerce with that convenient mart; and were it otherwise, we must be dead to every idea of justice, lost to all feelings of humanity, could we indulge one thought to seize on wealth, and raise our fortunes on the ruin of our suffering neighbours."

It had been fondly hoped by the ministerial party at home, that the advantages which other towns of the colony might derive from the annihilation of the trade of Boston would make them readily acquiesce in the measure of shutting up that port, and rather rejoice in it than otherwise; but the words of the address above mentioned seemed to preclude all hope of this kind; and subsequent transactions soon manifested it to be totally vain. No sooner did intelligence arrive of the remaining bills passed in the session of 1774, than the cause of Boston became the cause of all the colonies. The port-bill had already occasioned violent com-

motions

motions throughout them all. It had been reprobated in provincial meetings, and resistance even to the last had been recommended against such oppression. In Virginia, the 1st of June, the day on which the port of Boston was to be shut up, was held as a day of humiliation, and a public intercession in favour of America was enjoined. The style of the prayer enjoined at this time was, that "God would give the people one heart and one mind, firmly to oppose every invasion of the American rights." The Virginians, however, did not content themselves with acts of religion. They recommended in the strongest manner a general congress of all the colonies, as fully persuaded that an attempt to tax any colony in an arbitrary manner was in reality an attack upon the whole, and must ultimately end in the ruin of them all.

The provinces of New York and Pennsylvania, however, were less sanguine than the rest, being so closely connected in the way of trade with Great Britain, that the giving it up entirely appeared a matter of the most serious magnitude, and not to be thought of but after every other method had failed. The intelligence of the remaining bills respecting Boston, however, spread a fresh alarm throughout the continent, and fixed those who had seemed to be the most wavering. The proposal of giving up all commercial intercourse with Britain was again proposed; contributions for the inhabitants of Boston were raised in every quarter; and they every day received addresses commending them for the heroic courage with which they sustained their calamity.

The Bostonians on their part were not wanting in their endeavours to promote the general cause. An agreement was framed, which, in imitation of former times, they called a Solemn League and Covenant. By this the subscribers most religiously bound themselves to break off all communication with Britain after the month of August ensuing, until the obnoxious acts were repealed; at the same time they engaged neither to purchase nor use any goods imported after that time, and to renounce all connection with those who did, or who refused to subscribe to this covenant; threatening to publish the names of the refractory, which at this time was a punishment by no means to be despised. Agreements of a similar kind were almost instantaneously entered into throughout all America. General Gage indeed attempted to counteract the covenant by a proclamation, wherein it was declared an illegal and traitorous combination, threatening with the pains of law such as subscribed or countenanced it. But matters were too far gone for his proclamations to have any effect. The Americans retorted the charge of illegality on his own proclamation, and insisted that the law allowed subjects to meet



in order to consider of their grievances, and associate for relief from oppression.

Preparations were now made for holding the general congress so often proposed. Philadelphia, as being the most central and considerable town, was pitched upon for the place of its meeting. The delegates of whom it was to be composed were chosen by the representatives of each province, and were in number from two to seven for each colony, though no province had more than one vote. The first congress which met at Philadelphia, in the beginning of September 1774, consisted of fifty-one delegates. The novelty and importance of the meeting excited an universal attention; and their transactions were such as could not but tend to render them respectable.

The first act of congress was an approbation of the conduct of Massachusetts Bay, and an exhortation to continue in the same spirit with which they had begun. Supplies for the suffering inhabitants, whom indeed the operation of the port-bill had reduced to great distress, were strongly recommended; and it was declared, that in case of attempts to enforce the obnoxious acts by arms, all America should join to assist the town of Boston; and should the inhabitants be obliged, during the course of hostilities, to remove farther up the country, the losses they might sustain should be repaired at the public expence.

They next addressed General Gage by letter; in which, having stated the grievances of the people of Massachusetts's colony, they informed him of the fixed and unalterable determination of all the other provinces to support their brethren, and to oppose the British acts of parliament; that they themselves were appointed to watch over the liberties of America; and intreated him to desist from military operations, lest such hostilities might be brought on as would frustrate all hopes of reconciliation with the parent state.

The next step was to publish the following declaration of their rights.

#### DECLARATION OF RIGHTS.

THE good people of the several Colonies of New Hampshire, Massachusetts-Bay, Rhode-Island, and Providence Plantations, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Newcastle, Kent, and Suffex on Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, and South Carolina, alarmed at the arbitrary proceedings of the British Parliament and Administration, having severally elected deputies to meet and sit in General Congress in the city of Philadelphia, and those deputies so chosen being assembled on the 5th day of September, after settling several necessary preliminaries, proceeded to take into their most serious consideration

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the best means of attaining the redress of grievances. In the first place, they, as Englishmen, (and as their ancestors, in like cases, have usually done, for asserting and vindicating their rights and liberties,) **DECLARE,**

That the inhabitants of the English Colonies in North America, by the immutable laws of nature, the principles of the English Constitution, and the several Charters or Compacts, have the following **RIGHTS**:—

Resolved, *nem. con.* 1. That they are entitled to life, liberty, and property; and have never ceded, to any sovereign power whatever, a right to dispose of either without their consent.

Resolved, *n. c.* 2. That our ancestors were, at the time of their emigration from the Mother-Country, entitled to all the rights, liberties, and immunities, of free and natural-born subjects within the realm of England.

Resolved, *n. c.* 3. That, by such emigration, they neither forfeited, surrendered, nor lost, any of those rights.

Resolved, *n. c.* 4. That the foundation of English liberty, and of all free government, is a right in the people to participate in their Legislative Council; and as the English Colonists are not represented, and, from their local and other circumstances, cannot properly be represented in the British Parliament, they are entitled to a free and exclusive power of legislation, in their several Provincial Legislatures, where their right of representation can alone be preserved, in all cases of taxation and internal polity, subject only to the negative of their Sovereign, in such manner as has been heretofore used and accustomed: but, from the necessity of the case, and a regard to the mutual interests of both countries, we cheerfully consent to the operation of such Acts of the British Parliament as are, *bona fide*, restrained to the regulation of our external commerce, for the purpose of securing the commercial advantages of the whole Empire to the Mother-Country; and the commercial benefits of its respective members, excluding every idea of taxation, internal or external, for raising a revenue, on the subjects in America without their consent.

Resolved, *n. c.* 5. That the respective Colonies are entitled to the Common Law of England, and, more especially, to the great and inestimable privilege of being tried by their peers of the vicinage, according to the course of that law.

Resolved, 6. That they are entitled to the benefit of such of the English Statutes as existed at the time of their colonization, and which they have, by experience, respectively found to be applicable to their several local and other circumstances.

Resolved,

Resolved, *n. c.* 7. That these, his Majesty's Colonies, are likewise entitled to all the immunities and privileges, granted and confirmed to them by Royal Charters, or secured by their several codes of Provincial Laws.

Resolved, *n. c.* 8. That they have a right peaceably to assemble, consider of their grievances, and petition the King; and that all prosecutions, prohibitory proclamations, and commitments for the same, are illegal.

Resolved, *n. c.* 9. That the keeping a standing army in these Colonies, in times of peace, without the consent of the legislature of that colony in which such army is kept, is against law.

Resolved, *n. c.* 10. It is indispensibly necessary to good government, and rendered essential by the English Constitution, that the constituent branches of the legislature be independent of each other; that, therefore, the exercise of legislative power, in several Colonies, by a Council appointed during pleasure by the Crown, is unconstitutional, dangerous, and destructive to the freedom of American legislation.

All and each of which, the aforesaid Deputies, in behalf of themselves and their constituents, do claim, demand, and insist on, as their indubitable rights and liberties, which cannot be legally taken from them, altered or abridged by any power whatever, without their own consent, by their Representatives in their several provincial legislatures.

Resolved, *n. c.* That the following Acts of Parliament are infringements and violations of the rights of the Colonists; and that the repeal of them is essentially necessary, in order to restore harmony between Great Britain and the American colonies, viz.

The several Acts of 4 Geo. III. ch. 15. and ch. 34.—5 Geo. III. ch. 25.—6 Geo. III. ch. 52.—7 Geo. III. ch. 41. and ch. 46.—8 Geo. III. ch. 22. which impose duties for the purpose of raising a revenue in America, extend the powers of the Admiralty Courts beyond their ancient limits, deprive the American subject of trial by Jury, authorise the Judges certificate to indemnify the prosecutor from damages that he might otherwise be liable to, requiring oppressive security from a claimant of ships and goods seized, before he shall be allowed to defend his property, and are subversive of American rights.

Also 12 Geo. III. ch. 24. intituled, "An Act for the better securing his Majesty's dock-yards, magazines, ships, ammunition, and stores;" which declares a new offence in America, and deprives the American subjects of a constitutional trial by Jury of the vicinage, by authorising the trial of any person charged with the committing any offence de-

scribed in the said Act out of the realm, to be indicted and tried for the same in any shire or county within the realm.

Also the three Acts passed in the last Session of Parliament, for stopping the port and blocking up the harbour of Boston, for altering the charter and government of Massachusetts-Bay, and that which is intituled, "An Act for the better administration of justice, &c."

Also the Act passed in the same Session for establishing the Roman Catholic religion in the Province of Quebec, abolishing the equitable system of English laws, and erecting a tyranny there, to the great danger, from so total a dissimilarity of religion, law, and government, of the neighbouring British Colonies, by the assistance of whose blood and treasure the said country was conquered from France.

Also the Act passed in the same Session for the better providing suitable quarters for officers and soldiers in his Majesty's service in North-America.

Resolved, That this Congress do approve of the opposition made by the inhabitants of the Massachusetts-bay, to the execution of the said late Acts of Parliament; and if the same shall be attempted to be carried into execution by force, in such case, all America ought to support them in their opposition.

Resolved, That the removal of the people of Boston into the country, would be not only extremely difficult in the execution, but so important in its consequences, as to require the utmost deliberation before it is adopted. But in case the Provincial Meeting of that Colony shall judge it *absolutely* necessary, it is the opinion of this Congress, that all America ought to contribute towards recompensing them for the injury they may thereby sustain.

Resolved, That this Congress do recommend to the inhabitants of Massachusetts-bay, to submit to a suspension of the administration of justice, where it cannot be procured in a legal and peaceable manner, under the rules of the charter, and the laws founded thereon, until the effects of our application for the repeal of the Acts by which their charter-rights are infringed, is known.

Resolved unanimously, That every person who shall take, accept, or act under any commission or authority, in any wise derived from the act passed in the last Session of Parliament, changing the form of Government, and violating the charter of the Province of Massachusetts-Bay, ought to be held in detestation, and considered as the wicked tool of that despotism which is preparing to destroy those rights which God, nature, and compact, hath given to America.

Resolved unanimously, That the people of Boston and the Massachusetts-bay, be advised still to conduct themselves peaceably towards his Excellency General Gage, and his Majesty's troops now stationed in the town of Boston, as far as can possibly consist with their immediate safety and the security of the town; avoiding and discountenancing every violation of his Majesty's property, or any insult to his troops; and that they peaceably and firmly persevere in the line in which they are now conducting themselves on the defensive.

Resolved, That the seizing, or attempting to seize, any person in America, in order to transport such person beyond the sea, for trial of offences, committed within the body of a county in America, being against law, will justify, and ought to meet with resistance and refusal.

A copy of a letter to General Gage was brought into Congress, and, agreeable to order; signed by the President, and is as follows:

*Philadelphia, Oct. 10, 1774.*

“ SIR,

“ The inhabitants of the town of Boston have informed us, the Representatives of his Majesty's faithful subjects in all the Colonies from Nova-Scotia to Georgia, that the fortifications erecting within that town, the frequent invasions of private property, and the repeated insults they receive from the soldiery, hath given them great reason to suspect a plan is formed very destructive to them, and tending to overthrow the liberties of America.

“ Your Excellency cannot be a stranger to the sentiments of America with respect to the late Acts of Parliament, under the execution of which those unhappy people are oppressed; the approbation universally expressed of their conduct, and the determined resolution of the Colonies, for the preservation of their Common Rights, to unite in their opposition to those Acts. In consequence of these sentiments, they have appointed us the guardians of their rights and liberties, and we are under the deepest concern, that, whilst we are pursuing every dutiful and peaceable measure, to procure a cordial and effectual reconciliation between Great Britain and the Colonies, your Excellency should proceed in a manner that bears so hostile an appearance, and which even those oppressive Acts do not warrant.

We entreat your Excellency to consider, what tendency this conduct must have to irritate and force a people, however well disposed to peaceable measures, into hostilities, which may prevent the endeavours of this Congress to restore a good understanding with a Parent State, and may involve us in the horrors of a civil war.



“ In order therefore to quiet the minds, and remove the reasonable jealousies of the people, that they may not be driven to a state of desperation, being fully persuaded of their pacific disposition towards the King’s troops, could they be assured of their own safety; we hope, Sir, you will discontinue the fortifications in and about Boston, prevent any further invasions of private property, restrain the irregularities of the soldiers, and give orders that the communications between that town and country may be open, unmolested, and free.

“ Signed, by order and in behalf of the General Congress,

PEYTON RANDOLPH, President.”

They further declared in favour of a non-importation and non-consumption of British goods until the acts were repealed by which duties were imposed upon tea, coffee, wine, sugar, and molasses, imported into America, as well as the Boston port-act, and the three others passed in the preceding session of parliament. The new regulations against the importation and consumption of British commodities were then drawn up with great solemnity; and they concluded with returning the warmest thanks to those members of parliament who had with so much zeal, though without any success, opposed the obnoxious acts of parliament.

Their next proceedings were to frame a petition to the King, an address to the British nation, and another to the colonies; all of which were so much in the usual strain of American language for some time past, that it is needless to enter into any particular account of them. It is sufficient to say that they were all drawn up in a masterly manner, and ought to have impressed the people of this country with a more favourable idea of the Americans than they could at that time be induced to entertain.

All this time the disposition of the people had corresponded with the warmest wishes of congress. The first of June had been kept as a fast, not only throughout Virginia, where it was first proposed, but through the whole continent. Contributions for the distressed of Boston had been raised throughout America, and people of all ranks seemed to be particularly touched with them. Even those who seemed to be most likely to derive advantages from them took no opportunity, as has been already instanced in the case of Salem. The inhabitants of Marblehead also shewed a noble example of magnanimity in the present case. Though situated in the neighbourhood of Boston, and most likely to derive benefit from their distressed, they did not attempt to take any advantage, but generously offered the use of their harbour to the Bostonians.

ians, as well as their wharfs and warehouses, free of all expence. In the mean time the British forces at Boston were continually increasing in number, which greatly augmented the general jealousy and disaffection; the country were ready to rise at a moment's warning; and the experiment was made by giving a false alarm that the communication between the town and country was to be cut off, in order to reduce the former by famine to a compliance with the acts of parliament. On this intelligence the country people assembled in great numbers, and could not be satisfied till they had sent messengers into the city to enquire into the truth of the report. These messengers were enjoined to inform the town's people, that if they should be so pusillanimous as to make a surrender of their liberties, the province would not think itself bound by such examples; and that Britain, by breaking their original charter, had annulled the contract subsisting between them, and left them to act as they thought proper.

The people in every other respect manifested their inflexible determination to adhere to the plan they had so long followed. The new counsellors and judges were obliged to resign their offices, in order to preserve their lives and properties from the fury of the multitude. In some places they shut up the avenues to the court-houses; and when required to make way for the judges, replied, that they knew of none but such as were appointed by the ancient usage and custom of the province. Every where they manifested the most ardent desire of learning the art of war; and every individual who could bear arms, was most assiduous in procuring them, and learning their exercise.

Matters at last proceeded to such an height, that General Gage thought proper to fortify the neck of land, which joins the town of Boston to the continent. This, though undoubtedly a prudent measure in his situation, was exclaimed against by the Americans in the most vehement manner; but the General, instead of giving ear to their remonstrances, deprived them of all power of acting against himself, by seizing the provincial powder, amunition, and military stores, at Cambridge and Charlestown. This excited such indignation, that it was with the utmost difficulty the people could be restrained from marching to Boston and attacking the troops. Even in the town itself, the company of cadets that used to attend him disbanded themselves and returned the standard, he had as usual presented them with on his accession to the government. This was occasioned by his having deprived the celebrated John Hancock, afterwards president of the congress, of his commission as colonel of the cadets. A similar instance happened of a provincial colonel

colonel having accepted a seat in the new council; upon which twenty-four officers of his regiment resigned their commissions in one day.

In the mean time a meeting was held of the principal inhabitants of the towns adjacent to Boston. The purport of this was publicly to renounce all obedience to the late acts of parliament, and to form an engagement to indemnify such as should be prosecuted on that account; the members of the new council were declared violaters of the rights of their country; all ranks and degrees were exhorted to learn the use of arms; and the receivers of the public revenue were ordered not to deliver it into the treasury, but retain it in their own hands till the constitution should be restored, or a provincial congress dispose of it otherwise.

A remonstrance against the fortifications on Boston Neck was next prepared; in which, however, they still pretended their unwillingness to proceed to any hostile measures; asserting only as usual their firm determination not to submit to the acts of parliament they had already so much complained of. The Governor, to restore tranquillity, if possible, called a general assembly; but so many of the council had resigned their seats, that he was induced to countermand its sitting by proclamation. This measure, however, was deemed illegal; the assembly met at Salem; and after waiting a day for the Governor, voted themselves into a provincial congress, of which Mr. Hancock was chosen President. A committee was instantly appointed, who waited on the governor with a remonstrance concerning the fortifications on Boston Neck; but nothing of consequence took place, both parties mutually criminating each other. The winter was now coming on, and the Governor, to avoid quartering the soldiers upon the inhabitants, proposed to erect barracks for them; but the select men of Boston compelled the workmen to desist. Carpenters were sent for to New York, but they were refused; and it was with the utmost difficulty that he could procure winter lodgings for his troops. Nor was the difficulty less in procuring clothes; as the merchants of New York told him, that "they would never supply any article for the benefit of men sent as enemies to their country."

This disposition, known to be almost universal throughout the continent, was in the highest degree satisfactory to congress. Every one saw that the ensuing spring was to be the season for commencing hostilities, and the most indefatigable diligence was used for the colonies to be well provided against such a formidable enemy. A list of the fencible men in each colony was made out, and especially of those who had served in the former war; of whom they had the satisfaction to find  
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that two-thirds were still alive and fit to bear arms. Magazines of arms were collected, and money was provided for the payment of troops. The governors in vain attempted to put a stop to these proceedings by proclamations; the fatal period was now arrived; and the more the servants of government attempted to repress the spirit of the Americans, the more violent it appeared.

The beginning of strife between the Parent State and her Colonies was like the letting out of waters. From inconsiderable causes love was changed into suspicion that gradually ripened into ill will, and soon ended in hostility. Prudence, policy, and reciprocal interest, urged the expediency of concession; but pride, false honour, and misconceived dignity drew in an opposite direction. Undecided claims and doubtful rights, which under the influence of wisdom and humility might have been easily compromised, imperceptibly widened into an irreconcilable breach. Hatred at length took the place of kind affections, and the calamities of war were substituted in lieu of the benefits of commerce.

From the year 1768, in which a military force had been stationed in Boston, there was a constant succession of insulting words, looks, and gestures. The inhabitants were exasperated against the soldiers, and they against the inhabitants. The former looked on the latter as the instruments of tyranny, and the latter on the former as seditious rioters, or fraudulent smugglers. In this irritable state, every incident, however trifling, made a sensible impression. The citizens apprehended constant danger from an armed force, in whose power they were; the soldiers, on the other hand, considered themselves as in the midst of their enemies, and exposed to attacks from within and without. In proportion as the breach between Great Britain and her colonies widened, the distrust and animosity between the people and the army increased. From the latter end of 1774, hostile appearances daily threatened that the flames of war would be kindled from the collision of such inflammable materials. Whatsoever was done by either party by way of precaution, for the purposes of self-defence, was construed by the other as preparatory to an intended attack. Each disclaimed all intentions of commencing hostilities, but reciprocally manifested suspicion of the other's sincerity. As far as was practicable without an open rupture, the plans of the one were respectively thwarted by the other. From every appearance it became daily more evident that arms must ultimately decide the contest. To suffer an army that was soon expected to be an enemy, quietly to fortify themselves, when the inhabitants were both able and willing to cut them off, appeared to some warm spirits the height of folly; but the prudence and moderation of others, and especially



cially the advice and recommendation of Congress, restrained their impetuosity. It was a fortunate circumstance for the colonies that the royal army was posted in New England. The people of that northern country have their passions more under the command of reason and interest, than in the southern latitudes, where a warmer sun excites a greater degree of irascibility. One rash offensive action against the royal forces at this early period, though successful, might have done great mischief to the cause of America. It would have lost them European friends, and weakened the disposition of the other colonies to assist them. The patient and politic New-England men, fully sensible of their situation, submitted to many insults, and bridled their resentment. In civil wars or revolutions, it is a matter of much consequence who strikes the first blow. The compassion of the world is in favour of the attacked, and the displeasure of good men on those who are the first to imbrue their hands in human blood. For the space of nine months after the arrival of General Gage, the behaviour of the people of Boston is particularly worthy of imitation, by those who wish to overturn established governments. They conducted their opposition with exquisite address. They avoided every kind of outrage and violence, preserved peace and good order among themselves, successfully engaged the other Colonies to make a common cause with them, and counteracted General Gage so effectually, as to prevent his doing any thing for his royal master, while by patience and moderation they screened themselves from censure. Though resolved to bear as long as prudence and policy dictated, they were all the time preparing for the last extremity. They were furnishing themselves with arms and ammunition, and training their militia.

Provisions were also collected and stored in different places, particularly at Concord, about twenty miles from Boston. General Gage, though zealous for his royal master's interest, discovered a prevailing desire after a peaceable accommodation. He wished to prevent hostilities by depriving the inhabitants of the means necessary for carrying them on. With this view he determined to destroy the stores which he knew were collected for the support of a provincial army. Wishing to accomplish this without bloodshed, he took every precaution to effect it by surprise, and without alarming the country. At eleven o'clock at night on April 18, eight hundred grenadiers and light infantry, the flower of the royal army, embarked at the Common, landed at Phipps's farm, and marched for Concord, under the command of Lieutenant-colonel Smith. Neither the secrecy with which this expedition was planned,

planned, the privacy with which the troops marched out, nor an order that no one inhabitant should leave Boston, were sufficient to prevent intelligence from being sent to the country militia, of what was going on. About two in the morning one hundred and thirty of the Lexington militia had assembled to oppose them, but the air being chill, and intelligence respecting the regulars uncertain, they were dismissed, with orders to appear again at beat of drum. They collected a second time to the number of seventy, between four and five o'clock in the morning, and the British regulars soon after made their appearance. Major Pitcairn, who led the advanced corps, rode up to them and called out, "Disperse, you rebels; throw down your arms and disperse." They still continued in a body, on which he advanced nearer—discharged his pistol—and ordered his soldiers to fire. This was done with a huzza. A dispersion of the militia was the consequence, but the firing of the regulars was nevertheless continued. Individuals finding they were fired upon, though dispersing, returned the fire. Three or four of the militia were killed on the green; a few more were shot after they had begun to disperse. The royal detachment proceeded on to Concord, and executed their commission. They disabled two twenty-four pounders—threw five hundred pounds of ball into rivers and wells, and broke in pieces about sixty barrels of flour. Mr. John Butterick of Concord, major of a minute regiment, not knowing what had passed at Lexington, ordered his men not to give the first fire, that they might not be the aggressors. Upon his approaching near the regulars, they fired, and killed Captain Isaac Davis, and one private of the provincial minute men. The fire was returned, and a skirmish ensued. The King's troops having done their business, began their retreat towards Boston. This was conducted with expedition, for the adjacent inhabitants had assembled in arms, and began to attack them in every direction. In their return to Lexington they were exceedingly annoyed, both by those who pressed on their rear, and others who pouring in on all sides, fired from behind stone walls, and such like coverts, which supplied the place of lines and redoubts. At Lexington the regulars were joined by a detachment of nine hundred men, under Lord Piercy, which had been sent out by General Gage to support Lieutenant-colonel Smith. This reinforcement having two pieces of cannon awed the provincials, and kept them at a greater distance, but they continued a constant, though irregular and scattering fire, which did great execution. The close firing from behind the walls by good marksmen, put the regular troops in no small confusion, but they nevertheless kept up a brisk retreating fire on the militia and minute men. A little after sunset the regulars

reached Bunker's Hill, worn down with excessive fatigue, having marched that day between thirty and forty miles. On the next day they crossed Charlestown ferry, and returned to Boston.

There never were more than four hundred provincials engaged at one time, and often not so many; as some tired and gave out, others came up and took their places. There was scarcely any discipline observed among them: officers and privates fired when they were ready, and saw a royal uniform, without waiting for the word of command. Their knowledge of the country enabled them to gain opportunities by crossing fields and fences, and to act as flanking parties against the King's troops who kept to the main road.

The regulars had sixty-five killed, one hundred and eighty wounded, and twenty-eight made prisoners. Of the provincials fifty were killed, and thirty-eight wounded and missing.

As arms were to decide the controversy, it was fortunate for the Americans that the first blood was drawn in New England. The inhabitants of that country are so connected with each other by descent, manners, religion, politics, and a general equality, that the killing of a single individual interested the whole, and made them consider it as a common cause. The blood of those who were killed at Lexington and Concord proved the firm cement of an extensive union.

To prevent the people within Boston from co-operating with their countrymen without, in case of an assault, which was now daily expected, General Gage, April 22, agreed with a committee of the town, that upon the inhabitants lodging their arms in Faneuil-hall, or any other convenient place, under the care of the select men, all such inhabitants as were inclined, might depart from the town, with their families and effects. In five days after the ratification of this agreement, the inhabitants had lodged one thousand seven hundred and seventy-eight fire arms, six hundred and thirty-four pistols, two hundred and seventy-three bayonets, and thirty-eight blunderbusses. The agreement was well observed in the beginning, but after a short time obstructions were thrown in the way of its final completion, on the plea that persons who went from Boston to bring in the goods of those who chose to continue within the town, were not properly treated. Congress remonstrated on the infraction of the agreement, but without effect. The General, on a farther consideration of the consequences of moving the whigs out of Boston, evaded it in a manner not consistent with good faith. He was in some measure compelled to adopt this dishonourable measure, from the clamour of the tories, who alledged, that none but enemies to the British government were disposed to  
remove,

remove, and that when they were all safe with their families and effects, the town would be set on fire. To prevent the provincials from obtaining supplies which they much wanted, a quibble was made on the meaning of the word effects, which was construed by the General as not including merchandize. By this construction, unwarranted by every rule of genuine interpretation, many who quitted the town were deprived of their usual resources for a support. Passports were not universally refused, but were given out very slowly, and the business was so conducted that families were divided,—wives were separated from their husbands, children from their parents, and the aged and infirm, from their relations and friends. The General discovered a disinclination to part with the women and children, thinking that, on their account, the provincials would be restrained from making an assault on the town. The select-men gave repeated assurance that the inhabitants had delivered up their arms, but as a cover for violating the agreement, General Gage issued a proclamation, in which he asserted that he had full proof to the contrary. A few might have secreted some favourite arms, but nearly all the training arms were delivered up. On this flimsy pretence the General sacrificed his honour, to policy and the clamours of the tories. Contrary to good faith he detained many, though fairly entitled by agreement to go out, and when he admitted the departure of others he would not allow them to move their families and effects.

The Provincial Congress of Massachusetts, which was in session at the time of the Lexington battle, dispatched an account of it to Great Britain, accompanied with many depositions, to prove that the British troops were the aggressors. They also made an address to the inhabitants of Great Britain, in which, after complaining of their sufferings, they say, “these have not detached us from our royal Sovereign; we profess to be his loyal and dutiful subjects, and though hardly dealt with, as we have been, are still ready with our lives and fortunes, to defend his person, crown, and dignity; nevertheless, to the persecution and tyranny of his evil Ministry, we will not tamely submit. Appealing to Heaven for the justice of our cause, we determine to die or be free.” From the commencement of hostilities, the dispute between Great Britain and the Colonies took a new direction.

Intelligence that the British troops had marched out of Boston into the country on some hostile purpose, being forwarded by expresses from one committee to another, great bodies of the militia, not only from Massachusetts but the adjacent Colonies, grasped their arms and



marched to oppose them. The Colonies were in such a state of irritability, that the least shock in any part was, by a powerful and sympathetic affection, instantaneously felt throughout the whole. The Americans who fell were revered by their countrymen, as martyrs who had died in the cause of liberty. Resentment against the British burned more strongly than ever. Martial rage took possession of the breasts of thousands. Combinations were formed and associations subscribed, binding the inhabitants to one another by the sacred ties of honour, religion and love of country, to do whatever their public bodies directed for the preservation of their liberties. Hitherto the Americans had no regular army. From principles of policy they cautiously avoided that measure, lest they might subject themselves to the charge of being aggressors. All their military regulations were carried on by their militia, and under the old established laws of the land. For the defence of the Colonies, the inhabitants had been, from their early years, enrolled in companies, and taught the use of arms. The laws for this purpose had never been better observed than for some months previous to the Lexington battle. These military arrangements, which had been previously adopted for defending the Colonies from hostile French and Indians, were on this occasion turned against the troops of the Parent State. Forts, magazines, and arsenals, by the constitution of the country, were in the keeping of his Majesty. Immediately after the Lexington battle, these were for the most part taken possession of throughout the Colonies, by parties of the provincial militia. Ticonderoga, in which was a small royal garrison, was surprised and taken by adventurers from different states. Public money which had been collected in consequence of previous grants, was also seized for common services. Before the commencement of hostilities these measures would have been condemned by the moderate even among the Americans, but that event justified a bolder line of opposition than had been adopted. Sundry citizens having been put to death by British troops, self-preservation dictated measures which, if adopted under other circumstances, would have disunited the Colonists. One of the most important of this kind was the raising an army. Men of warm tempers, whose courage exceeded their prudence, had for months urged the necessity of raising troops; but they were restrained by the more moderate, who wished that the Colonies might avoid extremities, or at least that they might not lead in bringing them on. The Provincial Congress of Massachusetts being in session at the time the battle of Lexington was fought, voted that "an army of thirty thousand men be immediately raised, that thirteen thousand

six hundred be of their own province, and that a letter and delegate be sent to the several Colonies of New-Hampshire, Connecticut, and Rhode-Island. In consequence of this vote, the business of recruiting was begun, and in a short time a provincial army was paraded in the vicinity of Boston, which, though far below what had been voted by the Provincial Congress, was much superior in numbers to the royal army. The command of this force was given to General Ward.

Had the British troops confined themselves to Boston, as before the 18th of April, the assembling an American army, though only for the purpose of observation and defence, would have appeared in the nature of a challenge, and would have made many less willing to support the people of Massachusetts, but after the British had commenced hostilities the same measure was adopted, without subjecting the authors of it to censure, and without giving offence or hazarding the union. The Lexington battle not only furnished the Americans with a justifying apology for raising an army, but inspired them with ideas of their own prowess. Amidst the most animated declarations of sacrificing fortune, and risking life itself for the security of American rights, a secret sigh would frequently escape from the breasts of her most determined friends, for fear that they could not stand before the bravery and discipline of British troops. Hoary sages would shake their heads and say, "Your cause is good, and I wish you success, but I fear that your undisciplined valour must be overcome in the unequal contest. After a few thousands of you have fallen, the Provinces must ultimately bow to that power which has so repeatedly humbled France and Spain." So confident were the British of their superiority in arms, that they seemed desirous that the contest might be brought to a military decision. Some of the distinguished speakers in Parliament had publicly asserted that the natives of America had nothing of the foldier in them, and that they were in no respect qualified to face a British army. European philosophers had published theories, setting forth that not only vegetables and beasts, but that even men degenerated in the western hemisphere. Departing from the spirit of true philosophy, they overlooked the state of society in the new world, and charged a comparative inferiority on every production that was American. The Colonists themselves had imbibed opinions from their forefathers, that no people on earth were equal to those with whom they were about to contend. Impressed with high ideas of British superiority, and diffident of themselves, their best informed citizens, though willing to run all risks, feared the consequence of an appeal to arms. The success that attended their first military enterprize in some degree banished these suggestions.

suggestions. Perhaps in no subsequent battle did the Americans appear to greater advantage than in their first essay at Lexington. It is almost without parallel in military history, for the yeomenry of the country to come forward in a single disjointed manner, without order, and for the most part without officers, and by an irregular fire put to flight troops equal in discipline to any in the world. In opposition to the bold assertions of some, and the desponding fears of others, experience proved that Americans might effectually resist British troops. The diffident grew bold in their country's cause, and indulged in cheerful hopes that Heaven would finally crown their labours with success.

Soon after the Lexington battle, and in consequence of the event, not only the arms, ammunition, forts, and fortifications, in the Colonies were secured for the use of the Provincials, but regular forces were raised, and money struck for their support. These military arrangements were not confined to the New England states, but were general throughout the Colonies. The determination of the king and parliament to enforce submission to their acts, and the news of the Lexington battle, came to the distant provinces nearly about the same time. It was supposed by many that the latter was in consequence of the former, and that General Gage had recent orders to proceed immediately to subdue the refractory Colonists.

From a variety of circumstances the Americans had good reason to conclude that hostilities would soon be carried on vigorously in Massachusetts, and also to apprehend that, sooner or later, each province would be the theatre of war. "The more speedily, therefore, said they, we are prepared for that event, the better chance we have for defending ourselves." Previous to this period, or rather to the 19th of April, 1775, the dispute had been carried on by the pen, or at most by associations and legislative acts; but from this time forward it was conducted by the sword. The crisis was arrived when the Colonies had no alternative, but either to submit to the mercy, or to resist the power of Great Britain. An unconquerable love of liberty could not brook the idea of submission, while reason, more temperate in her decisions, suggested to the people their insufficiency to make effectual opposition. They were fully apprized of the power of Britain—they knew that her fleets covered the ocean, and that her flag had waved in triumph through the four quarters of the globe; but the animated language of the time was, "It is better to die freemen than to live slaves." Though the justice of their cause, and the inspiration of liberty gave, in the opinion of disinterested judges, a superiority to the writings of Americans, yet in the latter mode of conducting their opposition, the candid



candid among themselves acknowledged an inferiority. Their form of government was deficient in that decision, dispatch, and coercion, which are necessary in military operations.

In the year 1775, a martial spirit pervaded all ranks of men in the Colonies. They believed their liberties to be in danger, and were generally disposed to risque their lives for their establishment. Their ignorance of the military art prevented their weighing the chances of war with that exactness of calculation which, if indulged, might have damped their hopes. They conceived that there was little more to do than fight manfully for their country. They consoled themselves with the idea, that though their first attempt might be unsuccessful, their numbers would admit of a repetition of the experiment, till the invaders were finally exterminated. Not considering that in modern war the longest purse decides oftener than the longest sword; they feared not the wealth of Britain. They both expected and wished that the whole dispute would be speedily settled in a few decisive engagements. Elevated with the love of liberty, and buoyed above the fear of consequences, by an ardent military enthusiasm, unabated by calculations about the extent, duration, or probable issue of the war, the people of America seconded the voice of their rulers, in an appeal to Heaven for the vindication of their rights. At the time the Colonies adopted these spirited resolutions, they possessed not a single ship of war, nor so much as an armed vessel of any kind. It had often been suggested, that their seaport towns lay at the mercy of the navy of Great Britain; this was both known and believed, but disregarded. The love of property was absorbed in the love of liberty. The animated votaries of the equal rights of human nature, consoled themselves with the idea, that though their whole sea coast should be laid in ashes, they could retire to the western wilderness, and enjoy the luxury of being free; on this occasion it was observed in Congress by Christopher Gadsden, one of the South Carolina delegates, "Our houses being constructed of brick, stone, and wood, though destroyed may be rebuilt, but liberty once gone is lost for ever."

The sober discretion of the present age will more readily censure than admire, but can more easily admire than imitate the fervid zeal of the patriots of 1775, who in idea sacrificed property in the cause of liberty, with the ease that they now sacrifice almost every other consideration for the acquisition of property.

The Revenues of Britain were immense, and her people were habituated to the payment of large sums, in every form which contributions to government have assumed; but the American Colonies possessed neither  
money



money nor funds, nor were their people accustomed to taxes equal to the exigences of war. The contest having begun about taxation, to have raised money by taxes for carrying it on would have been impolitic. The temper of the times precluded the necessity of attempting the dangerous expedient, for such was the enthusiasm of the day, that the Colonists gave up both their personal services and their property to the public, on the vague promises that they should at a future time be reimbursed. Without enquiring into the solidity of the funds, or the precise period of payment, the resources of the country were commanded on general assurances, that all expences of the war should ultimately be equalised. The Parent State abounded with experienced statesmen and officers, but the dependent form of government exercised in the Colonies, precluded their citizens from gaining that practical knowledge which is acquired from being at the head of public departments. There were very few in the Colonies who understood the business of providing for an army, and still fewer who had experience and knowledge to direct its operations. The disposition of the finances of the country, and the most effectual mode of drawing forth its resources, were subjects with which scarce any of the inhabitants were acquainted. Arms and ammunition were almost wholly deficient; and though the country abounded with the materials of which they are manufactured, yet there was neither time nor artists enough to supply an army with the means of defence. The country was destitute both of fortifications and engineers. Amidst so many discouragements there were some flattering circumstances. The war could not be carried on by Great Britain, but to a great disadvantage, and at an immense expence. It was easy for Ministers at St. James's to plan campaigns, but hard was the fate of the officer from whom the execution of them in the woods of America was expected. The country was so extensive, and abounded so much with defiles, that by evacuating and retreating, the Americans, though they could not conquer, yet might save themselves from being conquered. The authors of the acts of parliament for restraining the trade of the Colonies were most excellent recruiting officers for the Congress. They imposed a necessity on thousands to become soldiers. All other business being suspended, the whole resources of the country were applied in supporting an army. Though the Colonists were without discipline, they possessed native valour. Though they had neither gold nor silver, they possessed a mine in the enthusiasm of their people. Paper for upwards of two years produced to them more solid advantages than Spain derived from her superabounding precious metals. Though they had no ships to protect their trade

trade or their towns, they had simplicity enough to live without the former, and enthusiasm enough to risque the latter, rather than submit to the power of Britain. They believed their cause to be just, and that Heaven approved their exertions in defence of their rights. Zeal originating from such motives supplied the place of discipline, and inspired a confidence and military ardour which overleaped all difficulties.

Resistance being resolved upon by the Americans—the pulpit—the press—the bench, and the bar, severally laboured to unite and encourage them. The clergy of New England were a numerous, learned, and respectable body, who had a great ascendancy over the minds of their hearers. They connected religion and patriotism, and in their sermons and prayers represented the cause of America as the cause of Heaven. The synod of New York and Philadelphia also sent forth a pastoral letter, which was publicly read in their churches. This earnestly recommended, such sentiments and conduct as were suitable to their situation. Writers and printers followed in the rear of the preachers, and next to them had the greatest hand in animating their countrymen. Gentlemen of the bench and of the bar denied the charge of rebellion, and justified the resistance of the Colonists. A distinction founded on law between the king and his ministry was introduced: the former, it was contended, could do no wrong. The crime of treason was charged on the latter, for using the royal name to varnish their own unconstitutional measures. The phrase of a ministerial war became common, and was used as a medium for reconciling resistance with allegiance.

Coeval with the resolutions for organizing an army, was one, appointing the 20th day of July, 1775, a day of public humiliation, fasting and prayer to Almighty God, “to bless their rightful Sovereign King George, and to inspire him with wisdom to discern and pursue the true interest of his subjects; and that the British nation might be influenced to regard the things that belonged to her peace, before they were hid from her eyes—that the Colonies might be ever under the care and protection of a kind Providence, and be prospered in all their interests—that America might soon behold a gracious interposition of Heaven for the redress of her many grievances, the restoration of her invaded rights, and a reconciliation with the Parent State on terms constitutional and honourable to both.”—The forces which had been collected in Massachusetts, were stationed in convenient places for guarding the country from farther excursions of the regulars from Boston. Breast-works were also erected in different places for the same purpose. While

both parties were attempting to carry off stock from the several islands, with which the bay of Boston is agreeably diversified, sundry skirmishes took place. These were of real service to the Americans. They habituated them to danger, and perhaps much of the courage of old soldiers, is derived from an experimental conviction that the chance of escaping unhurt from engagements, is must greater than young recruits suppose.

About the latter end of May, a great part of the reinforcements ordered from Great Britain, arrived at Boston. Three British generals, Howe, Burgoyne, and Clinton, whose behaviour in the preceding war had gained them great reputation, also arrived about the same time, May 25. General Gage, thus reinforced, prepared for acting with more decision; but before he proceeded to extremities, he conceived it due to ancient forms to issue a proclamation, holding forth to the inhabitants the alternative of peace or war. He therefore June 12, offered pardon, in the king's name, to all who should forthwith lay down their arms, and return to their respective occupations and peaceable duties, excepting only from the benefit of that pardon "Samuel Adams and John Hancock, whose offences were said to be of too flagitious a nature, to admit of any other consideration than that of condign punishment." He also proclaimed, that not only the persons above named and excepted, but also all their adherents, associates, and correspondents, should be deemed guilty of treason and rebellion, and treated accordingly. By this proclamation it was also declared, "that as the courts of judicature were shut, marshal law should take place, till a due course of justice should be re-established." It was supposed that this proclamation was a prelude to hostilities, and preparations were accordingly made by the Americans. A considerable height, known by the name of Bunker's-Hill, just at the entrance of the peninsula of Charlestown, was so situated as to make the possession of it a matter of great consequence to either of the contending parties. Orders were therefore, June 16, issued by the provincial commanders, that a detachment of a thousand men should entrench upon this height. By some mistake Breed's Hill, high and large like the other, but situated near Boston, was marked out for the entrenchments, instead of Bunker's Hill. The provincials proceeded to Breed's Hill, and worked with so much diligence, that between midnight and the dawn of the morning, they had thrown up a small redoubt about eight rods square. They kept such a profound silence, that they were not heard by the British, on board their vessels, though very near. These having derived their first information of what was going on from the sight of the work near completion,



completion, began an incessant firing upon them. The provincials bore this with firmness, and though they were only young soldiers, continued to labour till they had thrown up a small breastwork, extending from the east side of the breastwork to the bottom of the hill. As this eminence overlooked Boston, General Gage thought it necessary to drive the provincials from it. About noon, therefore, he detached Major General Howe, and Brigadier General Pigot, with the flower of the army, consisting of four battalions, ten companies of the grenadiers, and ten of light infantry, with a proportion of field artillery, to effect this business. These troops landed at Moreton's Point, and, June 17, formed after landing, but remained in that position till they were re-inforced by a second detachment of light infantry and grenadier companies, a battalion of land forces, and a battalion of marines, making in the whole near three thousand men. While the troops who first landed were waiting for this re-inforcement, the provincials, for their farther security, pulled up some adjoining post and rail fences, and set them down in two parallel lines at a small distance from each other, and filled the space between with hay, which having been lately mowed, remained on the adjacent ground.

The king's troops formed in two lines, and advanced slowly, to give their artillery time to demolish the American works. While the British were advancing to the attack, they received orders to burn Charlestown. This was not done, because they were fired upon from the houses in that town, but from the military policy of depriving enemies of a cover in their approaches. In a short time this ancient town, consisting of about five hundred buildings, chiefly of wood, was in one great blaze. The lofty steeple of the meeting-house formed a pyramid of fire above the rest, and struck the astonished eyes of numerous beholders with a magnificent but awful spectacle. In Boston, the heights of every kind were covered with the citizens, and such of the king's troops as were not on duty. The hills around the adjacent country which afforded a safe and distinct view, were occupied by the inhabitants of the country.

Thousands, both within and without Boston, were anxious spectators of the bloody scene. The honour of British troops beat high in the breasts of many, while others, with a keener sensibility, felt for the liberties of a great and growing country. The British moved on but slowly, which gave the provincials a better opportunity for taking aim. The latter, in general, reserved themselves till their adversaries were within ten or twelve rods, but then began a furious discharge of small arms. The stream of the American fire was so incessant, and did



so great execution, that the king's troops retreated in disorder and precipitation. Their officers rallied them, and pushed them forward with their swords, but they returned to the attack with great reluctance. The Americans again reserved their fire till their adversaries were near, and then put them a second time to flight. General Howe and the officers redoubled their exertions, and were at last successful, though the soldiers discovered a great aversion to going on. By this time the powder of the Americans began so far to fail, that they were not able to keep up the same brisk fire as before. The British also brought some cannon to bear, which raked the inside of the breast-work from end to end. The fire from the ships, batteries, and field artillery was redoubled—the soldiers in the rear were goaded on by their officers. The redoubt was attacked on three sides at once. Under these circumstances a retreat from it was ordered, but the provincials delayed, and made resistance with their discharged muskets as if they had been clubs, so long that the king's troops, who easily mounted the works, had half filled the redoubt before it was given up to them.

While these operations were going on at the breast-work and redoubt, the British light infantry were attempting to force the left point of the former, that they might take the American line in flank. Though they exhibited the most undaunted courage, they met with an opposition which called for its greatest exertions. The provincials here, in like manner, reserved their fire till their adversaries were near, and then poured it upon the light infantry, with such an incessant stream, and in so true a direction, as mowed down their ranks. The engagement was kept up on both sides with great resolution. The persevering exertions of the King's troops could not compel the Americans to retreat, till they observed that their main body had left the hill. This, when begun, exposed them to new danger, for it could not be effected but by marching over Charlestown Neck, every part of which was raked by the shot of the Glasgow man of war, and of two floating batteries. The incessant fire kept up across this Neck prevented any considerable re-inforcement from joining their countrymen who were engaged; but the few who fell on their retreat over the same ground proved, that the apprehensions of those provincial officers who declined passing over to succour their companions, were without any solid foundation.

The number of Americans engaged amounted only to one thousand five hundred. It was apprehended that the conquerors would push the advantages they had gained, and march immediately to American headquarters at Cambridge, but they advanced no farther than Bunker's Hill;

Hill; there they threw up works for their own security. The provincials did the same on Prospect Hill in front of them. Both were guarding against an attack, and both were in a bad condition to receive one. The loss of the peninsula depressed the spirits of the Americans, and their great loss of men produced the same effect on the British. There have been few battles in modern wars, in which, all circumstances considered, there was a greater destruction of men than in this short engagement. The loss of the British, as acknowledged by General Gage, amounted to one thousand and fifty-four. Nineteen commissioned officers were killed, and seventy more were wounded. The battle of Quebec in 1759, which gave Great Britain the province of Canada, was not so destructive to British officers as this affair of a slight entrenchment, the work only of a few hours. That the officers suffered so much, must be imputed to their being aimed at. None of the provincials in this engagement were riflemen, but they were all good marksmen. The whole of their previous military knowledge had been derived from hunting, and the ordinary amusements of sportsmen. The dexterity which by long habit they had acquired in hitting beasts, birds, and marks, was fatally applied to the destruction of British officers. From their fall much confusion was expected; they were therefore particularly singled out. Most of those who were near the person of General Howe were either killed or wounded, but the General, though he greatly exposed himself, was unhurt. The light infantry and grenadiers lost three-fourths of their men. Of one company not more than five, and of another, not more than fourteen escaped. The unexpected resistance of the Americans was such as wiped away the reproaches of cowardice, which had been cast on them by their enemies in Britain. The spirited conduct of the British officers merited and obtained great applause, but the provincials were justly entitled to a large portion of the same, for having made the utmost exertions of their adversaries necessary to dislodge them from lines, which were the work only of a single night. The Americans lost five pieces of cannon. Their killed amounted to one hundred and thirty-nine. Their wounded and missing to three hundred and fourteen. Thirty of the former fell into the hands of the conquerors. They particularly regretted the death of General Warren. To the purest patriotism and most undaunted bravery, he added the virtues of domestic life, the eloquence of an accomplished orator, and the wisdom of an able statesman. Nothing but a regard to the liberty of his country induced him to oppose the measures of Government. He aimed not at a separation from, but a coalition with the Mother Country.

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He took an active part in defence of his country, not that he might be applauded and rewarded for a patriotic spirit, but because he was, in the best sense of the word, a real patriot. Having no interested or personal views to answer, the friends of liberty confided in his integrity. The soundness of his judgment, and his abilities as a public speaker, enabled him to make a distinguished figure in public councils, but his intrepidity and active zeal induced his countrymen to place him in the military line. Within four days after he was appointed a Major General, he fell a noble sacrifice to a cause which he had espoused from the purest principles. Like Hampden he lived and like Hampden he died, universally beloved and universally regretted. His many virtues were celebrated in an elegant eulogium written by Dr. Rush, in language equal to the illustrious subject. The burning of Charlestown, though a place of great trade, did not discourage the provincials. It excited resentment and execration, but not any disposition to submit. Such was the high-toned state of the public mind, and so great the indifference for property, when put in competition with liberty, that military conflagrations, though they distressed and impoverished, had no tendency to subdue the Colonists. They might answer in the old world, but were not calculated for the new, where the war was undertaken, not for a change of masters, but for securing essential rights. The action at Breed's Hill, or Bunker's Hill, as it has been commonly called, produced many and very important consequences. It taught the British so much respect for Americans intrenched behind works, that their subsequent operations were retarded with a caution that wasted away a whole campaign to very little purpose. It added to the confidence the Americans began to have in their own abilities; but its inferential, very injurious to the future interests of America, were withdrawn from the good conduct of the new troops on that memorable day. It inspired some of the leading members of Congress with such high ideas of what might be done by militia, or men engaged for a short term of enlistment, that it was long before they assented to the establishment of a permanent army. Not distinguishing the continued exertions of an army through a series of years, from the gallant efforts of the yeomanry of the country, led directly to action, they were slow in admitting the necessity of permanent troops. They conceived the country might be defended by the occasional exertions of their sons, without the expence and danger of an army engaged for the war. In the progress of hostilities, as will appear in the sequel, the militia lost much of their first ardour, while leading men in the councils of America, trusting to its continuance, neglected the proper time of recruiting



recruiting for a series of years. From the want of perseverance in the militia, and the want of a disciplined standing army, the cause for which arms were at first taken up, was more than once brought to the brink of destruction.

In other places the same determined spirit of resistance appeared on the part of the Americans. Lord North's conciliatory scheme was utterly rejected by the assemblies of Pennsylvania and New Jersey, and afterwards in every other colony. The commencement of hostilities at Lexington determined the colony of New York, which had hitherto continued to waver, to unite with the rest; and as the situation of New York renders it unable to resist an attack from the sea, it was resolved, before the arrival of a British fleet, to secure the military stores, send off the women and children, and to set fire to the city if it was still found incapable of defence. The exportation of provisions was every where prohibited, particularly to the British fishery on the banks of Newfoundland, or to such colonies of America as should adhere to the British interest. Congress resolved on the establishment of an army, and of a large paper currency in order to support it. In the inland northern colonies, Colonels Easton and Ethan Allen, without receiving any orders from Congress, or communicating their design to any body, with a party of only two hundred and fifty men, surprised the forts or Crown Point, Ticonderago, and the rest that form a communication betwixt the Colonies and Canada. On this occasion two hundred pieces of cannon fell into their hands, besides mortars, and a large quantity of military stores, together with two armed vessels, and materials for the construction of others.

After the battle of Bunker's Hill, the provincials erected fortifications on the heights which commanded Charlestown, and strengthened the rest in such a manner that there was no hope of driving them from thence; at the same time that their activity and boldness astonished the British officers, who had been accustomed to entertain too mean an opinion of their courage.

The troops, thus shut up in Boston, were soon reduced to distress. Their necessities obliged them to attempt the carrying off the American cattle on the islands before Boston, which produced frequent skirmishes; but the provincials, better acquainted with the navigation of these shores, landed on the islands, destroyed or carried off whatever was of any use, burned the light house at the entrance of the harbour, and took prisoners the workmen sent to repair it, as well as a party of marines who guarded them. Thus the garrison were reduced to the necessity of sending out armed vessels to make prizes indiscriminately of



all that came in their way, and of landing in different places to plunder for subsistence as well as they could.

The Congress, in the mean time, continued to act with all the vigour which its constituents had expected. Articles of confederation and perpetual union were drawn up and solemnly agreed upon; by which they bound themselves.

After the action of Bunker's Hill, however, when the power of Great Britain appeared less formidable in the eyes of America than before, Congress proceeded formally to justify their proceedings in a declaration drawn up in terms more expressive, and well calculated to excite attention.

“ Were it possible (said they) for men who exercise their reason, to believe that the divine Author of our existence intended a part of the human race to hold an absolute property in and unbounded power over others, marked out by His infinite goodness and wisdom as the objects of a legal domination, never rightfully resistable, however severe and oppressive; the inhabitants of these Colonies might at least require from the parliament of Great Britain some evidence that this dreadful authority over them had been granted to that body; but a reverence for our Great Creator, principles of humanity, and the dictates of common sense must convince all those who reflect upon the subject, that government was instituted to promote the welfare of mankind, and ought to be administered for the attainment of that end.

“ The legislature of Great Britain, however, stimulated by an inordinate passion for power, not only unjustifiable, but which they know to be peculiarly reprobated by the very constitution of that kingdom; and despairing of success in any mode of contest, where regard should be had to law, truth, or right; have at length, deserting those, attempted to effect their cruel and impolitic purpose of enslaving these Colonies by violence, and have thereby rendered it necessary for us to close with their last appeal from reason to arms. Yet, however blinded that assembly may be, by their intemperate rage for unlimited domination, so to slight justice in the opinion of mankind, we esteem ourselves bound by obligations to the rest of the world to make known the justice of our cause.”

After taking notice of the manner in which their ancestors left Britain, the happiness attending the mutual friendly commerce betwixt that country and her Colonies, and the remarkable success of the late war, they proceed as follows: “ The new ministry finding the brave foes of Britain, though frequently defeated, yet still contending, took

up the unfortunate idea of granting them a hasty peace, and of then subduing her faithful friends.

“ These devoted colonies were judged to be in such a state as to present victories without bloodshed, and all the easy emoluments of statutable plunder. The uninterrupted tenor of their peaceable and respectful behaviour from the beginning of their colonization; their dutiful, zealous, and useful services during the war, though so recently and amply acknowledged in the most honourable manner by his Majesty, by the late king, and by parliament, could not save them from the intended innovations. Parliament was influenced to adopt the pernicious project; and assuming a new power over them, has in the course of eleven years given such decisive specimens of the spirit and consequences attending this power, as to leave no doubt of the effects of acquiescence under it.

“ They have undertaken to give and grant our money without our consent, though we have ever exercised an exclusive right to dispose of our own property. Statutes have been passed for extending the jurisdiction of the courts of admiralty, and vice-admiralty, beyond their ancient limits; for depriving us of the accustomed and inestimable rights of trial by jury, in cases affecting both life and property; for suspending the legislature of one of our colonies; for interdicting all commerce to the capital of another; and for altering fundamentally the form of government established by charter, and secured by acts of its own legislature; and solemnly confirmed by the crown; for exempting the murderers of colonists from legal trial, and in effect from punishment; for erecting in a neighbouring province, acquired by the joint arms of Great Britain and America, a despotism dangerous to our very existence; and for quartering soldiers upon the colonists in time of a profound peace. It has also been resolved in parliament, that colonists charged with committing certain offences, shall be transported to England to be tried.

“ But why should we enumerate our injuries in detail?—By one statute it was declared, that parliament can of right make laws to bind us in all cases whatever. What is to defend us against so enormous, so unlimited a power? Not a single person who assumes it is chosen by us, or is subject to our controul or influence; but on the contrary, they are all of them exempt from the operation of such laws; and an American revenue, if not diverted from the ostensible purposes from which it is raised, would actually lighten their own burdens in proportion as it increases ours.

“ We saw the misery to which such despotism would reduce us. We for ten years incessantly and ineffectually besieged the throne as suppli-

cants; we reasoned, we remonstrated with parliament in the most mild and decent language; but administration, sensible that we should regard these measures as freemen ought to do, sent over fleets and armies to enforce them.

“We have pursued every temperate, every respectful measure; we have even proceeded to break off all commercial intercourse with our fellow-subjects as our last peaceable admonition, that our attachment to no nation on earth would supplant our attachment to liberty: this we flattered ourselves was the ultimate step of the controversy; but subsequent events have shown how vain was this hope of finding moderation in our enemies!

“The Lords and Commons, in their address in the month of February, said, that a rebellion at that time actually existed in the province of Massachusetts’s Bay; and that those concerned in it had been countenanced and encouraged by unlawful combinations and engagements entered into by his Majesty’s subjects in several of the colonies; and therefore they besought his Majesty that he would take the most effectual measures to enforce due obedience to the laws and authority of the supreme legislature. Soon after the commercial intercourse of whole colonies with foreign countries was cut off by an act of parliament; by another, several of them were entirely prohibited from the fisheries in the seas near their coasts, on which they always depended for their subsistence; and large reinforcements of ships and troops were immediately sent over to General Gage.”

“Fruitless were all the intreaties, arguments, and eloquence of an illustrious band of the most distinguished peers and commoners, who nobly and strenuously asserted the justice of our cause, to stay, or even to mitigate, the heedless fury, with which these accumulated outrages were hurried on. Equally fruitless was the interference of the city of London, of Bristol, and many other respectable towns in our favour.”

After having reproached parliament, General Gage, and the British government in general, they proceeded thus: “We are reduced to the alternative of choosing an unconditional submission to tyranny or resistance by force. The latter is our choice. We have counted the cost of this contest, and find nothing so dreadful as voluntary slavery. Honour, justice, and humanity, forbid us tamely to surrender that freedom which we received from our gallant ancestors, and which our innocent posterity have a right to receive from us. Our cause is just; our union is perfect; our internal resources are great; and, if necessary, foreign assistance is undoubtedly attainable. We fight not for glory or conquest; we exhibit to mankind the remarkable spectacle of a people attacked  
by

by unprovoked enemies. They boast of their privileges and civilization, and yet proffer no milder conditions than servitude or death. In our own native land, in defence of the freedom that is our birthright, for the protection of our property acquired by the honest industry of our forefathers and our own, against violence actually offered, we have taken up arms; we shall lay them down when hostilities shall cease on the part of our aggressors, and all danger of their being renewed shall be removed,—and not before.”

These are some of the most striking passages in the declaration of congress on taking up arms against Great Britain, and dated July 6th 1775. The determined spirit which it shews, ought to have convinced England, that the conquest of America was an event scarce ever to be expected. In every other respect an equal spirit was shewn; and the rulers of the British nation had the mortification to see those whom they styled rebels and traitors, succeed in negotiations in which they themselves were utterly foiled. In the passing of the Quebec bill, ministry had flattered themselves that the Canadians would be so much attached to them, on account of restoring the French laws, that they would very readily join in any attempt against the colonists who had reprobated that bill in such strong terms: but in this, as in every thing else indeed, they found themselves mistaken. The Canadians having been subject to Britain for a period of fifteen years, and being thus rendered sensible of the superior advantages of British government, received the bill itself with evident marks of disapprobation; nay, reprobated it as tyrannical and oppressive. A scheme had been formed for General Carleton, governor of the province, to raise an army of Canadians wherewith to act against the Americans; and so sanguine were the hopes of administration in this respect, that they had sent twenty thousand stand of arms, and a great quantity of military stores, to Quebec for the purpose. But the people, though they did not join the Americans, yet were found immoveable in their purpose to stand neuter. Application was made to the bishop; but he declined to interpose his influence, as contrary to the rules of the Popish clergy: so that the utmost efforts of government in this province were found to answer little or no purpose.

The British administration next tried to engage the Indians in their cause. But though agents were dispersed among them with large presents to the chiefs, they universally replied, that they did not understand the nature of the quarrel, nor could they distinguish whether those who dwelt in America or on the other side of the ocean were in fault: but they were surprised to see Englishmen ask their assistance against one another; and advised them to be reconciled, and not to think of shed-



ding the blood of their brethren.—To the representations of Congress they paid more respect. These set forth, that the English on the other side of the ocean had taken up arms to enslave, not only their countrymen in America, but the Indians also; and if the latter should enable them to overcome the colonists, they themselves would soon be reduced to a state of slavery also. By arguments of this kind these savages were engaged to remain neuter; and thus the colonists were freed from a most dangerous enemy. On this occasion the Congress thought proper to hold a solemn conference with the different tribes of Indians. The speech made by them on the occasion is curious, but too long to be fully inserted. The following is a specimen of the European mode of addressing these people:

“ Brothers, Sachems, and Warriors!

“ We, the delegates from the Twelve United Provinces, now sitting in general Congress at Philadelphia, send their talk to you our brothers.

“ Brothers and Friends now attend!

“ When our fathers crossed the great water, and came over to this land, the King of England gave them a talk, assuring them that they and their children should be his children; and that if they would leave their native country, and make settlements, and live here, and buy and sell, and trade with their brethren beyond the water, they should still keep hold of the same covenant-chain, and enjoy peace; and it was covenanted, that the fields, houses, goods, and possessions, which our fathers should acquire, should remain to them as their own, and be their childrens for ever, and at their sole disposal.

“ Brothers and Friends open a kind ear!

“ We will now tell you of the quarrel betwixt the counsellors of King George and the inhabitants and colonies of America.

“ Many of his counsellors have persuaded him to break the covenant-chain, and not to send us any more good talks. They have prevailed upon him to enter into a covenant against us; and have torn asunder, and cast behind their backs, the good old covenant which their ancestors and ours entered into, and took strong hold of. They now tell us they will put their hands into our pocket without asking, as though it were their own; and at their pleasure they will take from us our charters, or written civil constitution, which we love as our lives; also our plantations, our houses, and goods, whenever they please, without asking our leave. They tell us, that our vessels may go to that or this island in the sea, but to this or that particular island we shall not trade any more;

and

and in case of our non-compliance with these new orders, they shut up our harbours.

“ Brothers, we live on the same ground with you ; the same land is our common birth-place. We desire to sit down under the same tree of peace with you ; let us water its roots, and cherish the growth, till the large leaves and flourishing branches shall extend to the setting sun, and reach the skies. If any thing disagreeable should ever fall out between us, the Twelve United Colonies, and you, the Six Nations, to wound our peace, let us immediately seek measures for healing the breach. From the present situation of our affairs, we judge it expedient to kindle up a small fire at Albany, where we may hear each other’s voice, and disclose our minds fully to one another.”

The other remarkable transactions of this Congress were the ultimate refusal of the conciliatory proposal made by Lord North, of which such sanguine expectations had been formed by the English ministry ; and appointing a generalissimo to command their armies, which were now very numerous. The person chosen for this purpose was George Washington : a man so universally beloved, that he was raised to such an high station by the unanimous voice of Congress : and his subsequent conduct showed him every way worthy of it. Horace Gates and Charles Lee, two English officers of considerable reputation, were also chosen ; the former an adjutant-general, the second a major-general. Artemus Ward, Philip Schuyler, and Israel Putnam, were likewise nominated major-generals. Seth Pomeroy, Richard Montgomery, David Wooster, William Heath, Joseph Spencer, John Thomas, John Sullivan, and Nathaniel Green, were chosen brigadier-generals at the same time.

Congress had now also the satisfaction to receive deputies from the colony of Georgia, expressing a desire to join the confederacy. The reasons they gave for renouncing their allegiance to Britain were, that the conduct of parliament towards the other colonies had been oppressive ; that though the obnoxious acts had not been extended to them, they could view this only as an omission, because of the seeming little consequence of their colony : and therefore looked upon it rather to be a slight than a favour. At the same time they framed a petition to the King, similar to that sent by the other colonies, and which met with a similar reception.

The success which had hitherto attended the Americans in all their measures, now emboldened them to think not only of defending themselves, but likewise of acting offensively against Great Britain. The conquest of Canada appeared an object within their reach, and that one would be attended with many advantages ; and as an  
invasion

invasion of that province was lately facilitated by the taking of Crown point and Ticonderago, it was resolved, if possible, to penetrate that way into Canada, and reduce Quebec during the winter, before the fleets and armies, which they were well assured would sail thither from Britain, should arrive. By order of Congress, therefore, three thousand men were put under the command of Generals Montgomery and Schuyler, with orders to proceed to Lake Champlain, from whence they were to be conveyed in flat-bottomed boats to the mouth of the river Sorel, a branch of the great river St. Laurence, and on which is situated a fort of the same name with the river. On the other hand, they were opposed by General Carleton, governor of Canada; a man of great activity and experience in war; who, with a very few troops, had hitherto been able to keep in awe the disaffected people of Canada, notwithstanding all the representations of the colonists. He had now augmented his army by a considerable number of Indians, and promised even in his present situation to make a very formidable resistance.

As soon as General Montgomery arrived at Crown Point, he received information that several armed vessels were stationed at St. John's, a strong fort on the Sorel, with a view to prevent his crossing the lake; on which he took possession of the island which commands the mouth of the Sorel, and by which he could prevent them from entering the lake. In conjunction with General Schuyler, he next proceeded to St. John's; but finding that place too strong, he landed on a part of the country considerably distant, and full of woods and swamps. From thence, however, they were driven by a party of Indians whom General Carleton had employed.

The provincial army was now obliged to retreat to the island of which they had at first taken possession; where General Schuyler being taken ill, Montgomery was left to command alone. His first step was to gain over the Indians whom General Carleton had employed, and this he in a great measure accomplished; after which, on receiving the full number of troops appointed for his expedition, he determined to lay siege to St. John's. In this he was facilitated by the reduction of Chamblee, a small fort in the neighbourhood, where he found a large supply of powder. An attempt was made by General Carleton to relieve the place; for which purpose he with great pains collected about one thousand Canadians, while Colonel Maclean proposed to raise a regiment of the Highlanders who had emigrated from their own country to America.

But while General Carleton was on his march with these new levies, he was attacked by a superior force of provincials, and utterly defeated; which

which being made known to another body of Canadians who had joined Colonel Maclean, they abandoned him without striking a blow, and he was obliged to retreat to Quebec.

The defeat of General Carleton was a sufficient recompence to the Americans for that of Colonel Ethan Allen, which had happened some time before. The success which had attended this gentleman against Crown Point and Ticonderago had emboldened him to make a similar attempt on Montreal; but being attacked by the militia of the place, supported by a detachment of regulars, he was entirely defeated and taken prisoner.

As the defeat of General Carleton and the desertion of Maclean's forces left no room for the garrison of St. John's to hope for any relief, they now consented to surrender themselves prisoners of war; but were in other respects treated with great humanity. They were in number five hundred regulars and two hundred Canadians, among whom were many of the French nobility, who had been very active in promoting the cause of Britain, among their countrymen.

General Montgomery next took measures to prevent the British shipping from passing down the river from Montreal to Quebec. This he accomplished so effectually, that the whole were taken. The town itself was obliged to surrender at discretion; and it was with the utmost difficulty that General Carleton escaped in an open boat by the favour of a dark night.

No further obstacle now remained in the way of the Americans to the capital, except what arose from the nature of the country; and these indeed were very considerable. Nothing, however, could damp the ardour of the provincials. Notwithstanding it was now the middle of November, and the depth of winter was at hand, Colonel Arnold formed a design of penetrating through woods, morasses, and the most frightful solitudes, from New England to Canada, by a nearer way than that which Montgomery had chosen; and this he accomplished in spite of every difficulty, to the astonishment of all who saw or heard of the attempt. This desperate march, however, cannot be looked upon as conducive to any good purpose. A third part of his men under another colonel had abandoned him by the way, under pretence of want of provisions; the total want of artillery rendered his presence insignificant before a place strongly fortified; and the smallness of his army rendered it even doubtful whether he could have taken the town by surprise. The Canadians indeed were amazed at the exploit, and their inclination to revolt from Britain was somewhat augmented; but none of them as yet took up arms in behalf of America. The consternation into which



the town of Quebec was thrown, proved detrimental rather than otherwise to the expedition; as it doubled the vigilance and activity of the inhabitants to prevent any surprise; and the appearance of common danger united all parties, who, before the arrival of Arnold, were contending most violently with one another. He was therefore obliged to content himself with blocking up the avenues to the town, in order to distress the garrison for want of provisions; and even this he was unable to do effectually, by reason of the small number of his men.

The matter was not much mended by the arrival of General Montgomery. The force he had with him, even when united with that of Arnold, was too insignificant to attempt the reduction of a place so strongly fortified, especially with the assistance only of a few mortars and field-pieces. After the siege had continued through the month of December, General Montgomery, conscious that he could accomplish his end no other way than by surprise, resolved to make an attempt on the last day of the year 1775. The method he took at this time was perhaps the best that human wisdom could devise. He advanced by break of day, in the midst of an heavy fall of snow, which covered his men from the sight of the enemy. Two real attacks were made by himself and Colonel Arnold, at the same time that two feigned attacks were made on two other places, thus to distract the garrison, and make them divide their forces. One of the real attacks was made by the people of New York, and the other by those of New England, under Arnold. Their hopes of surprising the place, however, were defeated by the signal for the attack being, through some mistake, given too soon. General Montgomery himself had the most dangerous place, being obliged to pass between the river and some high rocks on which the Upper Town stands; so that he was forced to make what haste he could to close with the enemy. His fate, however, was now decided. Having forced the first barrier, a violent discharge of musketry and grape shot from the second killed him, his principal officers, and the most of the party he commanded; on which those who remained immediately retreated. Colonel Arnold in the mean time made a desperate attack on the Lower Town, and carried one of the barriers after an obstinate resistance of an hour; but in the action he himself received a wound, which obliged him to withdraw. The attack, however, was continued by the officers whom he had left, and another barrier forced: but the garrison, now perceiving that nothing was to be feared except from that quarter, collected their whole force against it; and, after a desperate engagement of three hours, overpowered the Provincials, and obliged them to surrender.

In this action the valour of the provincial troops could not be exceeded. Such a terrible disaster left no hope remaining of the accomplishment of their purpose, as General Arnold could now scarce number eight hundred effective men under his command. He did not, however, abandon the province, or even remove to a greater distance than three miles from Quebec; and here he still found means to annoy the garrison very considerably by intercepting their provisions. The Canadians, notwithstanding the bad success of the American arms, still continued friendly; and thus he was enabled to sustain the hardships of a winter encampment in that most severe climate. The Congress, far from passing any censure on him for his misfortune, created him a brigadier-general.

While hostilities were thus carried on with vigour in the north, the flame of contention was gradually extending itself in the south. Lord Dunmore, the governor of Virginia, was involved in disputes similar to those which had taken place in other colonies. These had proceeded so far that the assembly was dissolved; which in this province was attended with a consequence unknown to the rest. As Virginia contained a great number of slaves, it was necessary that a militia should be kept constantly on foot to keep them in awe. During the dissolution of the assembly the militia-laws expired; and the people, after complaining of the danger they were in from the negroes, formed a convention, which enacted, that each county should raise a quota for the defence of the province. Dunmore, on this, removed the powder from Williamsburg; which created such discontents, that an immediate quarrel would probably have ensued, had not the merchants of the town undertaken to obtain satisfaction for the injury supposed to be done to the community. This tranquillity, however, was soon interrupted; the people, alarmed by a report that an armed party on their way from the man of war where the powder had been deposited, assembled in arms, and determined to oppose by force any farther removals. In some of the conferences which passed at this time, the Governor let fall some unguarded expressions, such as threatening them with setting up the royal standard, proclaiming liberty to the negroes, destroying the town of Williamsburg, &c. which were afterwards made public, and exaggerated in such a manner as greatly to increase the public ferment.

The people now held frequent assemblies. Some of them took up arms with a design to force the governor to restore the powder, and to take the public money into their own possession: but on their way to Williamsburgh for this purpose, they were met by the receiver-general, who

became security for the payment for the gunpowder, and the inhabitants promised to take care of the magazine and public revenue.

By this insurrection the governor was so much intimidated, that he sent his family on board a man of war. He himself, however, issued a proclamation, in which he declared the behaviour of the person who promoted the tumult treasonable, accused the people of disaffection, &c. On their part they were by no means deficient in recriminating; and some letters of his to Britain being about the same time discovered, consequences ensued extremely similar to those which had been occasioned by those of Mr. Hutchinson at Boston.

In this state of confusion the Governor thought it necessary to fortify his palace with artillery, and procure a party of marines to guard it. Lord North's conciliatory proposal arriving also about the same time, he used his utmost endeavours to cause the people to comply with it. The arguments he used were such as must do him honour; and had not matters already gone to such a pitch, it is highly probable that some attention would have been paid to them. "The view, he said, in which the colonies ought to behold this conciliatory proposal was no more than an earnest admonition from Great Britain to relieve her wants: that the utmost condescendence had been used in the mode of application; no determinate sum having been fixed, as it was thought most worthy of British generosity to take what they thought could be convenient spared, and likewise to leave the mode of raising it to themselves," &c. But the clamour and dissatisfaction were now so universal, that nothing else could be attended to. The Governor had called an assembly for the purpose of laying this conciliatory proposal before them; but it had been little attended to. The assembly began their session by inquiries into the state of the magazine. It had been broken into by some of the townsmen; for which reason spring-guns had been placed there by the Governor, which discharged themselves upon the offenders at their entrance: these circumstances, with others of a similar kind, raised such a violent uproar, that as soon as the preliminary business of the session was over, the Governor retired on board a man of war, informing the assembly that he durst no longer trust himself on shore. This produced a long course of disputation, which ended in a positive refusal of the Governor to trust himself again in Williamsburg, even to give his assent to the bills, which could not be passed without it, and though the assembly offered to bind themselves for his personal safety. In his turn he requested them to meet him on board the man of war, where he then was; but this proposal was rejected, and all further correspondence containing the least appearance of friendship was discontinued.

Lord Dunmore, thus deprived of his government, attempted to reduce by force those whom he could no longer govern. Some of the most strenuous adherents to the British cause, whom their zeal had rendered obnoxious at home, now repaired to him. He was also joined by numbers of black slaves. With these, and the assistance of the British shipping, he was for some time enabled to carry on a kind of predatory war, sufficient to hurt and exasperate, but not to subdue. After some inconsiderable attempts on land, proclaiming liberty to the slaves, and setting up the royal standard, he took up his residence at Norfolk, a maritime town of some consequence, where the people were better affected to Britain than in most other places. A considerable force, however, was collected against him; and the natural impetuosity of his temper prompting him to act against them with more courage than caution, he was entirely defeated, and obliged to retire to his shipping, which was now crowded by the number of those who had incurred the resentment of the Provincials.

In the mean time a scheme of the utmost magnitude and importance was formed by one Mr. Conolly, a Pennsylvanian, of an intrepid and aspiring disposition, and attached to the cause of Britain. The first step of this plan was to enter into a league with the Ohio Indians. This he communicated to Lord Dunmore, and it received his approbation: Upon which Conolly set out, and actually succeeded in his design. On his return he was dispatched to General Gage, from whom he received a colonel's commission, and set out in order to accomplish the remainder of his scheme. The plan in general was, that he should return to the Ohio, where, by the assistance of the British and Indians in these parts, he was to penetrate through the back settlements into Virginia, and join Lord Dunmore at Alexandria. But by an accident very naturally to be expected, he was discovered, taken prisoner, and thrown into a dungeon.

In the southern colonies of Carolina the governors were expelled and obliged to take refuge on board of men of war, as Lord Dunmore had been and Mr. Martin, governor of North Carolina, on a charge of attempting to raise the back-settlers, consisting chiefly of Scots Highlanders, against the colony. Having secured themselves against any attempts from these enemies, however, they proceeded to regulate their internal concerns in the same manner as the rest of the colonies; and by the end of the year 1775, Britain beheld the whole of America united against her in the most determined opposition. Her vast possessions of that tract of land were now reduced to the single town of Boston; in which her



forces were besieged by an enemy with whom they were apparently not able to cope, and by whom they must of course expect in a very short time to be expelled. The situation of the inhabitants of Boston, indeed, was peculiarly unhappy. After having failed in their attempts to leave the town, General Gage had consented to allow them to retire with their effects; but afterwards, for what reason does not well appear, he refused to fulfil his promise. When he resigned his place to General Howe in October 1775, the latter, apprehensive that they might give intelligence of the situation of the British troops, strictly prohibited any person from leaving the place under pain of military execution. Thus matters continued till the month of March 1776, when the town was evacuated.

On the 2d of that month, General Washington opened a battery on the west side of the town, from whence it was bombarded with a heavy fire of cannon at the same time; and three days after, it was attacked by another battery from the eastern shore. This terrible attack continued for fourteen days without intermission; when General Howe, finding the place no longer tenable, determined if possible to drive the enemy from their works. Preparations were therefore made for a most vigorous attack on an hill called Dorchester Neck, which the Americans had fortified in such a manner as would in all probability have rendered the enterprise next to desperate. No difficulties, however, were sufficient to daunt the spirit of the general; and every thing was in readiness, when a storm prevented this intended exertion of British valour. Next day, upon a more close inspection of the works they were to attack, it was thought advisable to desist from the enterprise altogether. The fortifications were very strong, and extremely well provided with artillery; and besides other implements of destruction, upwards of one hundred hogsheds of stones were provided to roll down upon the enemy as they came up; which, as the ascent was extremely steep, must have done prodigious execution.

Nothing therefore now remained but to think of a retreat; and even this was attended with the utmost difficulty and danger. The Americans, however, knowing that it was in the power of the British general to reduce the town to ashes, which could not have been repaired in many years, did not think proper to give the least molestation; and for the space of a fortnight the troops were employed in the evacuation of the place, from whence they carried along with them two thousand of the inhabitants, who durst not stay on account of their attachment to the British cause. From Boston they sailed to Halifax; but all their vigilance could not prevent a number of valuable ships from falling into the hands of the enemy. A considerable quantity of cannon and ammunition

munition had also been left at Bunker's Hill and Boston Neck; and in the town, an immense variety of goods, principally woollen and linen, of which the provincials stood very much in need. The estates of those who fled to Halifax were confiscated; as also those who were attached to government, and had remained in the town. As an attack was expected as soon as the British forces should arrive, every method was employed to render the fortifications, already very strong, impregnable. For this purpose some foreign engineers were employed, who had before arrived at Boston; and so eager were people of all ranks to accomplish this business, that every able-bodied man in the place, without distinction of rank, set apart two days in the week, to complete it the sooner.

The Americans about this time began to be influenced by new views. The military arrangements of the preceding year—their unexpected union, and prevailing enthusiasm, expanded the minds of their leaders, and elevated the sentiments of the great body of their people. Decisive measures which would have been lately reprobated, now met with approbation.

The favourers of subordination under the former constitution, urged the advantages of a supreme head, to controul the disputes of interfering colonies, and also the benefits which flowed from union; and that independence was untried ground, and should not be entered upon but in the last extremity.

They flattered themselves that Great Britain was so fully convinced of the determined spirit of America, that if the present controversy was compromised, she would not at any future period resume an injurious exercise of her supremacy. They were therefore for proceeding no farther than to defend themselves in the character of subjects, trusting that ere long the present hostile measures would be relinquished, and the harmony of the two countries re-established. The favourers of this system were embarrassed, and all their arguments weakened by the perseverance of Great Britain in her schemes of coercion. A probable hope of a speedy repeal of a few acts of Parliament would have greatly increased the number of those who were advocates for reconciliation. But the certainty of intelligence to the contrary gave additional force to the arguments of the opposite party. Though new weight was daily thrown into the scale, in which the advantages of independence were weighed, yet it did not preponderate till about that time in 1776, when intelligence reached the Colonists of the act of Parliament passed in December 1775, for throwing them out of British protection, and of hiring foreign troops to assist in effecting their conquest. Respecting the first it was  
said,

said, "that protection and allegiance were reciprocal, and that the refusal of the first was a legal ground of justification for withholding the last." They considered themselves to be thereby discharged from their allegiance, and that to declare themselves independent was no more, than to announce to the world the real political state in which Great Britain had placed them. This act proved that the Colonists might constitutionally declare themselves independent, but the hiring of foreign troops to make war upon them, demonstrated the necessity of their doing it immediately. They reasoned that if Great Britain called in the aid of strangers to crush them, they must seek similar relief for their own preservation. But they well knew this could not be expected, while they were in arms against their acknowledged Sovereign. They had therefore only a choice of difficulties, and must either seek foreign aid as independent states, or continue in the awkward and hazardous situation of subjects, carrying on war from their own resources, both against the King, and such mercenaries as he chose to employ for their subjugation. Necessity, not choice, forced them on the decision. Submission, without obtaining a redress of their grievances, was advocated by none who possessed the public confidence. Some of the popular leaders may have secretly wished for independence from the beginning of the controversy, but their number was small and their sentiments were not generally known.

While the public mind was balancing on this eventful subject, several writers placed the advantages of independence in various points of view. Among these Thomas Paine in a pamphlet, under the signature of *Common Sense*, held the most distinguished rank. The style, manner, and language of this performance was calculated to interest the passions, and to rouse all the active powers of human nature. With a view of operating on the sentiments of a religious people, Scripture was pressed into his service, and the powers, and even the name of a king was rendered odious in the eyes of the numerous Colonists who had read and studied the history of the Jews, as recorded in the Old Testament. The folly of that people in revolting from a government, instituted by Heaven itself, and the oppressions to which they were subjected in consequence of their lusting after kings to rule over them, afforded an excellent handle for pre-possessing the Colonists in favour of republican institutions, and prejudicing them against kingly government. Hereditary succession was turned into ridicule. The absurdity of subjecting a great continent to a small island on the other side of the globe, was represented in such striking language, as to interest the honour and pride of the Colonists in renouncing the government of Great Britain.

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The necessity, the advantage, and practicability of independence were forcibly demonstrated. Nothing could be better timed than this performance; it was addressed to freemen, who had just received convincing proof, that Great Britain had thrown them out of her protection, had engaged foreign mercenaries to make war upon them, and seriously designed to compel their unconditional submission to her unlimited power. It found the Colonists most thoroughly alarmed for their liberties, and disposed to do and suffer any thing that promised their establishment. In union with the feelings and sentiments of the people, it produced surprising effects. Many thousands were convinced, and were led to approve and long for a separation from the Mother Country. Though that measure, a few months before, was not only foreign from their wishes, but the object of their abhorrence, the current suddenly became so strong in its favour, that it bore down all opposition. The multitude was hurried down the stream, but some worthy men could not easily reconcile themselves to the idea of an eternal separation from a country to which they had been long bound by the most endearing ties. They saw the sword drawn, but could not tell when it would be sheathed; they feared that the dispersed individuals of the several Colonies would not be brought to coalesce under an efficient government, and that after much anarchy, some future Cæsar would grasp their liberties, and confirm himself on a throne of despotism. They doubted the perseverance of their countrymen in effecting their independence, and were also apprehensive that in case of success, their future condition would be less happy than their past. Some respectable individuals whose principles were pure, but whose souls were not of that firm texture which revolutions require, shrunk back from the bold measures proposed by their more adventurous countrymen. To submit without an appeal to Heaven, though secretly wished for by some, was not the avowed sentiment of any; but to persevere in petitioning and resisting, was the system of some misguided honest men. The favourers of this opinion were generally wanting in that decision which grasps at great objects, and influenced by that timid policy which does its work by halves. Most of them dreaded the power of Britain. A few, on the score of interest, or an expectancy of favours from royal government, refused to concur with the general voice. Some of the natives of the Parent State, who having lately settled in the Colonies, had not yet exchanged European for American ideas, together with a few others, conscientiously opposed the measures of Congress: but the great bulk of the people, and especially of the spirited and independent part of the community,



community, came with surprising unanimity into the project of independence.

The Americans, thus exasperated to the utmost by the proceedings of parliament, now formally renounced all connection with Britain, and declared themselves independent. This celebrated declaration was published on the 4th of July, 1776, and is as follows :

“ When, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume among the powers of the earth the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and of nature’s God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

“ We hold these truths to be self-evident : That all men are created equal ; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights ; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness ; that to secure these rights governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed ; that whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate, that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes ; and accordingly all experience hath shewn, that mankind are more disposed to suffer while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security. Such has been the patient sufferance of these Colonies ; and such is now the necessity which constrains them to alter their former systems of government. The history of the present king of Great-Britain is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having in direct object the establishment of an absolute tyranny over these States. To prove this, let facts be submitted to a candid world.

“ He has refused his assent to laws the most wholesome and necessary for the public good.

“ He has forbidden his governors to pass laws of immediate and pressing importance, unless suspended in their operation till his assent should

should be obtained ; and when so suspended, he has utterly neglected to attend to them.

“ He has refused to pass other laws for the accommodation of large districts of people, unless those people would relinquish the right of representation in the legislature ; a right inestimable to them, and formidable to tyrants only.

“ He has called together legislative bodies at places unusual, uncomfortable, and distant from the depository of their public records, for the sole purpose of fatiguing them into compliance with his measures.

“ He has dissolved representative houses repeatedly, for opposing with manly firmness his invasions on the rights of the people.

“ He has refused, for a long time after such dissolutions, to cause others to be elected ; whereby the legislative powers, incapable of annihilation, have returned to the people at large for their exercise ; the State remaining in the mean time exposed to all the danger of invasion from without, and convulsions within.

“ He has endeavoured to prevent the population of these States ; for that purpose obstructing the laws for naturalization of foreigners ; refusing to pass others to encourage their migrations hither ; and raising the conditions of new appropriations of lands.

“ He has obstructed the administration of justice, by refusing his assent to laws for establishing judiciary powers.

“ He has made judges dependent on his will alone for the tenure of their offices, and the amount and payment of their salaries.

“ He has erected a multitude of new offices, and sent hither swarms of officers to harass our people and eat out their substance.

“ He has kept among us, in times of peace, standing armies, without the consent of our legislatures.

“ He has affected to render the military independent of, and superior to, the civil power.

“ He has combined with others to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our constitution, and unacknowledged by our laws ; giving his assent to their acts of pretended legislation :

“ For quartering large bodies of armed troops among us :

“ For protecting them, by a mock trial, from punishment for any murders which they should commit on the inhabitants of these States :

“ For cutting off our trade with all parts of the world :

“ For imposing taxes on us without our consent :

“ For depriving us, in many cases, of the benefits of trial by jury :

“ For transporting us beyond seas to be tried for pretended offences :

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“ For abolishing the free system of English laws in a neighbouring province, establishing therein an arbitrary government, and enlarging its boundaries, so as to render it at once an example and fit instrument for introducing the same absolute rule into these colonies :

“ For taking away our charters, abolishing our most valuable laws, and altering fundamentally the forms of our governments :

For suspending our own legislatures, and declaring themselves invested with power to legislate for us in all cases whatsoever.

“ He has abdicated government here, by declaring us out of his protection, and waging war against us.

“ He has plundered our seas, ravaged our coasts, burnt our towns, and destroyed the lives of our people.

“ He is, at this time, transporting large armies of foreign mercenaries to complete the works of death, desolation, and tyranny, already begun with circumstances of cruelty and perfidy scarcely paralleled in the most barbarous ages, and totally unworthy the head of a civilized nation.

“ He has constrained our fellow-citizens, taken captive on the high seas, to bear arms against their country, to become the executioners of their friends and brethren, or to fall themselves by their hands.

He has excited domestic insurrections amongst us, and has endeavoured to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers, the merciless Indian savages, whose known rule of warfare, is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes, and conditions.

“ In every stage of these oppressions we have petitioned for redress in the most humble terms: our repeated petitions have been answered only by repeated injury. A prince whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a tyrant, is unfit to be the ruler of a free people.

“ Nor have we been wanting to our British brethren. We have warned them from time to time of attempts made by their legislature to extend an unwarrantable jurisdiction over us. We have reminded them of the circumstances of our emigration and settlement here. We have appealed to their native justice and magnanimity, and we have conjured them, by the ties of our common kindred, to disavow these usurpations, which would inevitably interrupt our connections and correspondence. They, too, have been deaf to the voice of justice and consanguinity. We must, therefore, acquiesce in the necessity which denounces our separation, and hold them, as we hold the rest of mankind, enemies in war, in peace friends.

“ We, therefore, the Representatives of the United States of America, in General Congress assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the  
world

world for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the name and by the authority of the good people of these colonies, solemnly publish and declare, That these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, FREE and INDEPENDENT STATES; that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British crown, and that all political connection between them and the State of Great-Britain is, and ought to be, totally dissolved; and that as Free and Independent States, they have full power to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, establish commerce, and to do all other acts and things which Independent States may of right do. And for the support of this Declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honour."

Previous to this a circular letter had been sent through each colony, stating the reasons for it; and such was the animosity now every where prevailing against Great Britain, that it met with universal approbation, except in the province of Maryland alone. It was not long, however, before the people of that colony, finding themselves left in a very dangerous minority, thought proper to accede to the measures of the rest. The manifesto itself was much in the usual style, stating a long list of grievances, for which redress had been often applied for in vain; and for these reasons they determined on a final separation; to hold the people of Britain as the rest of mankind, "enemies in war, in peace friends."

After thus publicly throwing off all allegiance and hope of reconciliation, the colonists soon found that an exertion of all their strength was required in order to support their pretensions. Their arms, indeed, had not, during this season, been attended with success in Canada. Reinforcements had been promised to Colonel Arnold, who still continued the blockade of Quebec; but they did not arrive in time to second his operations. Being sensible, however, that he must either desist from the enterprise, or finish it successfully, he recommenced in form; attempting to burn the shipping, and even to storm the town itself. They were unsuccessful, however, by reason of the smallness of their number, though they succeeded so far as to burn a number of houses in the suburbs; and the garrison were obliged to pull down the remainder, in order to prevent the fire from spreading.

As the provincials, though unable to reduce the town, kept the garrison in continual alarms, and in a very disagreeable situation, some of the nobility collected themselves into a body under the command of one Mr. Beaujeau, in order to relieve their capital; but they were met on their march by the provincials, and so entirely defeated, that they were never afterwards able to attempt any thing. The Americans, however,



had but little reason to plume themselves on this success. Their want of artillery at last convinced them, that it was impracticable in their situation to reduce a place so strongly fortified: the small-pox at the same time made its appearance in their camp, and carried off great numbers; intimidating the rest to such a degree, that they deserted in crowds. To add to their misfortunes, the British reinforcements unexpectedly appeared, and the ships made their way through the ice with such celerity, that the one part of their army was separated from the other; and General Carleton sallying out as soon as the reinforcement was landed, obliged them to fly with the utmost precipitation, leaving behind them all their cannon and military stores; at the same time that their shipping was entirely captured by vessels sent up the river for that purpose. On this occasion the provincials fled with such precipitation that they could not be overtaken; so that none fell into the hands of the British excepting the sick and wounded. General Carleton now gave a signal instance of his humanity: Being well apprised that many of the provincials had not been able to accompany the rest in their retreat, and that they were concealed in woods, &c. in a very deplorable situation, he generously issued a proclamation, ordering proper persons to seek them out, and give them relief at the public expence; at the same time, lest, through fear of being made prisoners, they should refuse these offers of humanity, he promised, that, as soon as their situation enabled them, they should be at liberty to depart to their respective homes.

The British general, now freed from any danger of an attack, was soon enabled to act offensively against the provincials, by the arrival of the forces destined for that purpose from Britain. By these he was put at the head of twelve thousand regular troops, among whom were those of Brunswick. With this force he instantly set out to the Three Rivers, where he expected that Arnold would have made a stand; but he had fled to Sorel, a place one hundred and fifty miles distant from Quebec, where he was at last met by the reinforcements ordered by Congress. Here, though the preceding events were by no means calculated to inspire much military ardour, a very daring enterprise was undertaken; and this was to surprise the British troops posted here under Generals Fraser and Nesbit; of whom the former commanded those on land, the latter such as were on board of transports, and were but a little way distant. The enterprise was undoubtedly very hazardous, both on account of the strength of the parties against whom they were to act, and as the main body of the British forces were advanced within fifty miles of the place; besides that a number of armed vessels and transports with troops lay between them and the Three Rivers. Two thousand

thousand chosen men, however, under General Thomson, engaged in this enterprize. Their success was by no means answerable to their spirit and valour. Though they passed the shipping without being observed, General Frazer had notice of their landing; and thus being prepared to receive them, they were soon thrown into disorder, at the same time that General Nesbit, having landed his forces, prepared to attack them in the rear. On this occasion some field pieces did prodigious execution, and a retreat was found to be unavoidable. General Nesbit, however, had got between them and their boats; so that they were obliged to take a circuit through a deep swamp, while they were closely pursued by both parties at the same time, who marched for some miles on each side of the swamp, till at last the miserable provincials were sheltered from further danger by a wood at the end of the swamp. Their general, however, was taken, with two hundred of his men.

By this disaster the provincials lost all hopes of accomplishing any thing in Canada. They demolished their works, and carried off their artillery with the utmost expedition. They were pursued however, by General Burgoyne; against whom it was expected that they would have collected all their force, and made a resolute stand. But they were now too much dispirited by misfortune, to make any further exertions of valour. On the 18th of June the British general arrived at Fort St. John's, which he found abandoned and burnt. Chamblee had shared the same fate, as well as all the vessels that were not capable of being dragged up against the current of the river. It was thought that they would have made some resistance at Nut Island, the entrance to Lake Champlain; but this also they had abandoned, and retreated across the lake to Crown Point, whither they could not be immediately followed. Thus was the province of Canada entirely evacuated by the Americans; whose loss in their retreat from Quebec was not calculated at less than one thousand men, of whom four hundred fell at once into the hands of the enemy at a place called the Cedars, about fifty miles above Montreal. General Sullivan, however, who conducted this retreat after the affair of General Thomson, was acknowledged to have had great merit in what he did, and received the thanks of congress accordingly.

This bad success in the north, however, was somewhat compensated by what happened in the southern colonies.—We have formerly taken notice that Mr. Martin, governor of North Carolina, had been obliged to leave his province and take refuge on board a man of war. Notwithstanding this, he did not despair of reducing it again to obedience. For this purpose he applied to the Regulators, a daring set of banditti, who lived in a kind of independent state; and though considered by  
government

government as rebels, yet had never been molested, on account of their numbers and known skill in the use of fire-arms. To the chiefs of these people commissions were sent, in order to raise some regiments; and Colonel Macdonald, a brave and enterprising officer, was appointed to command them. In the month of February he erected the king's standard, issued proclamations, &c. and collected some forces, expecting to be soon joined by a body of regular troops, who were known to be shipped from Britain to act against the southern colonies. The Americans, sensible of their danger, dispatched immediately what forces they had to act against the royalists, at the same time that they diligently exerted themselves to support these with suitable reinforcements. Their present force was commanded by a General Moore, whose numbers were inferior to Macdonald; for which reason the latter summoned him to join the king's standard under pain of being treated as a rebel. But Moore, being well provided with cannon, and conscious that nothing could be attempted against him, returned the compliment, by acquainting Colonel Macdonald, that if he and his party would lay down their arms, and subscribe an oath of fidelity to congress, they should be treated as friends; but if they persisted in an undertaking for which it was evident they had not sufficient strength, they could not but expect the severest treatment. In a few days General Moore found himself at the head of eight thousand men, by reason of the continual supplies which daily arrived from all parts. The royal party amounted only to two thousand, and they were destitute of artillery, which prevented them from attacking the enemy while they had the advantage of numbers. They were now therefore obliged to have recourse to a desperate exertion of personal valour; by dint of which they effected a retreat for eighty miles to Moore's Creek, within sixteen miles of Wilmington. Could they have gained this place, they expected to have been joined by Governor Martin and General Clinton, who had lately arrived with a considerable detachment. But Moore with his army pursued them so close, that they were obliged to attempt the passage of the creek itself, though a considerable body of the enemy, under the command of Colonel Coswell, with fortifications well planted with cannon, was posted on the other side. On attempting the creek, however, it was found not to be fordable. They were obliged therefore to cross over a wooden bridge, which the provincials had not time to destroy entirely. They had, however, by pulling up part of the planks, and greasing the remainder in order to render them slippery, made the passage so difficult, that the royalists could not attempt it. In this situation they were, on the 27th of February, attacked by Moore, with his superior army, and

totally

totally defeated with the loss of their general and most of their leaders, as well as the best and bravest of their men.

Thus was the power of the Provincials established in North Carolina. Nor were they less successful in the province of Virginia; where Lord Dunmore, having long continued an useless predatory war, was at last driven from every creek and road in the province. The people he had on board were distressed to the highest degree by confinement in small vessels. The heat of the season, and the numbers crowded together, produced a pestilential fever, which made great havock, especially among the blacks. At last, finding themselves in the utmost hazard of perishing by famine as well as disease, they set fire to the least valuable of their vessels, reserving only about fifty for themselves, in which they bid a final adieu to Virginia, some sailing to Florida, some to Bermuda, and the rest to the West Indies.

In South Carolina the Provincials had a more formidable enemy to deal with. A squadron, whose object was the reduction of Charlestown, had been fitted out in December 1775; but by reason of unfavourable weather did not reach Cape Fear, in North Carolina, till the month of May 1776: and here it met with further obstacles till the end of the month. Thus the Americans, always noted for their alertness in raising fortifications, had time to strengthen those of Charlestown in such a manner as rendered it extremely difficult to be attacked. The British squadron consisted of two fifty gun ships, four of thirty guns, two of twenty, an armed schooner, and bomb-ketch; all under the command of Sir Peter Parker. The land forces were commanded by Lord Cornwallis, with Generals Clinton and Vaughan. As they had yet no intelligence of the evacuation of Boston, General Howe dispatched a vessel to Cape Fear, with some instructions; but it was too late; and in the beginning of June the squadron anchored off Charlestown bar. Here they met with some difficulty in crossing, being obliged to take out the guns from the two large ships, which were, notwithstanding, several times in danger of sticking fast. The next obstacle was a strong fort on Sullivan's Island, six miles east from Charlestown; which, though not completely finished, was very strong. However, the British generals resolved without hesitation to attack it; but though an attack was easy from the sea, it was very difficult to obtain a co-operation of the land forces. This was attempted by landing them on Long Island, adjacent to Sullivan's Island on the east, from which it is separated by a narrow creek, said not to be above two feet deep at low water. Opposite to this ford the Provincials had posted a strong body of troops, with cannon and entrenchments; while General Lee was posted on the main land, with a



bridge of boats betwixt that and Sullivan's Island, so that he could at pleasure send reinforcements to the troops in the fort on Sullivan's Island.

On the part of the British, so many delays occurred, that it was the 28th of June before matters were in readiness for an attack; and by this time the provincials had abundantly provided for their reception. On the morning of that day the bomb ketch began to throw shells into Fort Sullivan, and about mid-day the two fifty gun ships and thirty gun frigates came up and began a severe fire. Three other frigates were ordered to take their station between Charlestown and the fort, in order to enfilade the batteries, and cut off the communication with the main land; but through the ignorance of the pilots they all stuck fast; and though two of them were disentangled, they were found to be totally unfit for service: the third was burnt, that she might not fall into the hands of the enemy.

The attack was therefore confined to the five armed ships and bomb-ketch, between whom and the fort a dreadful fire ensued. The Bristol suffered excessively. The springs on her cable being shot away, she was for some time entirely exposed to the enemy's fire. As the enemy poured in great quantities of red-hot balls, she was twice in flames. The captain (Mr. Morris), after receiving five wounds, was obliged to go below deck in order to have his arm amputated. After undergoing this operation he returned to his place, where he received another wound, but still refused to quit his station: at last he received a red-hot ball in his belly which instantly put an end to his life. Of all the officers and seamen who stood on the quarter-deck of this vessel, not one escaped without a wound excepting Sir Peter Parker alone; whose intrepidity and presence of mind on this occasion was very remarkable. The engagement lasted till darkness put an end to it. Little damage was done by the British, as the works of the enemy lay so low that many of the shot flew over; and the fortifications, being composed of palm-trees mixed with earth, were extremely well calculated to resist the impression of cannon. During the height of the attack, the provincial batteries remained for some time silent, so that it was concluded that they had been abandoned; but this was found to proceed only from want of powder; for as soon as a supply of this necessary article was obtained, the firing was resumed as brisk as before. During the whole of this desperate engagement it was found impossible for the land forces to give the least assistance to the fleet. The enemy's works were found to be much stronger than they had been imagined, and the depth of water effectually prevented them from making any attempt. In this unsuccessful attack the killed and wounded on the part of the British amounted to about

about two hundred. The Bristol and Experiment were so much damaged, that it was thought they could not have been got over the bar; however, this was at last accomplished by a very great exertion of naval skill, to the surprize of the provincials, who had expected to make them both prizes. On the American side the loss was judged to have been very considerable, as most of their guns were dismounted, and reinforcements had poured into the fort during the whole time of the action.

This year also, the Americans, having so frequently made trial of their valour by land, became desirous of trying it by sea, and of forming a navy that might in some measure be able to protect their trade, and do essential hurt to the enemy. In the beginning of March commodore Hopkins was dispatched with five frigates to the Bahama Islands, where he made himself master of the ordnance and military stores; but the gunpowder, which had been the principal object, was removed. On his return he captured several vessels; but was foiled in his attempt on the Glasgow frigate, which found means to escape notwithstanding the efforts of his whole squadron.

The time, however, was now come when the fortitude and patience of the Americans were to undergo a severe trial. Hitherto they had been on the whole successful in their operations: but now they were doomed to experience misfortune, and misery; the enemy overrunning their country, and their own armies not able to face them in the field. The province of New York, as being the most central colony, and most accessible by sea, was pitched upon for the object of the main attack. The force sent against it consisted of six ships of the line, thirty frigates, besides other armed vessels, and a vast number of transports. The fleet was commanded by lord Howe, and the land forces by his brother general Howe, who was now at Halifax. The latter, however, a considerable time before his brother arrived, had set sail from Halifax, and lay before New York, but without attempting to commence hostilities until he should be joined by his brother. The Americans had, according to custom, fortified New York and the adjacent islands in an extraordinary manner. However, general Howe was suffered to land his troops on Staten Island, where he was soon joined by a number of the inhabitants. About the middle of July, Lord Howe arrived with the grand armament; and being one of the commissioners appointed to receive the submission of the colonists, he published a circular letter to this purpose to the several governors who had lately been expelled from their provinces, desiring them to make the extent of his commission, and the powers he was invested with by parliament, as public as possible. Here, however, congress saved him the trouble, by ordering his letter and declaration to be published in all the new-

papers, that every one might see the insidiousness of the British ministry, and that they had nothing to trust to besides the exertion of their own valour.

Lord Howe next sent a letter to General Washington; but as it was directed "To George Washington, Esq." the general refused to accept of it, as not being directed in the style suitable to his station. To obviate this objection, Adjutant-general Paterfon was sent with another letter, directed "To George Washington, &c. &c. &c." But though a very polite reception was given to the bearer, General Washington utterly refused the letter; nor could any explanation of the Adjutant induce him to accept of it. The only interesting part of the conversation was, that relating to the powers of the commissioners, of which Lord Howe was one. The adjutant told him, that these powers were very extensive; that the commissioners were determined to exert themselves to the utmost, in order to bring about a reconciliation; and that he hoped the general would consider this visit as a step towards it. General Washington replied, that it did not appear that these powers consisted in any thing else than granting pardons; and as America had committed no offence, she asked no forgiveness, and was only defending her unquestionable rights.

The decision of every thing being now by consent of both parties left to the sword, no time was lost, but hostilities commenced as soon as the British troops could be collected. This, however, was not done before the month of August; when they landed without any opposition on Long Island, opposite to the shore of Staten Island. General Putnam, with a large body of troops, lay encamped and strongly fortified on a peninsula on the opposite shore, with a range of hills between the armies, the principal pass of which was near a place called *Flat-bush*. Here the centre of the British army, consisting of Hessians, took post: the left wing, under General Grant, lying near the shore; and the right, consisting of the greater part of the British forces, lay under Lord Percy, Cornwallis, and General Clinton. Putnam had ordered the passes to be secured by large detachments, which was executed as to those at hand; but one of the utmost importance, that lay at a distance, was entirely neglected. This gave an opportunity to a large body of troops under Lord Percy and Clinton to pass the mountains and attack the Americans in the rear, while they were engaged with the Hessians in front. Through this piece of negligence their defeat became inevitable. Those who were engaged with the Hessians first perceived their mistake, and began a retreat towards the camp; but the passage was intercepted by the British troops, who drove them back into the woods. Here they

were met by the Hessians; and thus were they for many hours slaughtered between the two parties, no way of escape remaining but by breaking through the British troops, and thus regaining their camp. In this attempt many perished; and the right wing, engaged with General Grant, shared the same fate. The victory was complete; and the Americans lost on this fatal day (August 27th) between three and four thousand men, of whom two thousand were killed in the battle or pursuit. Among these a regiment, consisting of young gentlemen of fortune and family in Maryland, was almost entirely cut in pieces, and of the survivors not one escaped without a wound.

The ardour of the British troops was now so great, that they could scarce be restrained from attacking the lines of the provincials; but for this there was now no occasion, as it was certain they could not be defended. Of the British only sixty-one were killed in this engagement, and two hundred and fifty-seven wounded. Eleven hundred of the enemy, among whom were three generals, were taken prisoners.

As none of the American commanders thought it proper to risk another attack, it was resolved to abandon their camp as soon as possible. Accordingly on the night of the 29th of August, the whole of the continental troops were ferried over with the utmost secrecy and silence; so that in the morning the British had nothing to do but take possession of the camp and artillery which they had abandoned.

This victory, though complete, was very far from being so decisive as was at first imagined. Lord Howe, supposing that it would be sufficient to intimidate the congress into some terms, sent General Sullivan, who had been taken prisoner in the late action, to congress, with a message, importing, that though he could not consistently treat with them as a legal assembly, yet he would be very glad to confer with any of the members in their private capacity; setting forth at the same time the nature and extent of his powers as a commissioner. But the Congress were not to be intimidated to derogate in the least from the dignity of character they had assumed. They replied, that the congress of the free and independent states of America could not consistently send any of its members in another capacity than that which they had publicly assumed; but as they were extremely desirous of restoring peace to their country upon equitable conditions, they would appoint a committee of their body to wait upon him, and learn what proposals he had to make.

This produced a new conference. The committee appointed by congress was composed of Dr. Franklin, Mr. Adams, and Mr. Rutledge. They were very politely received by his Lordship; but the conference proved as fruitless as before independency had been declared, and the



final answer of the deputies was, that they were extremely willing to enter into any treaty with Great Britain that might conduce to the good of both nations, but that they would not treat in any other character than that of independent states. This positive declaration instantly put an end to all hopes of reconciliation; and it was resolved to prosecute the war with the utmost vigour. Lord Howe, after publishing a manifesto, in which he declared the refusal of congress, and that he himself was willing to confer with all well disposed persons about the means of restoring public tranquillity, set about the most proper methods for reducing the city of New York. Here the provincial troops were posted, and from a great number of batteries kept continually annoying the British shipping. The East River lay between them, of about twelve hundred yards in breadth, which the British troops were extremely desirous of passing. At last the ships having, after an incessant cannonade of several days, silenced the most troublesome batteries, a body of troops was sent up the river to a bay, about three miles distant, where the fortifications were less strong than in other places. Here having driven off the provincials by the cannon of the fleet, they marched directly towards the city; but the enemy finding that they should now be attacked on all sides, abandoned the city, and retired to the north of the island, where their principal force was collected. In their passage thither they skirmished with the British, but carefully avoided a general engagement; and it was observed that they did not behave with that ardour and impetuous valour which had hitherto marked their character.

The British and provincial armies were not now above two miles distant from each other. The former lay encamped from shore to shore for an extent of two miles, being the breadth of the island, which though fifteen miles long, exceeds not two in any part in breadth. The provincials, who lay directly opposite, had strengthened their camp with many fortifications; at the same time, being masters of all the passes and defiles betwixt the two camps, they were enabled to defend themselves against an army, much more numerous than their own; and they had also strongly fortified a pass called *King's Bridge*, whence they could secure a passage to the continent in case of any misfortune. Here General Washington, in order to inure the provincials to actual service, and at the same time to annoy the enemy as much as possible, employed his troops in continual skirmishes; by which it was observed that they soon recovered their spirits, and behaved with their usual boldness.

As the situation of the two armies was now highly inconvenient for the British generals, it was resolved to make such movements as might oblige General Washington to relinquish his strong situation. The pos-

session of New York had been less beneficial than was expected. It had been concerted among the provincials, that the city should be burnt at the time of evacuation; but as they were forced to depart with precipitation, they were prevented from putting the scheme in execution. In a few days, however, it was attempted by some who had been left behind for that purpose. Taking advantage of a high wind and dry weather, the town was set on fire in several places at once, by means of combustibles properly placed for that purpose; and notwithstanding the most active exertions of the soldiery and sailors, a fourth part of the city was consumed.

On this occasion the British were irritated to the highest degree and many persons, said to be incendiaries, were without mercy thrown into the flames. It was determined to force the provincial army to a greater distance, that they might have it less in their power, by any emissaries, to engage others in a similar attempt. For this purpose, Gen. Howe having left Lord Percy with sufficient force to garrison New York, he embarked his army in flat-bottom boats, by which they were conveyed through the dangerous passage called *Hell Gate*, and landed near the town of West Chester, lying on the continent towards Connecticut. Here having received a supply of men and provisions, they moved to New-Rochelle, situated on the sound which separates Long Island from the continent. After this, receiving still fresh reinforcements, they made such movements as threatened to distress the provincials very much, by cutting off their convoys of provisions from Connecticut, and thus force them to an engagement. This, however, General Washington determined at all events to avoid. He therefore extended his forces into a long line opposite to the way in which the enemy marched, keeping the Bruna, a river of considerable magnitude, between the two armies, with the North River on his rear. Here again the provincials continued for some time to annoy and skirmish with the Royal army, until at last, by some other manœuvres, the British general found means to attack them advantageously at a place called the *White Plains*, and drove them from some of their posts. The victory on this occasion was much less complete than the former; however it obliged the provincials once more to shift their ground, and to retreat farther up the country. General Howe pursued for some time; but at last finding all his endeavours vain to bring the Americans to a pitched battle, he determined to give over such an useless chace, and employ himself in reducing the forts which the provincials still retained in the neighbourhood of New York. In this he met with the most complete success. The Americans, on the approach of the British forces, retreated from King's Bridge into Fort Washington;

Washington; and this, as well as Fort Lee, which lay in the neighbourhood, was quickly reduced, though the garrison made their escape. Thus the Jerseys were laid entirely open to the incursions of the British troops; and so fully were these provinces taken possession of by the Royal army, that its winter-quarters extended from New Brunswick to the river Delaware. Had any number of boats been at hand, it is probable that Philadelphia would now have fallen into their hands. All these, however, had been carefully removed by the Americans. In lieu of this enterprise, Sir Henry Clinton undertook an expedition to Rhode Island, and became master of it without losing a man. His expedition was also attended with this further advantage, that the American fleet under Commodore Hopkins was obliged to sail as far as possible up the river Providence, and thus remained entirely useless.

The same ill success continued to attend the Americans in other parts. After their expulsion from Canada, they had crossed the lake Champlain, and taken up their quarters at Crown Point, as we have already mentioned. Here they remained for some time in safety, as the British had no vessels on the lake, and consequently General Burgoyne could not pursue them. To remedy this deficiency, there was no possible method, but either to construct vessels on the spot, or take to pieces some vessels already constructed, and drag them up the river into the lake. This, however, was effected in no longer a space than three months; and the British general, after incredible toil and difficulty, saw himself in possession of a great number of vessels, by which means he was enabled to pursue his enemies, and invade them in his turn. The labour undergone at this time by the sea and land forces must indeed have been prodigious; since there were conveyed over land, and dragged up the rapids of St. Laurence, no fewer than thirty large long boats, four hundred batteux, besides a vast number of flat bottomed boats, and a gondola of thirty tons. The intent of the expedition was to push forward before winter to Albany, where the army would take up its winter-quarters, and next spring effect a junction with that under General Howe, when it was not doubted that the united force and skill of these two commanders would speedily put a termination to the war.

By reason of the difficulties with which the equipment of this fleet had been attended, it was the beginning of October before the expedition could be undertaken. It was now, however, by every judge allowed to be completely able to answer the purpose for which it was intended. It consisted of one large vessel with three masts, carrying eighteen twelve pounders; two schooners, the one carrying fourteen, the other twelve six-pounders; a large flat-bottomed radeau with six

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twenty-four and six twelve-pounders; and a gondola with eight nine pounders. Besides these there were twenty vessels of a smaller size, called gun-boats, carrying each a piece of brass ordnance from nine to twenty-four pounders or howitzers. Several long-boats were fitted out in the same manner; and besides all these, there were a vast number of boats and tenders of various sizes, to be used as transports for the troops and baggage. It was manned by a number of select seamen, and the guns were to be served by a detachment from the corps of artillery; the officers and soldiers appointed for this expedition were also chosen out of the whole army.

To oppose this formidable armament the Americans had only a very inconsiderable force, commanded by General Arnold; who, after engaging part of the British fleet for a whole day, took advantage of the darkness of the night to set sail without being perceived, and next morning was out of sight: but he was so closely pursued by the British, that on the second day, after he was overtaken, and forced to a second engagement. In this he behaved with great gallantry; but his force being inferior to that of the enemy, he was obliged to run his ships ashore and set them on fire. A few only escaped to Lake George; and the garrison of Crown Point having destroyed or carried off every thing of value, retired to Ticonderago. Thither General Carleton intended to have pursued them; but the difficulties he had to encounter appeared so many and so great, that it was thought proper to march back into Canada, and desist from any further operations till next spring.

Thus the affairs of the Americans seemed every where going to wreck: even those who had been most sanguine in their cause began to waver. The time, also, for which the soldiers had enlisted themselves was now expired; and the bad success of the preceding campaign had been so very discouraging, that no person was willing to engage himself during the continuance of a war, of which the event seemed to be so doubtful. In consequence of this, therefore, General Washington found his army decreasing in strength; so that from thirty-thousand men, of whom it consisted, when General Howe landed on Staten Island, scarce a tenth part could now be mustered. To assist the chief commander as much as possible, General Lee had collected a body of forces in the north; but on his way southward, having imprudently taken up his lodging at some distance from his troops, information was given to Colonel Harcourt, who happened at that time to be in the neighbourhood, and Lee was made prisoner. The loss of this general was much regretted, the more especially as he was of superior quality to any prisoner in the possession of  
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the colonists, and could not therefore be exchanged. Six field-officers were offered in exchange for him and refused; and the congress was highly irritated at its being reported that he was to be treated as a deserter, having been a half-pay officer in the British service at the commencement of the war. In consequence of this they issued a proclamation, threatening to retaliate on the prisoners in their possession whatever punishment should be inflicted on any of those taken by the British, and especially that their conduct should be regulated by the treatment of General Lee.

In the mean time they proceeded with the most indefatigable diligence to recruit their army, and bound their soldiers to serve for a term of three years, or during the continuance of the war. The army designed for the ensuing campaign was to consist of eighty-eight battalions; of which each province was to contribute its quota; and twenty dollars were offered as a bounty to each soldier, besides an allotment of lands at the end of the war. In this allotment was stipulated, that each soldier should have one hundred acres; an ensign one hundred and fifty; a lieutenant two hundred; a captain three hundred; a major four hundred; a lieutenant-colonel four hundred and fifty; and a colonel five hundred. No lands were promised to those who enlisted only for three years. All officers or soldiers disabled through wounds received in the service to enjoy half-pay during life. To defray the expence, congress borrowed five millions of dollars at five per cent; for payment of which the United States became surety. At the same time in order to animate the people to vigorous exertions, a declaration was published, in which they set forth the necessity there was for taking proper methods to insure success in their cause: they endeavoured to palliate as much as possible the misfortunes which had already happened; and represented the true cause of the present distress to be the short term of enlistment.

This declaration, together with the imminent danger of Philadelphia, determined the Americans to exert themselves to the utmost in order to reinforce General Washington's army. They soon received farther encouragement, however, by an exploit of that general against the Hessians. As the Royal army extended in different cantonments for a great way, Gen. Washington, perceiving the imminent danger to which Philadelphia was exposed, resolved to make some attempt on those divisions of the enemy which lay nearest that city. These happened to be the Hessians, who lay in three divisions, the last only twenty miles distant from Philadelphia. On the 25th of December, having collected as considerable a force as he could, he set out with an intent to surprise  
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that body of the enemy who lay at Trenton. His army was divided into three bodies; one of which he ordered to cross the Delaware at Trenton Ferry, a little below the town; the second at a good distance below, at a place called *Bordentown*, where the second division of Hessians was placed; while he himself with the third, directing his course to a ferry some miles above Trenton, intended to have passed it at midnight, and attack the Hessians at break of day. But by reason of various impediments, it was eight of the morning before he could reach the place of his destination. The enemy, however, did not perceive his approach till they were suddenly attacked. Colonel Ralle, who commanded them, did all that could be expected from a brave and experienced officer; but every thing was in such confusion, that no efforts of valour or skill could now retrieve matters. The colonel himself was mortally wounded, his troops were entirely broken, their artillery seized, and about one thousand taken prisoners.

This action, though seemingly of no very decisive nature, was sufficient at that time to turn the fortune of war in favour of America. It tended greatly to lessen the fear which the provincials had of the Hessians, at the same time it equally abated the confidence which the British had till now put in them. Reinforcements came into General Washington's army from all quarters; so that he was soon in a condition to leave Philadelphia, and take up his quarters at Trenton. Emboldened by his success, he determined to make an attempt on a division of the British forces stationed at Maidenhead, a town situated half way between Trenton and Princetown. This consisted of three regiments under the command of Colonel Mawhood, an officer of great merit. The troops were surprised on their march; but though they were separately surrounded and attacked by a force so vastly superior, they charged the enemy so resolutely with their bayonets, that they effected a retreat. These attempts of the Americans however, with the hostile disposition of the people, showed the impossibility of maintaining posts so far advanced in the enemy's country; so that it was resolved to retreat towards Brunswick, in order to prevent it, with the troops and magazines it contained, from falling into the hands of the provincials. General Washington lost no opportunity of recovering what had been lost; and by dividing his army into small parties, which could be reunited on a few hours warning, he in a manner entirely covered the country with it, and repossessed himself of all the important places.

Thus ended the campaign of 1776, with scarce any real advantage other than the acquisition of the city of New-York, and a few for-

treffes in its neighbourhood; where the troops were obliged to act with as much circumspection as if they had been besieged by a victorious army, instead of being themselves the conquerors.

The army at New-York began in 1777 to exercise a kind of predatory war, by sending out parties to destroy magazines, make incursions, and take or destroy such forts as lay on the banks of rivers, to which their great command of shipping gave them access. In this they were generally successful: the provincial magazines at Peek's-Hill, a place, of about fifty miles distant from New-York, were destroyed, the town of Dunbury in Connecticut burnt, and that of Ridgefield in the same province was taken possession of. In returning from the last expedition, however, the British were greatly harrassed by the enemy under Generals Arnold, Wooster, and Sullivan; but they made good their retreat in spite of all opposition, with the loss of only one hundred and seventy killed and wounded. On the American side the loss was much greater; General Wooster was killed, and Arnold in the most imminent danger. On the other hand, the Americans destroyed the stores at Sagg-harbour, in Long-Island, and made prisoners of all who defended the place.

As this method of making war, however, could answer but little purpose, and favoured more of the barbarous incursions of savages than of a war carried on by a civilized people, it was resolved to make an attempt on Philadelphia. At first it was thought that this could be done through the Jerseys; but General Washington had received such large reinforcements, and posted himself so strongly, that it was found to be impracticable. Many stratagems were used to draw him from this strong situation, but without success; so that it was found necessary to make the attempt on Philadelphia by sea. While the preparations necessary for this expedition were going forward, the Americans found means to make amends for the capture of General Lee by that of General Prescott, who was seized in his quarters with his aid-de-camp, in much the same manner as General Lee had been. This was exceedingly mortifying to the General himself, as he had not long before set a price upon General Arnold, by offering a sum of money to any one that apprehended him; which the latter answered by setting a lower price upon General Prescott.

The month of July was far advanced before the preparations for the expedition against Philadelphia were completed; and it was the 23d before the fleet was able to sail from Sandy-Hook. The force employed in this expedition consisted of thirty-six battalions of British and Hessians, a regiment of light horse, and a body of loyalists raised at New-

York,

York. The remainder of these, with seventeen battalions, and another body of light horse, were stationed at New York under Sir Henry Clinton. Seven battalions were stationed at Rhode-Island. After a week's failing they arrived at the mouth of the Delaware; but there received certain intelligence, that the navigation of the river was so effectually obstructed, that no possibility of forcing a passage remained. Upon this it was resolved to proceed farther southward to Chesapeake Bay in Maryland, from whence the distance to Philadelphia was not very great, and where the provincial army would find less advantage from the nature of the country than in the Jerseys.

The navigation from Delaware to Chesapeake took up the best part of the month of August, and that up the bay itself was extremely difficult and tedious. At last, having failed up the river Elk as far as was practicable, the troops were landed without opposition, and set forward on their intended expedition. On the news of their arrival in Chesapeake, General Washington left the Jerseys, and hastened to the relief of Philadelphia; and in the beginning of September met the Royal army at Brandy-wine Creek about mid-day, between the head of the Elk and Philadelphia. Here he adhered to his former method of skirmishing and harassing the Royal army on its march; but as this proved insufficient to stop its progress, he retired to that side of the Creek next to Philadelphia with an intent to dispute the passage. This brought on a general engagement on the 11th of September, in which the Americans were worsted through the superior discipline of the British troops; and it was only through the approach of night that they were saved from being entirely destroyed. On this occasion the provincials lost about one thousand in killed and wounded, besides four hundred taken prisoners.

The loss of this battle proved also the loss of Philadelphia. General Washington retired towards Lancaster, an inland town at a considerable distance from Philadelphia. Here, however, the British general took such measures as must have forced the provincials to a second engagement; but a violent rain which lasted a day and a night prevented his design. General Washington, though he could not prevent the loss of Philadelphia, still adhered to his original plan of distressing the Royal party, by laying ambushes and cutting off detached parties: but in this he was less successful than formerly; and one of his own detachments, which lay in ambush in a wood, were themselves surprised and entirely defeated, with the loss of three hundred killed and wounded, besides a great number taken, and all their arms and baggage.



General Howe now perceiving that the Americans would not venture another battle even for the sake of their capital, took peaceable possession of it on the 26th of September. His first care was then to cut off, by means of strong batteries, the communication between the upper and lower parts of the river; which was executed notwithstanding the opposition of some American armed vessels: one of which, carrying thirty-six guns, was taken. His next task was to open a communication with it by sea; and this was a work of no small difficulty. A vast number of batteries and forts had been erected, and immense machines formed like *chevaux de frize*, from whence they took their name, sunk in the river to prevent its navigation. As the fleet was sent round to the mouth of the river in order to co-operate with the army, this work, however difficult, was accomplished; nor did the provincials give much opposition, as well knowing that all places of this kind were now untenable. General Washington, however, took the advantage of the royal army being divided, to attack the camp of the principal division of it that lay at German-town, in the neighbourhood of Philadelphia. In this he met with very little success; for though he reached the place of destination by three o'clock in the morning, the patrols had time to call the troops to arms. The Americans, notwithstanding, made a very resolute attack: but they were received with such bravery, that they were compelled to abandon the attempt, and retreat in great disorder; with the advantage, however, of carrying off their cannon, though pursued for a considerable way, after having three hundred killed, six hundred wounded, and upwards of four hundred taken prisoners, among whom were fifty-four officers. On the British side, the loss amounted to four hundred and thirty wounded and prisoners, and seventy killed; but among the last were General Agnew and Colonel Bird, with some other excellent officers.

There still remained two strong forts on the Delaware to be reduced. These were Mud Island and Red Bank. The various obstructions which the Americans had thrown in the way rendered it necessary to bring up the *Augusta*, a ship of the line, and the *Merlin* frigate, to the attack of Mud Island; but during the heat of the action both were grounded. Upon this, the Americans sent down four fire-ships, and directed the whole fire from their galleys against them. The former were rendered ineffectual by the courage and skill of the British seamen; but during the engagement both the *Augusta* and *Merlin* took fire and were burnt to ashes, and the other ships obliged to withdraw. The Americans encouraged by this unsuccessful attempt, proceeded to throw new obstructions in the way; but the British general having found means to

convey a number of cannon, and to erect batteries within gunshot of the fort by land, and bringing up three ships of the line which mounted heavy cannon, the garrison, after making a vigorous defence for one day, perceiving that preparations were making for a general assault on the next, abandoned the place in the night. Those who defended Red Bank followed their example, and abandoned it on the approach of Lord Cornwallis. A great number of the American shipping now finding themselves entirely destitute of any protection, sailed up the river in the night-time. Seventeen, however, remained, whose retreat was intercepted by a frigate and some armed vessels; on which the Americans ran them ashore and burnt them, to prevent their falling into the enemy's hands.

Thus the campaign of 1777 in Pennsylvania concluded successfully on the part of the British. In the north, however, matters wore a different aspect. The expedition in that quarter had been projected by the British ministry as the most effectual method that could be taken to crush the colonies at once. The four provinces of New England had originally begun the confederacy against Britain, and were still considered as the most active in the continuation of it; and it was thought, that any impression made upon them would contribute in an effectual manner to the reduction of all the rest. For this purpose, an army of four thousand chosen British troops and three thousand Germans were put under the command of General Burgoyne; General Carleton was directed to use his interest with the Indians to persuade them to join in this expedition; and the province of Quebec was to furnish large parties to join in the same. The officers who commanded under General Burgoyne were General Philips of the artillery, Generals Fraser, Powell, and Hamilton, with the German officers Generals Reidesel and Speecht. The soldiers, as has already been observed, were all excellently disciplined, and had been kept in their winter-quarters with all imaginable care, in order to prepare them for the expedition on which they were going. To aid the principal expedition, another was projected on the Mohawk River under Colonel St. Leger, who was to be assisted by Sir John Johnson, son to the famous Sir William Johnson, who had so greatly distinguished himself in the war of 1755.

On the 21st of June 1777, the army encamped on the western side of the Lake Champlain; where being joined by a considerable body of Indians, General Burgoyne made a speech, in which he exhorted these new allies to lay aside their ferocious and barbarous manner of making war; to kill only such as opposed them in arms; and to spare prisoners, with such women and children as should fall into their hands. After  
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issuing a proclamation, in which the force of Britain and that which he commanded was set forth in very ostentatious terms, the campaign opened with the siege of Ticonderoga. The place was very strong, and garrisoned by six thousand men under General Sinclair; nevertheless, the works were so extensive that even this number was scarce sufficient to defend them properly. They had therefore omitted to fortify a rugged eminence called *Sugar Hill*, the top of which overlooked and effectually commanded the whole works; vainly imagining that the difficulty of the ascent would be sufficient to prevent the enemy from taking possession of it. On the approach of the first division of the army, the provincials abandoned and set fire to their outworks; and so expeditious were the British troops, that by the 5th of July every post was secured which was judged necessary for investing it completely. A road was soon after made to the very summit of that eminence which the Americans had with such confidence supposed could not be ascended, and so much were they now disheartened, that they instantly abandoned the fort entirely, taking the road to Skenesborough, a place to the south of Lake George; while their baggage, with what artillery and military stores they could carry off, were sent to the same place by water. But the British generals were determined not to let them pass so easily. Both were pursued and both overtaken. Their armed vessels consisted only of five galleys; two of which were taken, and three blown up; on which they set fire to their boats and fortifications at Skenesborough. On this occasion the provincials lost two hundred boats, one hundred and thirty pieces of cannon, with all their provisions and baggage. Their land-forces under Colonel Francis made a brave defence against General Fraser: and being greatly superior in number, had almost overpowered him, when General Reidesel with a large body of Germans came to his assistance. The Americans were now overpowered in their turn; and their commander being killed, they fled on all sides with great precipitation. In this action two hundred Americans were killed, as many taken prisoners, and above six hundred wounded, many of whom perished in the woods for want of assistance.

During the engagement General Sinclair was at Castleton, about six miles from the place; but instead of going forward to Fort Anne, the next place of strength, he repaired to the woods which lie between that fortress and New England. General Burgoyne, however, detached Colonel Hill with the ninth regiment, in order to intercept such as should attempt to retreat towards fort Anne. On his way he met with a body of the enemy, said to be six times as numerous as his own; but after an engagement of three hours, they were obliged to retire with  
great

great loss. After so many disasters, despairing of being able to make any stand at Fort Anne, they set fire to it and retired to Fort Edward. In all these engagements the loss of killed and wounded in the royal army did not exceed two hundred men.

General Burgoyne was now obliged to suspend his operations for some time, and wait at Skenesborough for the arrival of his tents, provisions, &c. but employed this interval in making roads through the country about St. Anne, and in clearing a passage for his troops to proceed against the enemy. This was attended with incredible toil; but all obstacles were surmounted with equal patience and resolution by the army. In short, after undergoing the utmost difficulty that could be undergone, and making every exertion that man could make, he arrived with his army before Fort Edward about the end of July. Here General Schuyler had been for some time endeavouring to recruit the shattered American forces, and had been joined by General Sinclair with the remains of his army; the garrison of Fort George also, situated on the lake of that name, had evacuated the place and retired to Fort Edward.

But on the approach of the royal army, they retired from thence also, and formed their head quarters at Saratoga. Notwithstanding the great successes of the British General, they showed not the least disposition to submit, but seemed only to consider how they might make the most effectual resistance. For this purpose, the militia was every where raised and draughted to join the army at Saratoga; and such numbers of volunteers were daily added, that they soon began to recover from the terror into which they had been thrown. That they might have a commander whose abilities could be relied on, General Arnold was appointed, who repaired to Saratoga with a considerable train of artillery; but receiving intelligence that Colonel St. Leger was proceeding with great rapidity in his expedition on the Mohawk River, he removed to Still-water, a place about half-way between Saratoga and the junction of the Mohawk and Hudson's River. The Colonel, in the mean time, had advanced as far as Fort Stanwix; the siege of which he pressed with great vigour. On the 6th of August, understanding that a supply of provisions, escorted by eight or nine hundred men, was on the way to the fort, he dispatched Sir John Johnson with a strong detachment to intercept it. This he did so effectually, that, besides intercepting the provisions, four hundred of its guards were slain, two hundred taken, and the rest escaped with great difficulty. The garrison, however, were not to be intimidated by this disaster, nor by the threats or representations of the Colonel: on the contrary, they made several successful



ful fallies under Colonel Willet, the second in command; and this gentleman, in company with another, even ventured out of the fort, and, eluding the vigilance of the enemy, passed through them in order to hasten the march of General Arnold to their assistance.

Thus the affairs of Colonel St. Leger seemed to be in no very favourable situation notwithstanding his late success, and they were soon totally ruined by the desertion of the Indians. They had been alarmed by the report of General Arnold's advancing with two thousand men to the relief of the fort; and while the Colonel was attempting to give them encouragement, another report was spread, that General Burgoyne had been defeated with great slaughter, and was now flying before the provincials. On this he was obliged to do as they thought proper; and the retreat could not be effected without the loss of the tents and some of the artillery and military stores.

General Burgoyne, in the mean time, notwithstanding all the difficulties he had already sustained, found that he must still encounter more. The roads he had made with so much labour and pains were destroyed either by the wetness of the season, or by the enemy; so that the provisions he brought from Fort George could not arrive at his camp without the most prodigious toil. On hearing of the siege of Fort Stanwix, by Colonel St. Leger, he determined to move forward in hopes of inclosing the enemy betwixt his own army and that of St. Leger, or of obtaining the command of all the country between Fort Stanwix and Albany; or at any rate, a junction with Colonel St. Leger would be effected, which could not but be attended with the most happy consequences. The only difficulty was the want of provisions; and this it was proposed to remedy by reducing the provincial magazines at Bennington. For this purpose, Colonel Baum, a German officer of great bravery, was chosen with a body of five hundred men. The place was about twenty miles from Hudson's River; and to support Colonel Baum's party, the whole army marched up the river's bank, and encamped almost opposite to Saratoga, with the river betwixt it and that place. An advanced party was posted at Batten Kill, between the camp and Bennington, in order to support Colonel Baum. In their way the British seized a large supply of cattle and provisions, which were immediately sent to the camp; but the badness of the roads retarded their march so much, that intelligence of their design was sent to Bennington. Understanding now that the American force was greatly superior to his own, the Colonel acquainted the General, who immediately dispatched Colonel Breyman with a party to his assistance; but through the same causes that had retarded the march of Colonel Baum, this assistance could not arrive in  
time,

time. General Starke, in the mean time, who commanded at Bennington, determined to attack the two parties separately; and for this purpose advanced against Colonel Baum, whom he surrounded on all sides and attacked with the utmost intrepidity. The troops defended themselves with great valour, but were to a man either killed or taken. Colonel Breyman, after a desperate engagement, had the good luck to effect a retreat through the darkness of the night, which otherwise he could not have done, as his men had expended all their ammunition, being forty rounds to each.

General Burgoyne, thus disappointed in his attempt on Bennington, applied himself with indefatigable diligence to procure provisions from Fort George; and having at length amassed a sufficient quantity to last for a month, he threw a bridge of boats over the river Hudson, which he crossed about the middle of September, encamping on the hills and plains near Saratoga. As soon as he approached the provincial army, at this time encamped at Stillwater under General Gates, he determined to make an attack; for which purpose he put himself at the head of the central division of his army, having General Frazer and Colonel Breyman on the right, with Generals Reidesel and Philips on the left. In this position he advanced towards the enemy on the 19th of September. But the Americans did not now wait to be attacked: on the contrary, they attacked the central division with the utmost bravery; and it was not until General Philips with the artillery came up that they could be repulsed. On this occasion, though the British troops lost only three hundred and thirty in killed and wounded, and the enemy no fewer than fifteen hundred, the former were very much alarmed at the obstinate resolution shown by the Americans. This did not, however, prevent them from advancing towards the enemy, and posting themselves the next day within cannon-shot of their lines. But their allies the Indians began to desert in great numbers; and at the same time the general was in the highest degree mortified by having no intelligence of any assistance from Sir Henry Clinton, as had been stipulated. He now received a letter from him, by which he was informed that Sir Henry intended to make a diversion on the North River in his favour. This afforded but little comfort: however, he returned an answer by several trusty persons whom he dispatched different ways, stating his present distressed situation, and mentioning that the provisions and other necessaries he had would only enable him to hold out till the 12th of October.

In the mean time the Americans, in order to cut off the retreat of the British army in the most effectual manner, undertook an expedition

against Ticonderoga; but were obliged to abandon the enterprize after having surpris'd all the out-posts, and taken a great number of boats with some armed vessels, and a number of prisoners. The army under General Burgoyne, however, continued to labour under the greatest distresses; so that in the beginning of October he had been obliged to diminish the soldiers allowance. On the 7th of that month he determined to move towards the enemy. For this purpose he sent a body of fifteen hundred men to reconnoitre their left wing; intending, if possible, to break through it in order to effect a retreat. The detachment, however, had not proceeded far when a dreadful attack was made upon the left wing of the British army, which was with great difficulty preserved from being entirely broken by a reinforcement brought up by General Frazer, who was killed in the attack. After the troops had with the most desperate efforts regained their camp, it was most furiously assaulted by General Arnold; who, notwithstanding all opposition, would have forced the entrenchments, had he not received a dangerous wound, which obliged him to retire. Thus the attack failed on the left, but on the right the camp of the German reserve was forced. Colonel Breyman killed, and his countrymen defeated with great slaughter and the loss of all their artillery and baggage.

This was by far the heaviest loss the British army had sustained since the action at Bunker's Hill. The list of killed and wounded amounted to near twelve hundred, exclusive of the Germans; but the greatest misfortune was, that the enemy had now an opening on the right and rear of the British forces, so that the army was threatened with entire destruction. This obliged General Burgoyne once more to shift his position, that the enemy might also be obliged to alter theirs. This was accomplished on the night of the 7th, without any loss, and all the next day he continued to offer the enemy battle; but they were now too well assured of obtaining a complete victory, by cutting off all supplies from the British, to risk a pitched battle. Wherefore they advanced on the right side, in order to inclose him entirely; which obliged the General to direct a retreat towards Saratoga. But the enemy had now stationed a great force on the ford at Hudson's River, so that the only possibility of retreat was by securing a passage to Lake George; and to effect this, a body of workmen were detached, with a strong guard, to repair the roads and bridges that led to Fort Edward. As soon as they were gone, however, the enemy seemed to prepare for an attack; which rendered it necessary to recal the guard, and the workmen being of course left exposed could not proceed.

In the mean time, the boats which conveyed provisions down Hudson's River were exposed to the continual fire of the American marksmen, who took many of them; so that it became necessary to convey the provisions over land. In this extreme danger, it was resolved to march by night to Fort Edward, forcing the passages at the fords either above or below the place; and in order to effect this the more easily, it was resolved that the soldiers should carry their provisions on their backs, leaving behind their baggage and every other incumbrance. But before this could be executed, intelligence was received that the enemy had raised strong entrenchments opposite to these fords, well provided with cannon, and that they had likewise taken possession of the rising ground between Fort George and Fort Edward, which in like manner was provided with cannon.

All this time the American army was increasing by the continual arrival of militia and volunteers from all parts. Their parties extended all along the opposite bank of Hudson's River, and some had even passed it in order to observe the least movement of the British army. The whole force under General Gates was computed at sixteen thousand men, while the army under General Burgoyne scarce amounted to six thousand; and every part of the camp was reached by the grape and rifle shot of the enemy, besides a discharge from their artillery, which was almost incessant. In this state of extreme distress and danger, the army continued with the greatest constancy and perseverance till the evening of the 13th of October, when an inventory of provisions being taken, it was found that no more remained than what were sufficient to serve for three days; and a council of war being called, it was unanimously determined that there was no method now remaining but to treat with the enemy. In consequence of this, a negotiation was opened next day, which speedily terminated in a capitulation of the whole British army; the principal article of which was, that the troops were to have a free passage to Britain, on condition of not serving against America during the war. On this occasion, General Gates ordered his army to keep within their camp while the British soldiers went to a place appointed for them to lay down their arms, that the latter might not have the additional mortification of being made spectacles of so melancholy an event. The number of those who surrendered at Saratoga amounted to five thousand seven hundred and fifty, according to the American accounts; the list of sick and wounded left in the camp when the army retreated to Saratoga, to five hundred and twenty-eight; and the number of those lost by other accidents since the taking of Ticonderoga, to near three thousand. Thirty-five brass field-pieces, seven thousand stand of



arms, clothing for an equal number of soldiers, with their tents, military chest, &c. constituted the booty on this occasion.

Sir Henry Clinton, in the mean time, had sailed up the North River, and destroyed the two forts called Montgomery and Clinton, with Fort Constitution, and another place called Continental Village, where were barracks for two thousand men. Seventy large cannon were carried away, besides a number of smaller artillery, and a great quantity of stores and ammunition; a large boom and chain reaching across the river from Fort Montgomery to a point of land called St. Anthony's Nose, and which cost not less than seventy thousand pounds sterling, were partly destroyed and partly carried away, as was also another boom of little less value at Fort Constitution. The loss of the British army was but small in number, though some officers of great merit were killed in the different attacks.

Another attack was made by Sir James Wallace with some frigates, and a body of land forces under General Vaughan. The place which now suffered was named Esopus: the fortifications were destroyed, and the town itself was reduced to ashes, as that called Continental Village had been before.

But these successes, of whatever importance they might be, were now disregarded by both parties. They served only to irritate the Americans, flushed with their success; and they were utterly insufficient to raise the spirits of the British, who were now thrown into the utmost dismay.

On the 16th of March 1778, Lord North intimated to the house of commons, that a paper had been laid before the king by the French ambassador, intimating the conclusion of an alliance between the court of France and the United States of America. The preliminaries of this treaty had been concluded in the end of the year 1777, and a copy of them sent to congress, in order to counteract any proposals that might be made in the mean time by the British ministry. On the 6th of February 1778, the articles were formally signed, to the great satisfaction of the French nation.

They were in substance as follows;

1. If Great Britain should, in consequence of this treaty, proceed to hostilities against France, the two nations should mutually assist one another.

2. The main end of the treaty was in an effectual manner to maintain the independency of America.

3. Should those places of North America still subject to Britain be reduced

reduced by the colonies, they should be confederated with them, or subjected to their jurisdiction.

4. Should any of the West India islands be reduced by France, they should be deemed its property.

5. No formal treaty with Great Britain should be concluded either by France or America without the consent of each other; and it was mutually engaged that they should not lay down their arms till the independence of the States had been formally acknowledged.

6. The contracting parties mutually agreed to invite those powers that had received injuries from Great Britain to join the common cause.

7. The United States guaranteed to France all the possessions in the West Indies which she should conquer; and France in her turn guaranteed the absolute independency of the States, and their supreme authority over every country they possessed, or might acquire during the war.

The notification of such a treaty as this could not but be looked upon as a declaration of war. On its being announced to the house, every one agreed in an address to his Majesty, promising to stand by him to the utmost in the present emergency; but it was warmly contended by the members in opposition, that the present ministry ought to be removed on account of their numberless blunders and miscarriages in every instance. Many were of opinion, that the only way to extricate the nation from its trouble was to acknowledge the independency of America at once; and thus we might still do with a good grace what must inevitably be done at last, after expending much more blood and treasure than had yet been lavished in this unhappy contest. The ministerial party, however, entertained different ideas. Instigated by ambition and folly, it was determined at once to resent the interference of France, and prosecute hostilities against America with more vigour than ever, should the terms now offered be rejected.

The Americans, in the mean time, assiduously employed their agents at the courts of Spain, Vienna, Prussia, and Tuscany, in order, if possible, to conclude alliances with them, or at least to procure an acknowledgment of their independency. As it had been reported that Britain intended to apply for assistance to Russia, the American commissioners were enjoined to use their utmost influence with the German princes to prevent such auxiliaries from marching through their territories, and to endeavour to procure the recal of the German troops already sent to America. To France they offered a cession of such West India islands as should be taken by the united strength of France and America; and should Britain by their joint endeavours be dispossessed of Newfound-

land, Cape Breton, and Nova Scotia, these territories should be divided betwixt the two nations, and Great Britain be totally excluded from the fishery. The proposals to the Spanish court werc, that in case they should think proper to espouse their quarrel, the American States should assist in reducing Pensacola under the dominion of Spain, provided their subjects were allowed the free navigation of the Mississippi, and the use of the harbour of Pensacola; and they further offered, that if agreeable to Spain, they would declare war against Portugal, should that power expel the American ships from its ports.

In the mean time, the troops under General Burgoyne were preparing to embark for Britain according to the convention at Saratoga; but in the interim, congress positively refused them permission so to do, having discovered that some sinister designs were harboured on the part of Britain, and that they only wanted an opportunity to join the other troops at Philadelphia or New York.

The season for action was now approaching; and congress was indefatigable in its preparations for a new campaign, which it was confidently said would be the last. Among other methods taken for this purpose, it was recommended to all the young gentlemen of the colonies to form themselves into bodies of cavalry to serve at their own expence during the war. General Washington at the same time, in order to remove all incumbrances from his army, lightened the baggage as much as possible, by substituting sacks and portmanteaus in place of chests and boxes, and using pack-horses instead of waggons. On the other hand, the British army, expecting to be speedily reinforced by twenty thousand men, thought of nothing but concluding the war according to their wishes before the end of the campaign. It was with the utmost concern, as well as indignation therefore, that they received the news of Lord North's conciliatory bill. It was universally looked upon as a national disgrace; and some even tore the cockades from their hats, and trampled them under their feet as a token of their indignation. By the colonists it was received with indifference. The British commissioners endeavoured to make it as public as possible; and congress, as formerly, ordered it to be printed in all the newspapers. On this occasion Governor Tryon inclosed several copies of the bill to General Washington in a letter, intreating that he would allow them to be circulated; to which that general returned for answer a copy of a newspaper in which the bill was printed, with the resolutions of congress upon it. These were, that whoever presumed to make a separate agreement with Britain should be deemed a public enemy; that the United States could not with any propriety keep correspondence with the

the commissioners until their independence was acknowledged, and the British fleets and armies removed from America. At the same time, the colonies were warned not to suffer themselves to be deceived into security by any offers that might be made; but to use their utmost endeavours to send their quotas with all diligence into the field. The individuals with whom the commissioners conversed on the subject of the conciliatory bill, generally returned for answer that the day of reconciliation was past; and that the haughtiness of Britain had extinguished all filial regard in the breasts of Americans.

About this time also Mr. Silas Deane arrived from France with two copies of the treaty of commerce and alliance to be signed by congress. Advices of the most agreeable nature were also received from various parts, representing in the most favourable light the dispositions of the European powers; all of whom, it was said, wished to see the independence of America settled upon the most firm and permanent basis. Considering the situation of matters with the colonists at this time, therefore, it is no wonder that the commissioners found themselves unable to accomplish the errand on which they came. Their proposals were utterly rejected, themselves treated as spies, and all intercourse with them interdicted.

But before any final answer could be obtained from congress, Sir Henry Clinton had taken the resolution of evacuating Philadelphia. Accordingly, on the 10th of June, after having made all necessary preparations, the army marched out of the city and crossed the Delaware before noon with all its baggage and other incumbrances. General Washington, apprised of this design, had dispatched expresses into the Jerseys with orders to collect all the force that could be assembled in order to obstruct the march of the enemy. After various movements on both sides, Sir Henry Clinton, with the royal army, arrived on the 27th of June at a place called Freehold; where, judging that the enemy would attack him, he encamped in a very strong situation. Here General Washington determined to make an attack as soon as the army had begun its march. The night was spent in making the necessary preparations, and General Lee with his division was ordered to be ready by day-break. But Sir Henry Clinton, justly apprehending that the chief object of the enemy was the baggage, committed it to the care of General Knyphausen, whom he ordered to set out early in the morning, while he followed with the rest of the army. The attack was accordingly made; but the British general had taken such care to arrange his troops properly, and so effectually supported his forces when engaged with the Americans, that the latter not only made no impression, but

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were with difficulty preserved from a total defeat by the advance of General Washington with the whole army. The British troops effected their retreat with the loss of three hundred men, of whom many died through mere fatigue without any wound. In this action general Lee was charged by General Washington with disobedience and misconduct in retreating before the British army. He was tried by a court-martial, and sentenced to a temporary suspension from his command. After they had arrived at Sandy Hook, a bridge of boats was by Lord Howe's directions thrown from thence over the channel which separated the island from the main land, and the troops were conveyed aboard the fleet: after which they sailed to New York. After sending some light detachments to watch the enemy's motions, General Washington marched towards the North River, where a great force had been collected to join him, and where it was now expected that some very capital operations would take place.

In the mean time, France had set about her preparations for the assistance of the Americans. On the 14th of April Count d'Estaing had sailed from Toulon with a strong squadron of ships of the line and frigates, and arrived on the coast of Virginia in the beginning of July, while the British fleet was employed in conveying the forces from Sandy Hook to New York. It consisted of one ship of ninety guns, one of eighty, six of seventy-four, and four of sixty-four, besides several large frigates; and, exclusive of its compliment of sailors, had six thousand marines and soldiers on board. To oppose this the British had only six ships of sixty-four guns, three of fifty, and two of forty, with some frigates and sloops. Notwithstanding this inferiority, however, the British admiral posted himself so advantageously, and showed such superior skill, that d'Estaing did not think proper to attack him. He therefore remained at anchor four miles off Sandy Hook till the 22d of July, without effecting any thing more than the capture of some vessels, which, through ignorance of his arrival, fell into his hands.

The next attempt of the French admiral was, in conjunction with the Americans, on Rhode island. It was proposed that d'Estaing, with the six thousand troops he had with him, should make a descent on the southern part of the island, while a body of the Americans should take and destroy all the British shipping. On the 8th of August the French admiral entered the harbour as was proposed, but found himself unable to do any material damage, Lord Howe, however, instantly set sail for Rhode island; and d'Estaing, confiding in his superiority, immediately came out of the harbour to attack him. A violent storm parted the two fleets, and did so much damage that they were rendered totally

unfit

unfit for action. The French, however, suffered most; and several of their ships being afterwards attacked singly by the British, very narrowly escaped being taken. On the 20th of August he returned to Newport in a very shattered condition; and, not thinking himself safe there, sailed two days after for Boston. General Sullivan had landed in the mean time on the northern part of Rhode Island with ten thousand men. On the 17th of August they began their operations by erecting batteries, and making their approaches to the British lines. But General Pigot, who commanded in Newport, had taken such effectual care to secure himself on the land-side, that without the assistance of a marine force it was altogether impossible to attack him with any probability of success. The conduct of d'Estaing, therefore, in abandoning them when master of the harbour, gave the greatest disgust to the people of New England, and General Sullivan began to think of a retreat. On perceiving his intentions, the garrison sallied out upon him with so much vigour, that it was not without difficulty that he effected his retreat. He had not been long gone when Sir Henry Clinton arrived with a body of four thousand men; which, had it arrived sooner, would have enabled the British commander to have gained a decisive advantage over him, as well as to have destroyed the town of Providence, which, by its vicinity to Rhode Island, and the enterprises which were continually projected and carried on in that place, kept the inhabitants of Rhode Island in continual alarms.

The first British expedition was to Buzzard's Bay, on the coast of New England and neighbourhood of Rhode Island. Here they destroyed a great number of privateers and merchantmen, magazines, with storehouses, &c.; whence proceeding to a fertile and populous island called Martha's Vineyard, they carried off ten thousand sheep and three hundred black cattle. Another expedition took place up the North River, under Lord Cornwallis and General Knyphausen; the principal event of which was the destruction of a regiment of American cavalry, known by the name of Washington's Light Horse. A third expedition was directed to Little Egg Harbour in New Jersey, a place noted for privateers, the destruction of which was its principal intention. It was conducted by Captains Ferguson and Collins, and ended in the destruction of the enemy's vessels, as well as of the place itself. At the same time part of another body of American troops, called Pulaski's Legion, was surprized, and a great number of them put to the sword.

The Americans had, in the beginning of the year, projected the conquest of West Florida; and Captain Willing, with a party of resolute men, had made a successful incursion into the country. This

awakened the attention of the British to the southern colonies, and an expedition against them was resolved on. Georgia was the place of destination; and the more effectually to ensure success, Colonel Campbell, with a sufficient force, under convoy of some ships of war, commanded by Commodore Hyde Parker, embarked at New York, while General Prevost, who commanded in East Florida, was directed to set out with all the force he could spare. The armament from New York arrived off the coast of Georgia in the month of December; and though the enemy were very strongly posted in an advantageous situation on the shore, the British troops made good their landing, and advanced towards Savannah the capital of the province. That very day they defeated the force of the provincials which opposed them; and took possession of the town with such celerity, that the Americans had not time to execute a resolution they had taken of setting it on fire. In ten days the whole province of Georgia was reduced, Sunbury alone excepted; and this was also brought under subjection by General Prevost in his march northwards. Every method was taken to secure the tranquillity of the country; and rewards were offered for apprehending committee or assembly men or such as they judged most inimical to the British interests. On the arrival of General Prevost, the command of the troops naturally devolved on him as the senior officer; and the conquest of Carolina was next projected.

In this attempt there was no small probability of success. The country contained a great number of friends to the British government, who now eagerly embraced the opportunity of declaring themselves; many of the inhabitants of Georgia had joined the royal standard; and there was not in the province any considerable body of provincial forces capable of opposing the efforts of regular and well disciplined troops. On the first news of General Prevost's approach, the loyalists assembled in a body, imagining themselves able to stand their ground until their allies should arrive; but in this they were disappointed. The Americans attacked and defeated them with the loss of half their number. The remainder retreated into Georgia; and after undergoing many difficulties, at last effected a junction with the British forces.

In the mean time, General Lincoln, with a considerable body of American troops, had encamped within twenty miles of the town of Savannah; and another strong party had posted themselves at a place called Briar's Creek, farther up the river of the same name. Thus the extent of the British government was likely to be circumscribed within very narrow bounds. General Prevost therefore determined to dislodge the party at Briar's Creek: and the latter, trusting to their strong situation, and being

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remiss in their guard, suffered themselves to be surprised on the 30th of March 1779; when they were utterly routed, with the loss of four hundred killed and taken, besides a great number drowned in the river or the swamps. The whole artillery, stores, baggage, and almost all the arms, of this unfortunate party were taken, so that they could no more make any stand; and thus the province of Georgia was once more freed from the enemy, and a communication opened with those places in Carolina where the royalists chiefly resided.

The victory at Briar's Creek proved of considerable service to the British cause. Great numbers of the loyalists joined the army, and considerably increased its force. Hence General Prevost was enabled to stretch his posts farther up the river, and to guard all the principal passes: so that General Lincoln was reduced to a state of inaction; and at last moved off towards Augusta, in order to protect the provincial assembly, which was obliged to sit in that place, the capital being now in the hands of the British.

Lincoln had no sooner quitted his post, than it was judged a proper time by the British general to put in execution the grand scheme which had been meditated against Carolina. Many difficulties indeed lay in his way. The river Savannah was so swelled by the excessive rains of the season, that it seemed impassable; the opposite shore, for a great way, was so full of swamps and marshes, that no army could march over it without the greatest difficulty; and, to render the passage still more difficult, General Moultrie was left with a considerable body of troops in order to oppose the enemy's attempts. But in spite of every opposition, the constancy and perseverance of the British forces at last prevailed. General Moultrie was defeated, and obliged to retire towards Charlestown; and the victorious army, after having waded through the marshes for some time, at last arrived in an open country, through which they pursued their march with great rapidity towards the capital; while General Lincoln remained in a state of security at Augusta, imagining that the obstacles he had left in the way could not be surmounted.

Certain intelligence of the danger to which Charlestown was exposed, however, aroused the American general from his lethargy. A chosen body of infantry, mounted on horseback for the greater expedition, was dispatched before him; while Lincoln himself followed with all the forces he could collect. General Moultrie too, with the troops he had brought from the Savannah, and some others he had collected since his retreat from thence, had taken possession of all the avenues leading to Charlestown, and prepared for a vigorous defence. But all opposition proved



ineffectual. The Americans were defeated in every encounter; and retreating continually, allowed the British army to come within cannon shot of Charlestown on the 12th of May.

The town was now summoned to surrender, and the inhabitants would gladly have agreed to observe a neutrality during the rest of the war, and would have engaged also for the rest of the province. But these terms not being accepted, they made preparations for a vigorous defence. It was not, however, in the power of the British commander at this time to make an attack with any prospect of success. His artillery was not of sufficient weight; there were no ships to support his attack by land; and General Lincoln advancing rapidly with a superior army, threatened to inclose him between his own force and the town; so that should he fail in his first attempt, certain destruction would be the consequence. For these reasons he withdrew his forces from before the town, and took possession of two islands called St. James's and St. John's, lying to the southward; where having waited some time, his force was augmented by the arrival of two frigates. With these he determined to make himself master of Port Royal, another island possessed of an excellent harbour and many other natural advantages, from its situation also commanding all the sea-coast from Charlestown to Savannah River. The American general, however, did not allow this to be accomplished without opposition. Perceiving that his opponent had occupied an advantageous post on St. John's island preparatory to his enterprise against Port Royal, he attempted, on the 20th of June to dislodge him from it; but after an obstinate attack, the provincials were obliged to retire with considerable loss. On this occasion the success of the British arms was in a great measure owing to an armed float; which galled the right flank of the enemy so effectually, that they could direct their efforts only against the strongest part of the lines, which proved impregnable to their attacks. This disappointment was instantly followed by the loss of Port Royal, which General Prevost took possession of, and put his troops into proper stations, waiting for the arrival of such reinforcements as were necessary for the intended attack on Charlestown.

In the mean time, Count d'Estaing, who, as we have already observed, had put into Boston harbour to refit, had used his utmost efforts to ingratiate himself with the inhabitants of that city. Zealous also in the cause of his master, he had published a proclamation to be dispersed through Canada, inviting the people to return to their original friendship with France, and declaring that all who renounced their allegiance to Great Britain should certainly find a protector in the

king of France. All his endeavours, however, proved insufficient at this time to produce any revolution, or even to form a party of any consequence among the Canadians.

As soon as the French admiral had refitted his fleet, he took the opportunity, while that of admiral Byron had been shattered by a storm, of sailing to the West Indies. During his operations there, the Americans having represented his conduct as totally unserviceable to them, he received orders from Europe to assist the colonies with all possible speed.

In compliance with these orders, he directed his course towards Georgia, with a design to recover that province out of the hands of the enemy, and to put it, as well as South Carolina, in such a posture of defence as would effectually secure them from any future attack. This seemed to be an easy matter, from the little force with which he knew he should be opposed; and the next object in contemplation was no less than the destruction of the British fleet and army at New York, and their total expulsion from the continent of America. Full of these hopes, the French commander arrived off the coast of Georgia with a fleet of twenty-two sail of the line and ten large frigates. His arrival was so little expected, that several vessels laden with provisions and military stores fell into his hands: the *Experiment* also, a vessel of fifty guns, commanded by Sir James Wallace, was taken after a stout resistance. On the continent, the British troops were divided. General Prevost, with an inconsiderable part, remained at Savannah; but the main force was under Colonel Maitland at Port Royal. On the first appearance of the French fleet, an express was dispatched to Colonel Maitland: but it was intercepted by the enemy; so that before he could set out in order to join the commander in chief, the Americans had secured most of the passes by land, while the French fleet effectually blocked up the passage by sea. But by taking advantage of creeks and inlets, and marching overland, he arrived just in time to relieve Savannah.

D'Estaing, after making a gasconade of what had happened at St. Vincent's and Grenada, had allowed General Prevost twenty-four hours to deliberate whether he should capitulate or not. This time the general employed in making the best preparations he could for a defence; and during this time it was that Colonel Maitland arrived. D'Estaing's summons was now rejected; and as on this occasion the superiority of the enemy was by no means so much out of proportion as it had been at Grenada, there was every probability of success on the part of the British. The garrison now consisted of three thousand men, all of approved valour and experience, while the united force of the French and

Ameri-

Americans did not amount to ten thousand. The event was answerable to the expectations of the British general. Having the advantage of a strong fortification and excellent engineers, the fire of the allies made so little impression, that D'Estaing resolved to bombard the town, and a battery of nine mortars was erected for the purpose. This produced a request from General Prevost, that the women and children might be allowed to retire to a place of safety. But the allied commanders refused to comply; and they resolved to give a general assault. This was accordingly attempted on the 9th of October: but the assailants were every where repulsed with such slaughter, that twelve hundred were killed and wounded; among the former were Count Polaski, and among the latter was D'Estaing himself.

This disaster entirely overthrew the sanguine hopes of the Americans and French; mutual reproaches and animosities took place in the most violent degree; and after waiting eight days longer, both parties prepared for a retreat; the French to their shipping, and the Americans into Carolina.

While the allies were thus unsuccessfully employed in the southern colonies, their antagonists were no less assiduous in distressing them in the northern parts. Sir George Collier was sent with a fleet, carrying on board General Matthews, with a body of land forces, into the province of Virginia. Their first attempt was on the town of Portsmouth; where, though the enemy had destroyed some ships of great value, the British troops arrived in time to save a great number of others. On this occasion about one hundred and twenty vessels of different sizes were burnt, and twenty carried off; and an immense quantity of provisions designed for the use of General Washington's army was either destroyed or carried off, together with a great variety of naval and military stores. The fleet and army returned with little or no loss to New York.

The success with which this expedition was attended, soon gave encouragement to attempt another. The Americans had for some time been employed in the erection of two strong forts on the river; the one at Verplanks Neck on the east, and the other at Stoney Point on the west side. These when completed would have been of the utmost service to the Americans, as commanding the principal pass, called the *King's Ferry*, between the northern and southern colonies. At present however, they were not in a condition to make any effectual defence; and it was therefore determined to attack them before the work should be completed. The force employed on this occasion was divided into two bodies; one of which directed its course against Verplanks, and the other against Stoney Point. The former was commanded by General

Vaughan,

Vaughan, the latter by General Pattison, while the shipping was under the direction of Sir George Collier. General Vaughan met with no resistance, the enemy abandoning their works, and setting fire to every thing combustible that they could not carry off. At Stoney Point, however, a vigorous defence was made, though the garrison was at last obliged to capitulate upon honourable conditions. To secure the possession of this last, which was the more important of the two, General Clinton removed from his former situation, and encamped in such a manner that General Washington could not give any assistance. The Americans, however, revenged themselves by distressing, with their numerous privateers, the trade to New York.

This occasioned a third expedition to Connecticut, where these privateers were chiefly built and harboured. The command was given to Governor Tryon and to General Garth, an officer of known valour and experience. Under convoy of a considerable number of armed vessels they landed at Newhaven, where they demolished the batteries that had been erected to oppose them, and destroyed the shipping and naval stores; but they spared the town itself, as the inhabitants had abstained from firing out of their houses upon the troops. From Newhaven they marched to Fairfield, where they proceeded as before, reducing the town also to ashes. Norwalk was next attacked, which in like manner was reduced to ashes; as was also Greenfield, a small seaport in the neighbourhood.

These successes proved very alarming as well as detrimental to the Americans; so that General Washington determined at all events to drive the enemy from Stoney Point. For this purpose he sent General Wayne with a detachment of chosen men, directing them to attempt the recovery of it by surprise. On this occasion the Americans shewed a spirit and resolution exceeding any thing they had performed during the course of the war. Though after the capture of it by the British the fortifications of this place had been completed, and were very strong, they attacked the enemy with bayonets, after passing through a heavy fire of musquetry and grape-shot; and in spite of all opposition, obliged the surviving part of the garrison, amounting to five hundred men, to surrender themselves prisoners of war.

Though the Americans did not at present attempt to retain possession of Stoney Point, the success they had met with in the enterprise emboldened them to make a similar attempt on Paulus Hook, a fortified post on the Jersey side opposite to New York; but in this they were not attended with equal success, being obliged to retire with precipitation after they had made themselves masters of one or two posts.

Another



Another expedition of greater importance was now projected on the part of the Americans. This was, against a post on the river Penobscot, on the borders of Nova Scotia, of which the British had lately taken possession, and where they had begun to erect a fort which threatened to be a very great inconvenience to the colonists. The armament destined against it was so soon got in readiness, that Colonel MacLane, the commanding officer at Penobscot, found himself obliged to drop the execution of part of his scheme; and instead of a regular fort, to content himself with putting the works already constructed in as good a posture of defence as possible. The Americans could not effect a landing without a great deal of difficulty, and bringing the guns of their largest vessels to bear upon the shore. As soon as this was done, however, they erected several batteries, and kept up a brisk fire for the space of a fortnight; after which they proposed to give a general assault: but before this could be effected, they perceived Sir George Collier with a British fleet sailing up the river to attack them. On this they instantly embarked their artillery and military stores, sailing up the river as far as possible in order to avoid him. They were so closely pursued, however, that not a single vessel could escape; so that the whole fleet, consisting of nineteen armed vessels and twenty-four transports, was destroyed; most of them indeed being blown up by themselves. The soldiers and sailors were obliged to wander through immense deserts, where they suffered much for want of provisions; and to add to their calamities, a quarrel broke out between the soldiers and seamen concerning the cause of their disaster, which ended in a violent fray, wherein a great number were killed.

Thus the arms of America and France being almost every where unsuccessful, the independency of the former seemed yet to be in danger notwithstanding the assistance of so powerful an ally, when further encouragement was given by the accession of Spain to the confederacy against Britain in the month of June 1779. The first effect of this appeared in an invasion of West Florida by the Spaniards in September 1779. As the country was in no state of defence, the enemy easily made themselves masters of the whole almost without opposition. Their next enterprise was against the Bay of Honduras, where the British logwood-cutters were settled. These finding themselves too weak to resist, applied to the governor of Jamaica for relief; who sent them a supply of men, ammunition, and military stores, under Captain Dalrymple. Before the arrival of this detachment, the principal settlement in those parts, called *St. George's Key*, had been taken by the Spaniards and retaken by the British. In his way Captain Dalrymple  
fell

fell in with a squadron from Admiral Parker in search of some register ships richly laden; but which retreating into the harbour of Omoa, were too strongly protected by the fort to be attacked with safety. A project was then formed, in conjunction with the people of Honduras, to reduce this fort. The design was to surprise it; but the Spaniards having discovered them, they were obliged to fight. Victory quickly declared for the British; but the fortifications were so strong, that the artillery they had brought along with them were found too light to make any impression. It was then determined to try the success of an escalade; and this was executed with so much spirit, that the Spaniards stood astonished without making any resistance, and, in spite of all the efforts of the officers, threw down their arms and surrendered. The spoil was immense, being valued at three millions of dollars. The Spaniards chiefly lamented the loss of two hundred and fifty quintals of quicksilver; a commodity indispensably necessary in the working of their gold and silver mines, so that they offered to ransom it at any price; but this was refused, as well as the ransom of the fort, though the governor offered three hundred thousand dollars for it. A small garrison was left for the defence of the place; but it was quickly attacked by a superior force, and obliged to evacuate it, though not without destroying every thing that could be of use to the enemy; spiking the guns, and even locking the gates of the fort and carrying off the keys. All this was done in the sight of the besiegers; after which the garrison embarked without the loss of a man.

As no operations of any consequence took place this year in the province of New York, the congress made use of the opportunity to dispatch General Sullivan with a considerable force, in order to take vengeance on the Indians for their ravages and depredations: and the object of the expedition was, not merely the reduction of them, but if possible their utter extirpation. Of this the Indians were apprised; and collecting all their strength, resolved to come to a decisive engagement. Accordingly they took a strong post in the most woody and mountainous part of the country; erecting a breast-work in their front of large logs of wood extending half a mile in length, while their right flank was covered by a river, and the left by a hill of difficult access. This advantageous position they had taken by the advice of the refugees who were among them, and of whom two or three hundred were present in the battle.

Thus posted, the Indians waited the approach of the American army: but the latter having brought some artillery along with them, played it against the breast work of the enemy with such success, that in two hours it

was almost destroyed; and at the same time a party having reached the top of the hill, they became apprehensive of being furrounded, on which they instantly fled with precipitation, leaving a great number of killed and wounded behind them. The Americans after this battle met with no further resistance of any consequence. They were suffered to proceed without interruption, and to execute in the most ample manner the vengeance they had projected. On entering the country of the Indians, it appeared that they had been acquainted with agriculture and the arts of peace far beyond what had been supposed. From General Sullivan's account it was learned, that the Indian houses were large, convenient, and even elegant; their grounds were excellently cultivated, and their gardens abounded in fruit-trees and vegetables of all kinds fit for food. The whole of this fine country was now by the American general converted into a desert. Forty towns and settlements, besides scattered habitations, were demolished; the fields of corn, the orchards, the plantations, were utterly laid waste; all the fruit-trees were cut down; and so great had been the industry of the Indians, that in one orchard one thousand five hundred of these were destroyed. The quantity of corn wasted on this occasion was supposed to amount to one hundred and sixty thousand bushels. In short, such was the desolation, that on the American army's leaving the country, not a house, not a field of corn, nor a fruit-tree, was left upon the ground, nor was an Indian to be seen throughout the whole track.

We must now take a view of the transactions in the southern colonies; to which the war was, in the year 1780, so effectually transferred, that the operations there became at last decisive. The success of General Prevost in advancing to the very capital of South Carolina has been already related, together with the obstacles which prevented him from becoming master of it at that time. Towards the end of the year 1779, however, Sir Henry Clinton set sail from New York with a considerable body of troops, intended for the attack of Charlestown, South Carolina, in a fleet of ships of war and transports under the command of Vice-admiral Arbuthnot. They had a very tedious voyage; the weather was uncommonly bad; several of the transports were lost, as were also the greatest part of the horses which they carried with them, intended for cavalry or other public uses; and an ordnance-ship likewise foundered at sea. Having arrived at Savannah, where they endeavoured to repair the damages sustained on their voyage, they proceeded from thence on the 10th of February 1780 to North Edisto, the place of debarkation which had been previously appointed. They had a favourable and speedy passage thither: and though it required time to  
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have the bar explored and the channel marked, the transports all entered the harbour the next day; and the army took possession of John's island without opposition. Preparations were then made for passing the squadron over Charlestown bar, where the high-water spring-tides were only nineteen feet deep: but no opportunity offered of going into the harbour till the 20th of March, when it was effected without any accident, though the American galleys continually attempted to prevent the English boats from founding the channel. The British troops had previously removed from John's to James's island; and on the 29th of the same month they effected their landing on Charlestown Neck. On the 1st of April they broke ground within eight hundred yards of the American works; and by the 8th the besiegers guns were mounted in battery.

As soon as the army began to erect their batteries against the town, Admiral Arbuthnot embraced the first favourable opportunity of passing Sullivan's Island, upon which there was a strong fort of batteries, the chief defence of the harbour. He weighed on the 9th, with the *Roe-buck*, *Richmond*, and *Romulus*, *Blonde*, *Virginia*, *Raleigh*, and *Sandwich* armed ship, the *Renown* bringing up the rear; and, passing through a severe fire, anchored in about two hours under James's Island, with the loss of twenty-seven seamen killed and wounded. The *Richmond's* fore-top-mast was shot away, and the ships in general sustained damage in their masts and rigging, though not materially in their hulls. But the *Acetus* transport, having on board some naval stores, grounded within gun-shot of Sullivan's Island, and received so much damage that she was obliged to be abandoned and burnt.

On the 10th, Sir Henry Clinton and Admiral Arbuthnot summoned the town to surrender to his Majesty's arms: but Major-General Lincoln, who commanded in Charlestown, returned them an answer, declaring it to be his intention to defend the place. The batteries were now opened against the town; and from their effect the fire of the American advanced works considerably abated. It appears that the number of troops under the command of Lincoln were by far too few for defending works of such extent as those of Charlestown; and that many of these were men little accustomed to military service, and very ill provided with cloaths and other necessities. General Lincoln had been for some time expecting reinforcements and supplies from Virginia and other places: but they came in very slowly. Earl Cornwallis and Lieutenant-colonel Tarleton under him, were also extremely active in intercepting such reinforcements and supplies as were sent to the American general. They totally defeated a considerable body of cavalry and militia which was proceed-



ing to the relief of the town; and also made themselves masters of some posts, which gave them in a great degree the command of the country, by which means great supplies of provisions fell into their hands.

Such was the state of things, and Fort Sullivan had also been taken by the king's troops, when on the 18th of May General Clinton again summoned the town to surrender; an offer being made, as had been done before, that if they surrendered, the lives and property of the inhabitants should be preserved to them. Articles of capitulation were then proposed by General Lincoln; but the terms were not agreed to by General Clinton. At length, however, the town being closely invested on all sides, and the preparations to storm it in every part being in great forwardness, and the ships ready to move to the assault, General Lincoln, who had been applied to for that purpose by the inhabitants, surrendered it on such articles of capitulation as General Clinton had before agreed to. This was on the 4th of May, which was one month and two days after the town had been first summoned to surrender.

A large quantity of ordnance, arms, and ammunition, were found in Charlestown; and, according to Sir Henry Clinton's account, the number of prisoners taken in Charlestown amounted to five thousand six hundred and eighteen men, exclusive of near a thousand sailors in arms; but according to General Lincoln's account transmitted to the congress, the whole number of continental troops taken prisoners amounted to no more than two thousand four hundred and eighty seven. The remainder, therefore, included in General Clinton's account, must have consisted of militia and inhabitants of the town. Several American frigates were also taken or destroyed in the harbour of Charlestown.

The loss of Charlestown evidently excited a considerable alarm in America: and their popular writers, particularly the author of the celebrated performance intitled *Common Sense*, in some other pieces made use of it as a powerful argument to lead them to more vigorous exertions against Great Britain, that they might the more effectually and certainly secure their independence.

While Sir Henry Clinton was employed in his voyage to Charlestown, and in the siege of that place, the garrison at New York seem not to have been wholly free from apprehensions for their own safety. An intense frost, accompanied with great falls of snow, began about the middle of December 1779, and shut up the navigation of the port of New York from the sea, within a few days after the departure of Admiral Arbuthnot and General Clinton. The severity of the weather increased to so great a degree, that towards the middle of January all communications with New York by water were entirely cut off, and as many new ones  
opened

opened by the ice. The inhabitants could scarcely be said to be in an insular state. Horses with heavy carriages could go over the ice into the Jerseys from one island to another. The passage in the North River, even in the widest part from New York to Paulus Hook, which was two thousand yards, was about the 19th of January practicable for the heaviest cannon: an event which had been unknown in the memory of man. Provisions were soon after transported upon sledges, and a detachment of cavalry marched upon the ice from New York to Staten Island, which was a distance of eleven miles.

The city of New York being thus circumstanced, was considered as much exposed to the attacks from the continental troops: and it was strongly reported that General Washington was meditating a great stroke upon New York with his whole force, by different attacks. Some time before this, Major-general Pattison, commandant at New York, having received an address from many of the inhabitants, offering to put themselves in military array, he thought the present a favourable opportunity of trying the sincerity of their professions. Accordingly he issued a proclamation, calling upon all the male inhabitants from sixteen to sixty to take up arms. The requisition was so readily complied with, that in a few days, forty companies from the six wards of the city were enrolled, officered, and under arms, to the number of two thousand six hundred, many substantial citizens serving in the ranks of each company. Other volunteer companies were formed; and the city was put into a very strong posture of defence.

No attack, however, was made upon New York, whatever design might originally have been meditated: but an attempt was made upon Staten Island, where there were about eighteen hundred men, under the command of Brigadier-general Sterling, who were well intrenched. General Washington, whose army was huddled at Morris-Town, sent a detachment of two thousand seven hundred men, with six pieces of cannon, two mortars, and some horses, commanded by Lord Sterling, who arrived at Staten Island early in the morning of the 15th of January. The advanced posts of the British troops retired upon the approach of the Americans, who formed the line, and made some movements in the course of the day; but they withdrew in the night, after having burnt one house, pillaged some others, and carried off with them about two hundred head of cattle. Immediately on the arrival of the Americans on Staten Island, Lieutenant-general Knyphausen had embarked six hundred men to attempt a passage, and to support General Sterling: but the floating ice compelled them to return. It is, however, imagined, that the appearance of these transports, with the British troops on board

board, which the Americans could see towards the close of the day, induced the latter to make so precipitate a retreat.

After Charlestown had surrendered to the king's troops, General Clinton issued two proclamations, and also circulated a hand-bill amongst the inhabitants of South Carolina, in order to induce them to return to their allegiance, and to be ready to join the king's troops. It was said, that the helping hand of every man was wanted to re-establish peace and good government: and that as the commander in chief wished not to draw the king's friends into danger, while any doubt could remain of their success; so now that this was certain, he trusted that one and all would heartily join, and by a general concurrence give effect to such necessary measures for that purpose as from time to time might be pointed out. Those who had families were to form a militia to remain at home, and occasionally to assemble in their own districts, when required, under officers of their own choosing, for the maintenance of peace and good order. Those who had no families, and who could conveniently be spared for a time, it was presumed, would cheerfully assist his Majesty's troops in driving their oppressors, acting under the authority of congress, and all the miseries of war, far from that colony. For this purpose it was said to be necessary that the young men should be ready to assemble when required, and to serve with the king's troops for any six months of the ensuing twelve that might be found requisite, under proper regulations. They might choose officers to each company to command them; and were to be allowed, when on service, pay, ammunition, and provisions, in the same manner as the king's troops. When they joined the army, each man was to be furnished with a certificate, declaring that he was only engaged to serve as a militia-man for the time specified; that he was not to be marched beyond North Carolina and Georgia; and that, when the time was out, he was freed from all claims whatever of military service, excepting the common and usual militia-duty where he lived. He would then, it was said, have paid his debt to his country, and be intitled to enjoy undisturbed that peace, liberty, and property, at home, which he had contributed to secure. The proclamations and publications of General Clinton appear to have produced some effect in South Carolina; though they probably operated chiefly upon those who were before not much inclined to the cause of American independence. Two hundred and ten of the inhabitants of Charlestown signed an address to General Clinton and Admiral Arbuthnot, soliciting to be readmitted to the character and condition of British subjects, the inhabitants of that city having been hitherto considered as prisoners on parole; declaring their disapprobation of the doctrine of

American independence ; and expressing their regret, that after the repeal of those statutes which gave rise to the troubles in America, the overtures made by his Majesty's commissioners had not been regarded by the congress. Sir Henry Clinton, in one of the proclamations issued at this time, declared, that if any persons should thenceforward appear in arms in order to prevent the establishment of his Majesty's government in that country, or should under any pretence or authority whatsoever attempt to compel any other person or persons to do so, or who should hinder or intimidate the king's faithful and loyal subjects from joining his forces or otherwise performing those duties their allegiance required, such persons should be treated with the utmost severity, and their estates be immediately seized in order to be confiscated.

Mean time the ravages of war did not prevent the Americans from paying some attention to the arts of peace. On the 4th of May an act passed by the council and house of representatives of Massachusetts Bay for incorporating and establishing a society for the cultivation and promotion of the arts and sciences.

Some doubts having arisen in the Congress, towards the close of the preceding year, about the propriety of their assembling in the city of Philadelphia, it was now resolved that they should continue to meet there : and a committee of three members was appointed, to report a proper place where buildings might be provided for the reception of the congress, together with an estimate of the expence of providing such buildings and the necessary offices for the several boards. It was also resolved by the congress, that a monument should be erected to the memory of their late general Richard Montgomery, who fell at Quebec, in testimony of his signal and important services to the United States of America, with an inscription expressive of his amiable character and heroic achievements ; and that the continental treasurers should be directed to advance a sum not exceeding three hundred pounds to Dr. Franklin to defray the expence ; that gentleman being desired to cause the monument to be executed at Paris, or in some other part of France. It was likewise resolved by the congress, that a court should be established for the trial of all appeals from the court of admiralty of the United States of America, in cases of capture ; to consist of three judges, appointed and commissioned by congress, and who were to take an oath of office ; and that the trials in this court should be determined by the usage of nations.

The difficulties of the Congress and of the people of America had been greatly increased by the depreciation of their paper-currency. At the



the time when the colonies engaged in a war with Great Britain, they had no regular civil governments established among them of sufficient energy to enforce the collection of taxes, or to provide funds for the redemption of such bills of credit as their necessities obliged them to issue. In consequence of this state of things, their bills increased in quantity far beyond the sum necessary for the purpose of a circulating medium: and as they wanted at the same time specific funds to rest on for their redemption, they saw their paper-currency daily sink in value. The depreciation continued, by a kind of gradual progression, from the year 1777 to 1780: so that, at the latter period, the continental dollars were passed, by common consent, in most parts of America, at the rate of at least  $\frac{3}{4}$ ths below their nominal value. The impossibility of keeping up the credit of the currency to any fixed standard, occasioned great and almost insurmountable embarrassments in ascertaining the value of property, or carrying on trade with any sufficient certainty. Those who sold, and those who bought, were left without a rule whereon to form a judgment of their profit or loss: and every species of commerce or exchange, whether foreign or domestic, was exposed to numberless and increasing difficulties. The consequences of the depreciation of the paper-currency were also felt with peculiar severity by such of the Americans as were engaged in their military services, and greatly augmented by their other hardships. The requisitions made by the congress to the several colonies for supplies, were also far from always being regularly complied with: and their troops were not unfrequently in want of the most common necessities; which naturally occasioned complaints and discontent among them. Some of these difficulties, resulting from their circumstances and situation, perhaps no wisdom could have prevented: but they seem to have arisen in part from the congress not being sufficiently acquainted with the principles of finance, and from a defect of system in the departments of their government. The cause of the Americans appears also to have suffered somewhat by their depending too much on temporary enlistments. But the congress endeavoured, towards the close of the year 1780, to put their army upon a more permanent footing, and to give all the satisfaction to their officers and soldiers which their circumstances would permit. They appointed a committee for arranging their finances, and made some new regulations respecting their war-office and treasury-board, and other public departments.

Notwithstanding the disadvantages under which they laboured, the Americans seemed to entertain no doubts but that they should be able to maintain their independency. The 4th of July was celebrated this

year at Philadelphia with some pomp, as the anniversary of American independence. A commencement for conferring degrees in the arts was held the same day, in the hall of the university there; at which the president and members of the congress attended, and other persons in public offices. The Chevalier De la Lucerne, minister plenipotentiary from the French king to the United States, was also present on the occasion. A charge was publicly addressed by the provost of the university to the students; in which he said, that he could not but congratulate them "on that auspicious day, which, amidst the confusions and desolations of war, beheld learning beginning to revive; and animated them with the pleasing prospect of seeing the sacred lamp of science burning with a still brighter flame, and scattering its invigorating rays over the unexplored deserts of that extensive continent, until the whole world should be involved in the united blaze of knowledge, liberty, and religion. When he stretched his views forward (he said), and surveyed the rising glories of America, the enriching consequences of their determined struggle for liberty, the extensive fields of intellectual improvement and useful invention, in science and arts, in agriculture and commerce, in religion and government, through which the unfettered mind would range, with increasing delight, in quest of the undiscovered treasure which yet lay concealed in the animal, vegetable, and mineral kingdoms of that new world; or in the other fertile sources of knowledge with which it abounded. His heart swelled with the pleasing prospect, that the sons of that institution would distinguish themselves, in the different walks of life, by their literary contributions to the embellishment and increase of human happiness."

On the 10th of July, M. Ternay, with a fleet consisting of seven ships of the line, besides frigates, and a large body of French troops, commanded by Count de Rochambeau, arrived at Rhode Island; and the following day six thousand men were landed there. A committee from the general assembly of Rhode Island; was appointed to congratulate the French general on his arrival: whereupon he returned an answer, in which he informed them, that the king his master had sent him to the assistance of his good and faithful allies the United States of America. At present, he said he only brought over the vanguard of a much greater force destined for their aid; and the king had ordered him to assure them, that his whole power should be exerted for their support. He added, that the French troops were under the strictest discipline; and, acting under the orders of General Washington, would live with the Americans as their brethren.

A scheme was soon formed, of making a combined attack with English ships and troops, under the command of Sir Henry Clinton and Admiral Arbuthnot, against the French fleet and troops at Rhode Island. Accordingly a considerable part of the troops at New York were embarked for that purpose. General Washington having received information of this, passed the North River, by a very rapid movement, and, with an army increased to twelve thousand men, proceeded with celerity towards King's Bridge, in order to attack New York; but learning that the British general had changed his intentions, and disembarked his troops on the 31st of the month, General Washington recrossed the river and returned to his former station. Sir Henry Clinton and the admiral had agreed to relinquish their design of attacking the French and Americans at Rhode Island as impracticable for the present.

An unsuccessful attempt was also made about this time in the Jerseys by General Knyphausen, with seven thousand British troops under his command, to surprise the advanced posts of General Washington's army. They proceeded very rapidly towards Springfield, meeting with little opposition till they came to the bridge there, which was very gallantly defended by one hundred and seventy of the continental troops, for fifteen minutes, against the British army: but they were at length obliged to give up so unequal a contest, with the loss of thirty-seven men. After securing this pass, the British troops marched into the place, and set fire to most of the houses. They also committed some other depredations in the Jerseys; but gained no laurels there, being obliged to return about the beginning of July without effecting any thing material.

But in South Carolina the royal arms were attended with more success. Earl Cornwallis, who commanded the British troops there, obtained a very signal victory over General Gates on the 16th of August. The action began at break of day, in a situation very advantageous for the British troops, but very unfavourable to the Americans. The latter were much more numerous; but the ground on which both armies stood was narrowed by swamps on the right and left, so that the Americans could not properly avail themselves of their superior numbers. There seems to have been some want of generalship in Gates, in suffering himself to be surprised in so disadvantageous a position: but this circumstance was partly the effect of accident; for both armies set out with a design of attacking each other precisely at the same time, at ten the preceding evening, and met together before day-light at the place where the action happened. The attack was made by the British troops with great vigour, and in a few

minutes the action was general along the whole line. It was at this time a dead calm, with a little haziness in the air, which preventing the smoke from rising, occasioned so thick a darkness, that it was difficult to see the effect of a very heavy and well-supported fire on both sides. The British troops either kept up a constant fire, or made use of bayonets, as opportunities offered: and after an obstinate resistance during three quarters of an hour, threw the Americans into total confusion, and forced them to give way in all quarters. The continental troops appear to have behaved well, but the militia were soon broken, and left the former to oppose the whole force of the British troops. General Gates did all in his power to rally the militia, but without effect: the continentals retreated in some order, but the rout of the militia was so great, that the British cavalry are said to have pursued them to the distance of twenty-two miles from the place where the action happened. The loss of the Americans was very considerable: about one thousand prisoners were taken, and more are said to have been killed and wounded, but the number is not accurately ascertained. Seven pieces of brass cannon, a number of colours, and all the ammunition-waggons of the Americans, were also taken. Of the British troops, the killed and wounded amounted to two hundred and thirteen. Among the prisoners taken, was Major-general Baron de Kalb, a Prussian officer in the American service, who was mortally wounded, having exhibited great gallantry in the course of the action, and received eleven wounds. The British troops by which this great victory was achieved, did not much exceed two thousand, while the American army is said to have amounted to six thousand; of which, however, the greatest part were militia.

Lieutenant-colonel Tarleton, who had greatly distinguished himself in this action, was detached the following day, with some cavalry and light infantry, amounting to about three hundred and fifty men, to attack a corps of Americans under General Sumpter. He executed this service with great activity and military address. He procured good information of Sumpter's movements; and by forced and concealed marches came up with and surprised him in the middle of the day on the 18th, near the Catawba fords. He totally destroyed or dispersed his detachment, which consisted of seven hundred men, killing one hundred and fifty on the spot, and taking two pieces of brass cannon, three hundred prisoners, and forty-four waggons.

Not long after these events, means were found to detach Major General Arnold, who had engaged so ardently in the cause of America, and who had exhibited so much bravery in the support of it, from the



interests of the congress. Major Andrè, Adjutant General to the British army, was a principal agent in this transaction: or, if the overture of joining the King's troops came first from Arnold, this gentleman was the person employed to concert the affair with him. More must have been originally comprehended in the scheme than the mere desertion of the American cause by Arnold: but whatever designs had been formed for promoting the views of the British government, they were frustrated by the apprehending of Major Andrè. He was taken in disguise, after having assumed a false name, on the 23d of September, by three American soldiers; to whom he offered considerable rewards if they would have suffered him to escape, but without effect. Several papers written by Arnold were found upon him; and when Arnold had learned that Major Andrè was seized, he found means to get on board a barge, and to escape to one of the King's ships. General Washington referred the case of Major Andrè to the examination and decision of a board of general officers, consisting of Major General Green, Major General Lord Sterling, Major General the Marquis de la Fayette, Major General the Baron de Steuben, two other Major Generals, and eight Brigadier Generals. Major Andrè was examined before them, and the particulars of his case inquired into; and they reported to the American commander in chief, that Mr. Andrè came on shore from the Vulture sloop of War in the night, on an interview with General Arnold, in a private and secret manner; that he changed his dress within the American lines; and, under a feigned name, and in a disguised habit, passed the American works at Stoney and Verplank's Points, on the evening of the 22d of September; that he was taken on the morning of the 23d at Tarry-town, he being then on his way for New York: and that, when taken, he had in his possession several papers which contained intelligence for the enemy. They therefore determined, that he ought to be considered as a spy from the enemy; and that, agreeable to the law and usage of nations, he ought to suffer death. Sir Henry Clinton, Lieutenant General Robertson, and the late American general Arnold, all wrote pressing letters to General Washington on the occasion, in order to prevent the decision of the board of general officers from being put in force: But their applications were ineffectual. Major Andrè was hanged at Tappan, in the province of New York, on the 2d of October. He met his fate with great firmness; but appeared somewhat hurt that he was not allowed a more military death, for which he had solicited. He was a gentleman of very amiable qualities, had a taste for literature and the fine arts, and possessed many accomplishments. His death, therefore, was regretted even by his enemies;

mies; and the severity of the determination concerning him was much exclaimed against in Great Britain. It was, however, generally acknowledged by impartial persons, that there was nothing in the execution of this unfortunate gentleman but what was perfectly consonant to the rules of war.

Arnold was made a brigadier general in the King's service, and published an address to the inhabitants of America, dated from New York, October 7, in which he endeavoured to justify his desertion of their cause. He said, that when he first engaged in it, he conceived the rights of his country to be in danger, and duty and honour called him to her defence. A redress of grievances was his only aim and object; and therefore he acquiesced unwillingly in the declaration of independence, because he thought it precipitate. But what now induced him to desert their cause was the disgust he had conceived at the French alliance, and at the refusal of Congress to comply with the last terms offered by Great Britain, which he thought equal to all their expectations and to all their wishes.

The Americans, however, accounted for the conduct of Arnold in a different manner. They alledged that he had so involved himself in debts and difficulties by his extravagant manner of living in America, that he had rendered it very inconvenient for him to continue there: that after the evacuation of Philadelphia by the British troops, General Arnold, being invested with the command of that city, had made the house of Mr. Penn, which was the best in the city, his head quarters. This he had furnished in an elegant and expensive manner, and lived in a style far beyond his income. It was manifest, they said, that he could at first have no great aversion to the French alliance, because that when M. Gerard, minister plenipotentiary from the court of France, arrived at Philadelphia in July 1778, General Arnold early and earnestly solicited that minister, with his whole suite, to take apartments and bed and board at his house, until a proper house could be provided by order of the Congress. This offer M. Gerard accepted, and continued with him some weeks. The French minister resided upwards of fourteen months in Philadelphia; during which time General Arnold kept up the most friendly and intimate acquaintance with him, and there was a continued interchange of dinners, balls, routes, and concerts: so that M. Gerard must have believed, that in General Arnold he had found and left one of the warmest friends the court of France had in America. He was also one of the first in congratulating the Chevalier de la Luzerne, the second French minister. About this time complaints and accusations were exhibited against him by the government of Philadelphia

Philadelphia for divers mal-practices; among which charges were, the appropriation of goods and merchandize to his own use, which he had seized as British property in Philadelphia in July 1778. It was determined by a court-martial that his conduct was highly reprehensible; but he was indulgently treated, and was therefore only reprimanded by the commander in chief General Washington. It was in these circumstances, the Americans said, bankrupted in reputation and fortune, loaded with debts, and having a growing and expensive family, that General Arnold first turned his thoughts towards joining the royal arms.

After the defeat of General Gates by Earl Cornwallis, that nobleman exerted himself to the utmost in extending the progress of the British arms, and with considerable effect. But one enterprise, which was conducted by Major Ferguson, proved unsuccessful. That officer had taken abundant pains to discipline some of the tory militia, as they were termed; and with a party of these and some British troops, amounting in the whole about one thousand four hundred men, made incursions into the country. But on the 7th of October he was attacked by a superior body of Americans at a place called King's Mountain, and totally defeated. One hundred and fifty were killed in the action, and eight hundred and ten made prisoners, of which one hundred and fifty were wounded. Fifteen hundred stands of arms also fell into the hands of the Americans, whose loss was inconsiderable. But the following month Lieutenant Colonel Tarleton, who continued to exert his usual activity and bravery, with a party of one hundred and seventy, chiefly cavalry, attacked and defeated General Sumpter, who is said to have had one thousand men, at a place called Black Stocks. Sumpter was wounded, and about one hundred and twenty of the Americans killed, wounded, or taken. Of the British troops about fifty were killed and wounded.

On the 3d of September the Mercury, a congress packet, was taken by the Vestal, Captain Keppel, near Newfoundland. On board this packet was Mr. Laurens, late President of the Congress, who was bound on an embassy to Holland. He had thrown his papers overboard, but great part of them were recovered without having received much damage. He was brought to London, and examined before the privy council; in consequence of which he was committed close prisoner to the Tower, on the 6th of October, on a charge of high treason. His papers were delivered to the ministry, and continued to facilitate a rupture with Holland, as among them was found the sketch of a treaty of amity and commerce between the republic of Holland and the United States of America.

At the beginning of the year 1781, an affair happened in America, from which expectations were formed by Sir Henry Clinton, that some considerable advantage might be derived to the royal cause. The long continuance of the war, and the difficulties under which the Congress laboured, had prevented their troops from being properly supplied with necessaries and conveniencies. In consequence of this, on the first of January, the American troops that were huddled at Morris Town, and who formed what was called the Pennsylvania Line, turned out, being in number about one thousand three hundred, and declared, that they would serve no longer, unless their grievances were redressed, as they had not received their pay, or been furnished with the necessary cloathing or provisions. It is said that they were somewhat inflamed with liquor, in consequence of rum having been distributed to them more liberally than usual, New Year's Day being considered as a kind of festival. A riot ensued, in which an officer was killed, and four wounded; five or six of the insurgents were also wounded. They then collected the artillery, stores, provisions, and waggons, and marched out of the camp. They passed by the quarters of General Wayne, who sent a message to them, requesting them to desist, or the consequences would prove fatal. They refused, and proceeded on their march till the evening, when they took post on an advantageous piece of ground, and elected officers from among themselves. On the second, they marched to Middlebrook, and on the third to Princetown, where they fixed their quarters. On that day a flag of truce was sent to them from the officers of the American camp, with a message, desiring to know what were their intentions. Some of them answered, that they had already served longer than the time for which they were enlisted, and would serve no longer; and others, that they would not return, unless their grievances were redressed. But at the same time they repeatedly, and in the strongest terms, denied being influenced by the least disaffection to the American cause, or having any intentions of deserting to the enemy.

Intelligence of this transaction was soon conveyed to New York. A large body of British troops were immediately ordered to hold themselves in readiness to move on the shortest notice, it being hoped that the American revolvers might be induced to join the royal army. Messengers were also sent to them from General Clinton, acquainting them that they should directly be taken under the protection of the British government; that they should have a free pardon for all former offences; and that the pay due to them from the Congress should be faithfully paid them, without any expectation of military service, unless it should be voluntary, upon condition of their laying down their

arms



arms and returning to their allegiance. It was all recommended to them to move beyond the South river; and they were assured, that a body of British troops should be ready to protect them whenever they desired it. These propositions were rejected with disdain; and they even delivered up two of Sir Henry Clinton's messengers to the congress. Joseph Reed, Esq. president of the state of Pennsylvania, afterwards repaired to them at Prince-town, and an accommodation took place: such of them as had served out their full terms were permitted to return to their own homes, and others again joined the American army, upon receiving satisfactory assurances that their grievances should be redressed.

Lord Cornwallis now began to make very vigorous exertions, in order to penetrate into North Carolina. On the 11th of January his Lordship's army was in motion, and advancing towards that province; but was somewhat delayed by an attempt made by the Americans, under General Morgan, to make themselves masters of the valuable district of Ninety-six. In order to prevent this, Lord Cornwallis detached Lieutenant Colonel Tarleton, with three hundred cavalry, three hundred light infantry, the seventh regiment, the first battalion of the seventy-first regiment, and two three-pounders, to oppose the progress of Morgan, not doubting but that he would be able to perform this service effectually. The British troops came up with the Americans under General Morgan on the 17th of January. The Americans were drawn up in an open wood, and having been lately joined by some militia, were more numerous than the British troops under Lieutenant Colonel Tarleton; but the latter were so much better disciplined, that they had the utmost confidence of obtaining a speedy victory. The attack was begun by the first line of infantry, consisting of the seventh regiment and a corps of light infantry, with a troop of cavalry placed on each flank. The first battalion of the seventy-first and the remainder of the cavalry formed the reserve. The American line soon gave way, and their militia quitted the field; upon which the royal troops, supposing the victory already gained, engaged with ardour in the pursuit, and were thereby thrown into some disorder. General Morgan's corps, who were supposed to have been routed, then immediately faced about and threw in a heavy fire upon the king's troops, which occasioned the utmost confusion amongst them; and they were at length totally defeated by the Americans. Four hundred of the British infantry were either killed, wounded, or taken prisoners: the loss of the cavalry was much less considerable; but the two three-pounders fell into the hands of the Americans, together with the colours of the seventh regiment; and all the detachment of royal artillery were either killed or wounded in defence

defence of their colours. Lieutenant-colonel Tarleton, however, made another effort; having assembled about fifty of his cavalry, he charged and repulsed Colonel Washington's horse, retook his baggage, and killed the Americans who were appointed to guard it. He then retreated to Hamilton's ford, near the mouth of Bullock's creek, carrying with him part of his baggage, and destroying the remainder.

This defeat of the troops under Tarleton was a severe stroke to Lord Cornwallis, as the loss of his light infantry was a great disadvantage to him. The day after that event, he employed in collecting the remains of Tarleton's corps, and endeavouring to form a junction with General Leslie, who had been ordered to march towards him with a body of British troops from Wynnesborough. Considerable exertions were then made by part of the army, without baggage, to retake the prisoners in the hands of the Americans, and to intercept General Morgan's corps on its retreat to the Catawba. But that American officer, after his defeat of Tarleton, had made forced marches up into the country, and crossed the Catawba the evening before a great rain, which swelled the river to such a degree, as to prevent the royal army from crossing for several days; during which time the British prisoners were got over the Yadkin; whence they proceeded to Dan River, which they also passed, and on the 14th of February had reached Court-house in the province of Virginia.

Lord Cornwallis employed a halt of two days in collecting some flour, and in destroying superfluous baggage and all his waggons excepting those laden with hospital stores, salt, and ammunition, and four reserved empty in readiness for sick or wounded. Being thus freed from all unnecessary incumbrances, he marched through North Carolina with great rapidity, and penetrated to the remotest extremities of that province on the banks of the Dan. His progress was sometimes impeded by parties of the militia, and some skirmishes ensued, but he met with no very considerable opposition. On the 1st of February, the king's troops crossed the Catawba at M'Cowan's Ford, where General Davidson, with a party of American militia, was posted, in order to oppose their passage; but he falling by the first discharge, the royal troops made good their landing, and the militia retreated. When Lord Cornwallis arrived at Hillsborough, he erected the king's standard, and invited, by proclamation, all loyal subjects to repair to it, and to stand forth and take an active part in assisting his Lordship to restore order and government. He had been taught to believe that the king's friends were numerous in that part of the country: but the event did not confirm the truth of the representations that had been given. The

royalists were but few in number, and some of them too timid to join the king's standard. There were, indeed, about two hundred who were proceeding to Hillsborough, under Colonel Pyle, in order to avow their attachment to the royal cause; but they were met accidentally, and surrounded by a detachment from the American army, by whom a number of them are said to have been killed when they were begging for quarter, without making the least resistance. Mean while General Greene was marching with great expedition with the troops under his command, in order to form a junction with other corps of American troops, that he might thereby be enabled to put an effectual stop to the progress of Lord Cornwallis.

In other places some considerable advantages were obtained by the royal arms. On the 4th of January, some ships of war with a number of transports, on board which was a large body of troops under the command of Brigadier-general Arnold, arrived at Westover, about one hundred and forty miles from the Capes of Virginia, where the troops immediately landed and marched to Richmond; which they reached without opposition, the militia that was collected having retreated on their approach. Lieutenant-colonel Simcoe marched from hence with a detachment of British troops to Westham, where they destroyed one of the finest founderies for cannon in America, and a large quantity of stores and cannon. General Arnold, on his arrival at Richmond, found there large quantities of salt, rum, sail-cloth, tobacco, and other merchandise; and that part of these commodities which was public property he destroyed. The British troops afterwards attacked and dispersed some small parties of the Americans, took some stores and a few pieces of cannon, and the 20th of the same month marched into Portsmouth. On the 25th, Captain Barclay, with several ships of war, and a body of troops under the command of Major Craig, arrived in Cape Fear river. The troops landed about nine miles from Wilmington, and on the 28th entered that town. It was understood that their having possession of that town, and being masters of Cape Fear river, would be productive of very beneficial effects to Lord Cornwallis's army.

General Greene having effected a junction about the 10th of March with a continental regiment of what were called *eighteen months men*, and two large bodies of militia belonging to Virginia and North Carolina, formed a resolution to attack the British troops under the command of Lord Cornwallis. The American army marched from the High Rock Ford on the 12th of the month, and on the 14th arrived at Guildford. Lord Cornwallis, from the information he had received of the motions of the American general, concluded what were his designs. As they approached

approached more nearly to each other, a few skirmishes ensued between some advanced parties, in which the king's troops had the advantage. On the morning of the 15th, Lord Cornwallis marched with his troops at day-break in order to meet the Americans, or to attack them in their encampment. About four miles from Guildford, the advanced guard of the British army, commanded by Lieutenant-colonel Tarleton, fell in with a corps of the Americans, consisting of Lieutenant-colonel Lee's legion, some Back Mountain men and Virginian militia, with whom he had a severe skirmish, but whom he at length obliged to retreat.

The greater part of the country in which the action happened is a wilderness, with a few cleared fields interspersed. The American army, which was superior to the royal in point of numbers, was posted on a rising ground about a mile and a half from Guildford court-house. It was drawn up in three lines: the front line was composed of the North Carolinian militia, under the command of the generals Butler and Eaton; the second line of Virginian militia, commanded by the generals Stephens and Lawson, forming two brigades; the third line, consisting of two brigades, one of Virginia and one of Maryland continental troops, commanded by General Huger and Colonel Williams. Lieutenant-colonel Washington, with the dragoons of the first and third regiments, a detachment of light infantry composed of continental troops, and a regiment of riflemen under Colonel Lynch, formed a corps of observation for the security of their right flank. Lieutenant-colonel Lee, with his legion, a detachment of light infantry, and a corps of riflemen under Colonel Campbell, formed a corps of observation for the security of their left flank. The attack on the American army was directed to be made by Lord Cornwallis in the following order: On the right, the regiment of Bose and the seventy-first regiment, led by Major-general Leslie, and supported by the first battalion of guards; on the left, the twenty-third and thirty-third regiments, led by Lieutenant-colonel Webster, and supported by the grenadiers and second battalion of guards commanded by Brigadier-general O'Hara; the Yagers and light infantry of the guards remained in a wood on the left of the guns, and the cavalry in the road, ready to act as circumstances might require.

About half an hour after one in the afternoon, the action commenced by a cannonade, which lasted about twenty minutes; when the British troops advanced in three columns and attacked the North Carolinian brigades with great vigour, and soon obliged part of these troops, who behaved very ill, to quit the field: but the Virginian militia gave them a warm reception, and kept up a heavy fire for a long time, till being beaten back, the action became general almost every where. The



American corps under the lieutenant-colonels Washington and Lee were also warmly engaged, and did considerable execution. Lieutenant-colonel Tarleton had directions to keep his cavalry compact, and not to charge without positive orders, excepting to protect any of the corps from the most evident danger of being defeated. The excessive thickness of the woods rendered the British bayonets of little use, and enabled the broken corps of Americans to make frequent stands with an irregular fire. The second battalion of the guards first gained the clear ground near Guildford court-house, and found a corps of continental infantry, superior in number, formed in an open field on the left of the road. Desirous of signalizing themselves, they immediately attacked and soon defeated them, taking two six-pounders: but as they pursued the Americans into the wood with too much ardour, they were thrown into confusion by a heavy fire, and instantly charged and driven back into the field by Lieutenant-colonel Washington's dragoons, with the loss of the six-pounders they had taken. But the American cavalry were afterwards repulsed, and the two six-pounders again fell into the hands of the British troops. The spirited exertions of Brigadier-general O'Hara and of Lieutenant-colonel Tarleton, greatly contributed to bring the action to a termination. The British troops having at length broken the second Maryland regiment, and turned the left flank of the Americans, got into the rear of the Virginian brigade, and appeared to be gaining their right, which would have encircled the whole of the continental troops, when General Greene thought it prudent to order a retreat. Many of the American militia dispersed in the woods; but the continental troops retreated in good order to Reedy Fork River, and crossed at the Ford about three miles from the field of action, and there halted. When they had collected their stragglers, they retreated to the iron-works, ten miles distant from Guildford, where they encamped. They lost their artillery and two waggons laden with ammunition. It was a hard fought action, and lasted an hour and an half. Of the British troops, the loss, as stated by Lord Cornwallis, was five hundred and thirty-two killed, wounded, and missing. General Greene, in his account of the action transmitted to the congress, stated the loss of the continental troops to amount to three hundred and twenty-nine killed, wounded, and missing; but he made no estimate of the loss of the militia. Lieutenant-colonel Stuart was killed in the action; and Lieutenant-colonel Webster, and the captains Schutz, Maynard, and Goodriche, died of the wounds that they received in it. Brigadier-general O'Hara, Brigadier-general Howard, and Lieutenant-colonel Tarleton were also wounded. Of the Americans the principal officer killed was Major  
Anderson

Anderfon of the Maryland line, and the generals Stephens and Huger were wounded.

The British troops underwent great hardships in the course of this campaign; and in a letter of Lord Cornwallis's to Lord George Germain, dated March 17th, he observed, that "the soldiers had been two days without bread." His lordship quitted Guildford three days after the battle which was fought in that place; and on the 7th of April arrived in the neighbourhood of Wilmington. Soon after, General Greene, notwithstanding his late defeat, endeavoured to make some vigorous attempts against the king's forces in South Carolina. Lord Rawdon had been appointed to defend the post of Camden, with about eight hundred British and provincials; and on the 19th of April General Greene appeared before that place with a large body of continentals and militia. He found it, however, impossible to attempt to storm the town with any prospect of success; and therefore endeavoured to take such a position as should induce the British troops to fall from their works. He posted the Americans about a mile from the town, on an eminence which was covered with woods, and flanked on the left by an impassable swamp. But on the morning of the 25th, Lord Rawdon marched out of Camden, and with great gallantry attacked General Greene in his camp. The Americans made a vigorous resistance, but were at last compelled to give way; and the pursuit is said to have been continued three miles. For some time after the action commenced, General Gates entertained great hopes of defeating the British troops; in which, as the Americans were superior in point of numbers, he would probably have succeeded, had not some capital military errors been committed by one or two of the officers who served under him. On the American side Colonel Washington behaved extremely well in this action, having made upwards of two hundred of the English prisoners, with ten or twelve officers, before he perceived that the Americans were abandoning the field of battle. The loss of the English was about one hundred killed and wounded. Upwards of one hundred of the Americans were taken prisoners; and, according to the account published by General Greene, they had one hundred and twenty-six killed and wounded. After this action, Greene retreated to Rugeley's mills, twelve miles from Camden, in order to collect his troops and wait for reinforcements.

Notwithstanding the advantage which Lord Rawdon had obtained over General Greene at Camden, that nobleman soon after found it necessary to quit that post; and the Americans made themselves masters of several other posts that were occupied by the king's troops, and the garrisons

garrisons of which were obliged to surrender themselves prisoners of war. These troops were afterwards exchanged under a cartel which took place between Lord Cornwallis and General Greene for the release of all prisoners of war in the southern district. After these events, General Greene laid close siege to Ninety-six, which was considered as the most commanding and important of all the posts in the back-country; and on the 19th of June he attempted to storm the garrison, but was repulsed by the gallantry of the British troops, with the loss, as it is said, of seventy-five killed and one hundred and fifty wounded. General Greene then raised the siege, and retired with his army behind the Saluda, to a strong situation within sixteen miles of Ninety-six.

On the 18th of April a large body of British troops, under the command of Major-general Philips and Brigadier-general Arnold, embarked at Portsmouth in Virginia, in order to proceed on an expedition for the purpose of destroying some of the American stores. A party of light-infantry were sent ten or twelve miles up the Chickahomany: where they destroyed several armed ships, sundry warehouses, and the American state ship yards. At Petersburg, the English destroyed four thousand hogsheds of tobacco, one ship, and a number of small vessels on the stocks and in the river. At Chesterfield court-house, they burnt a range of barracks for two thousand men and three hundred barrels of flour. At a place called *Osborn's*, they made themselves masters of several vessels loaded with cordage and flour, and destroyed about two thousand hogsheds of tobacco, and sundry vessels were sunk and burnt. At Warwick, they burnt a magazine of five hundred barrels of flour, some fine mills belonging to Colonel Carey, a large range of public rope-walks and storehouses, tan and bark houses full of hides and bark, and great quantities of tobacco. A like destruction of stores and goods was made in other parts of Virginia.

From the account already given of some of the principal military operations of the present year in America, it appears, that though considerable advantages had been gained by the royal troops, yet no event had taken place from which it could rationally be expected that the final termination of the war would be favourable to Great Britain. It was also a disadvantageous circumstance that there was a misunderstanding between Admiral Arbuthnot and Sir Henry Clinton, and a mutual disapprobation of each other's conduct. This was manifest from their dispatches to government, and especially from those of General Clinton, whose expressions respecting the conduct of the Admiral were by no means equivocal.

On the 16th of March 1781, a partial action happened off the Capes of Virginia, between the fleet under Admiral Arbuthnot, consisting of seven

ships of the line and one fifty-gun ship, and a French squadron, consisting of the same number of ships of the line and one forty-gun ship. Some of the ships in both fleets received considerable damage in the action, and the loss of the English was thirty killed, and seventy-three wounded; but no ship was taken on either side. The British fleet had, however, considerably the advantage; as the French were obliged to retire, and were supposed to be prevented by this action from carrying troops up the Chesapeake, in order to attack General Arnold and impede the progress of Lord Cornwallis. But it was an unfortunate circumstance, that some time before this engagement the *Romulus*, a ship of forty-four guns, was captured by the French off the Capes of Virginia.

Lord Cornwallis, after his victory over General Greene at Guilford, proceeded, as we have seen, to Wilmington, where he arrived on the 7th of April. But before he reached that place, he published a proclamation, calling upon all loyal subjects to stand forth and take an active part in restoring good order and government; and declaring to all persons who had engaged in the present rebellion against his majesty's authority, but who were now convinced of their error, and desirous of returning to their duty and allegiance, that if they would surrender themselves with their arms and ammunition at head quarters, or to the officer commanding in the district contiguous to their respective places of residence, on or before the 20th of that month, they would be permitted to return to their homes upon giving a military parole; they would be protected in their persons and properties from all sorts of violence from the British troops and would be restored as soon as possible to all the privileges of legal and constitutional government. But it does not appear that any considerable number of the Americans were allured by these promises to give any evidences of their attachment to the royal cause.

On the 20th of May, his Lordship arrived at Petersburg in Virginia, where he joined a body of British troops that had been under the command of Major-general Philips; but the command of which, in consequence of the death of that officer, had devolved upon Brigadier-general Arnold. Before this junction he had encountered considerable inconveniences from the difficulty of procuring provisions and forage; so that in a letter to Sir Henry Clinton, he informed him, that his cavalry wanted every thing, and his infantry every thing but shoes. He added, that he had experienced the distresses of marching hundreds of miles in a country chiefly hostile, without one active or useful friend, without intelligence, and without communication with any part of the country.

On the 26th of June, about six miles from Williamsburgh, Lieutenant-colonel Simcoe, and three hundred and fifty of the queen's rangers, with



with eighty mounted yagers, were attacked by a much superior body of the Americans; but whom they repulsed with great gallantry and with equal success, making four officers and twenty private men prisoners. The loss of the Americans in this action is said to have been upwards of one hundred and twenty, and that of the British troops not more than forty.

On the 6th of July an action happened near the Green Springs in Virginia, between a reconnoitring party of the Americans under General Wayne, amounting to about eight hundred, and a large part of the British army under Lord Cornwallis; in which the Americans had one hundred and twenty-seven killed and wounded, and the loss of the royal troops is supposed to have been considerably greater. It was an action in which no small degree of military skill and courage was exhibited by the Americans. In a variety of skirmishes, the Marquis la Fayette very much distinguished himself, and displayed the utmost ardour in the American cause.

In South Carolina, an action happened on the 9th of September near Eata Springs, between a large body of British troops under the command of Lieutenant-colonel Stuart and a much superior body of Americans, said to amount to more than four thousand, under the command of General Greene. It was an obstinate engagement, and lasted near two hours; but the Americans were defeated, and two of their six-pounders fell into the hands of the English. The loss, however, of the royal troops was very considerable; amounting to more than four hundred killed and wounded, and upwards of two hundred missing.

In the course of the same month, General Arnold was sent on an expedition against New London, in Connecticut, where he destroyed a great part of the shipping, and an immense quantity of naval stores, European manufactures, and East and West India commodities. The town itself was also burnt, which is said to have been unavoidable on account of the explosions of great quantities of gunpowder which happened to be in the storehouses that were set on fire. A fort, of which it was thought necessary to gain possession in this expedition, was not taken without considerable loss. This was fort Griswold; which was defended by the Americans with great gallantry, and the assault was made by the English with equal bravery. The British troops entered the works with fixed bayonets, and were opposed with great vigour by the garrison with long spears. After a most obstinate defence of near forty minutes, the assailants gained possession of the fort, in which eighty-five Americans were found dead, and sixty wounded, most of them mortally. Of the British troops Major Montgomery was killed by a spear  
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in entering the American works; and one hundred and ninety-two men were also killed and wounded in this expedition.

Notwithstanding the signal advantages that Lord Cornwallis had obtained over the Americans, his situation in Virginia began by degrees to be very critical: and the rather because he did not receive those reinforcements and supplies from Sir Henry Clinton, of which he had formed expectations, and which he conceived to be necessary to the success of his operations. Indeed, the commander in chief was prevented from sending those reinforcements to Lord Cornwallis which he otherwise might have done, by his fears respecting New York, against which he entertained great apprehensions that General Washington intended to make a very formidable attack. In fact, that able American general appears to have taken much pains, and to have employed great finesse, in order to lead Sir Henry Clinton to entertain this imagination. Letters, expressive of this intention, fell into the hands of Sir Henry, which were manifestly written with a design that they should be intercepted, and only with a view to amuse and deceive the British general. The project was successful; and by a variety of judicious military manœuvres, in which he completely out-generalled the British commander, he increased his apprehensions about New York, and prevented him from sending proper assistance to Lord Cornwallis. Having for a considerable time kept Sir Henry Clinton in perpetual alarm in New York, though with an army much inferior to the garrison of that city, General Washington suddenly quitted his camp at White Plains, crossed the Delaware, and marched towards Virginia, apparently with a design to attack Lord Cornwallis. Sir Henry Clinton then received information that the Count de Grasse, with a large French fleet, was expected every moment in the Chesapeake, in order to co-operate with General Washington. He immediately endeavoured, both by land and water, to communicate this information to Lord Cornwallis; and also sent him assurances, that he would either reinforce him by every possible means in his power, or make the best diversion he could in his favour. In the mean time, Lord Cornwallis had taken possession of the posts of York Town and Gloucester in Virginia, where he fortified himself in the best manner he was able.

On the 28th of August, Sir Samuel Hood, with a squadron from the West Indies, joined the squadron under the command of Admiral Graves before New York. It was then necessary, on account of the situation of Lord Cornwallis, that they should immediately proceed to the Chesapeake; but some time appears to have been needlessly lost, though Admiral Hood was extremely anxious that no delay might be

made. They arrived, however, in the Chesapeake, on the 5th of September, with nineteen ships of the line; where they found the Count de Grasse, who had anchored in that bay on the 30th of August with twenty-four ships of the line. The French admiral had previously landed a large body of troops, which had been brought from Rhode Island, and who immediately marched to join the American army under General Washington. The British and French fleets came to an action on the same day in which the former arrived in the Chesapeake. On board the British fleet ninety were killed and two hundred and forty-six wounded: some of the ships were greatly damaged in the engagement; and the *Terrible*, a seventy-four gun ship, was so much shattered, that it was afterwards found necessary to set fire to it. That this action had not been favourable to the English, was manifest from the event: the fleets continued in sight of each other for five days successively, and sometimes were very near; but at length the French fleet all anchored within the Cape, so as to block up the passage. Admiral Graves, who was the commander in chief, then called a council of war, in which it was resolved that the fleet should proceed to New York, that the ships might be there put in the best state for the service: and thus were the French left masters of the navigation of the Chesapeake.

Before the news of this action had reached New York, a council of war was held there, in which it was resolved, that five thousand men should be embarked on board the king's ships, in order to proceed to the assistance of Lord Cornwallis. But when it was known that the French were absolute masters of the navigation of the Chesapeake, it was thought inexpedient to send off that reinforcement immediately. In another council of war, it was resolved, that as Lord Cornwallis had provisions to last him to the end of October, it was advisable to wait for more favourable accounts from Admiral Graves, or for the arrival of Admiral Digby, who was expected with three ships of the line. It was not then known at New York, that Admiral Graves had determined to return with the whole fleet to that port.

In the mean time, the most effectual measures were adopted by General Washington for surrounding the British army under Lord Cornwallis. A large body of French troops under the command of Lieutenant-general the Count de Rochambeau, with a very considerable train of artillery, assisted in the enterprise. The Americans amounted to near eight thousand continentals, and five thousand militia. General Washington was invested with the authority of commander in chief of these combined forces of America and France. On the 29th of September, the investment of York Town was complete, and the British army



army quite blocked up. The day following Sir Henry Clinton wrote a letter to Lord Cornwallis, containing assurances that he would do every thing in his power to relieve him, and some information concerning the steps that would be taken for that purpose. A duplicate of this letter was sent to his Lordship by Major-Cochran, on the 3d of October: That gentleman, who was a very gallant officer, went in a vessel to the Capes, and made his way to Lord Cornwallis, through the whole French fleet, in an open boat. He got to York Town on the 10th of the month; and soon after his arrival had his head carried off by a cannon ball.

After the return of Admiral Graves to New York, a council of war was held, consisting of flag and general officers, in which it was resolved, that a large body of troops should be embarked on board the king's ships as soon as they were refitted, and that the exertions of both fleet and army should be made in order to form a junction with Lord Cornwallis. Sir Henry Clinton himself embarked on board the fleet, with upwards of seven thousand troops, on the 18th; they arrived off Cape Charles, at the entrance of the Chesapeake, on the 24th, where they received intelligence that Lord Cornwallis had been obliged to capitulate five days before.

It was on the 19th of October that Lord Cornwallis surrendered himself and his whole army, by capitulation, prisoners to the combined armies of America and France, under the command of General Washington. He made a defence suitable to the character he had before acquired for courage and military skill; but was compelled to submit to untoward circumstances and superior numbers. It was agreed by the articles of capitulation, that the British troops were to be prisoners to the United States of America, and the seamen to the French king, to whose officers also the British vessels found at York Town and Gloucester were to be delivered up. The British prisoners amounted to more than six thousand; but many of them, at the time of surrender, were incapable of duty. A considerable number of cannon, and a large quantity of military stores, fell into the hands of the Americans on this occasion.

As no rational expectation now remained of a subjugation of the colonies, the military operations that succeeded in America were of little consequence. Some inconsiderable actions and skirmishes did indeed take place after that event; in which the refugees chiefly distinguished themselves, and discovered an inveterate animosity against the Americans. On the 5th of May 1782, Sir Guy Carleton arrived at New York, being appointed to the command of the British troops in



America in the room of Sir Henry Clinton. Two days after his arrival, he wrote a letter to General Washington, acquainting him, that Admiral Digby was joined with himself in a commission to treat for peace with the people of America; transmitting to him, at the same time, some papers tending to manifest the pacific disposition of the government and people of Britain towards those of America. He also desired a passport for Mr. Morgan, who was appointed to transmit a similar letter of compliment to the congress. General Washington declined signing any passport till he had taken the opinion of congress upon that measure; and by them he was directed to refuse any passport for such a purpose. However, another letter was sent to General Washington, dated the 2d of August, and signed by Sir Guy Carleton and Rear Admiral Digby, in which they informed him, that they were acquainted by authority that negociations for a general peace had already commenced at Paris; that Mr. Grenville was invested with full powers to treat with all the parties at war; and was then at Paris in the execution of his commission. They farther informed him, that his Majesty, in order to remove all obstacles to that peace which he so ardently wished to restore, had commanded his ministers to direct Mr. Grenville, that the independency of the thirteen provinces should be proposed by him, in the first instance, instead of making it the condition of a general treaty. But some jealousies were entertained by the Americans, that it was the design of the British court either to disunite them, or to bring them to treat of a peace separately from their ally the king of France: they therefore resolved, that any man, or body of men, who should presume to make any separate or partial convention or agreement with the king of Great Britain, or with any commissioner or commissioners under the crown of Great Britain, ought to be considered and treated as open and avowed enemies of the United State of America; and also that those states could not with propriety hold any conference or treaty with any commissioners on the part of Great Britain, unless they should, as a preliminary thereto, either withdraw their fleets and armies, or else, in positive or express terms, acknowledge the independence of the said states. They likewise resolved, that any propositions which might be made by the court of Great Britain, in any manner tending to violate the treaty subsisting between them and the king of France, ought to be treated with every mark of indignity and contempt.

On the 30th of November, 1782, the provisional articles of peace and reconciliation between Great Britain and the American States, were signed at Paris; by which Great Britain acknowledged the independence

dependence and sovereignty of the United States of America. These articles were ratified by a definitive treaty, September 3d, 1783. This peace was negotiated on the part of Great Britain by Mr. Oswald, and the definitive treaty was signed by Mr. Hartley; and on the part of the United States by John Adams, John Jay, and Benjamin Franklin, Esquires\*.

Thus ended a long and arduous conflict, in which Great Britain expended near an hundred millions of money, with an hundred thousand lives, and won nothing. America endured every cruelty and distress from her enemies; lost many lives and much treasure; but delivered herself from a foreign dominion, and gained a rank among the nations of the earth.

Holland acknowledged the independence of the United States on the 19th of April, 1782; Sweden, February 5th, 1783; Denmark, the 25th of February; Spain, in March, and Russia, in July 1783.

No sooner was peace restored by the definitive treaty, and the British troops withdrawn from the country, than the United States began to experience the defects of their general government. While an enemy was in the country, fear, which had first impelled the colonies to associate in mutual defence, continued to operate as a band of political union. It gave to the resolutions and recommendations of Congress the force of laws, and generally commanded a ready acquiescence on the part of the State legislatures. Articles of confederation and perpetual union had been framed in Congress, and submitted to the consideration of the States, in the year 1778. Some of the States immediately acceded to them; but others, which had not unappropriated lands, hesitated to subscribe a compact, which would give an advantage to the States which possessed large tracts of unlocated lands, and were thus capable of a great superiority in wealth and population. All objections, however, had been overcome, and by the accession of Maryland, in March 1781, the articles of confederation were ratified, as the frame of government for the United States.

These articles, however, were framed during the rage of war, when a principle of common safety supplied the place of a coercive power in government, by men who could have had no experience in the art of governing an extensive country, and under circumstances the most critical and embarrassing. To have offered to the people, at that time, a system of government armed with the powers necessary to regulate and control the contending interests of Thirteen States, and the possessions of

\* This Treaty, with other Papers, will be found in the Appendix to the Fourth Volume of this work.

millions of people, might have raised a jealousy between the States or in the minds of the people at large, that would have weakened the operations of the war, and perhaps have rendered an union impracticable. Hence the numerous defects of the confederation.

On the conclusion of peace, these defects began to be felt. Each state assumed the right of disputing the propriety of the resolutions of Congress, and the interest of an individual State was placed in opposition to the common interest of the union. In addition to this source of division, a jealousy of the powers of Congress began to be excited in the minds of the people.

This jealousy of the privileges of freemen had been roused by the oppressive acts of the British parliament: and no sooner had the danger from this quarter ceased, than the fears of people changed their object, and were turned against their own rulers.

In this situation, there were not wanting men of industry and talents, who had been enemies to the revolution, and who embraced the opportunity to multiply the apprehensions of the people, and increase the popular discontents. A remarkable instance of this happened in Connecticut. As soon as the tumults of war had subsided, an attempt was made to convince the people, that the act of Congress passed in 1778, granting to the officers of the army half-pay for life, was highly unjust and tyrannical; and that it was but the first step towards the establishment of pensions, and an uncontrollable despotism. The act of Congress, passed in 1783, commuting half-pay for life, for five years full pay, was designed to appease the apprehensions of the people, and to convince them that this gratuity was intended merely to indemnify the officers for their losses by the depreciating of the paper currency, and not to establish a precedent for the granting of pensions. This act, however, did not satisfy the people, who supposed that the officers had been generally indemnified for the loss of their pay by the grants made them from time to time by the legislatures of the several States. Besides, the act, while it gave five years full pay to the officers, allowed but one year's pay to the privates; a distinction which had great influence in exciting and continuing the popular ferment, and one that turned a large share of the public rage against the officers themselves.

The moment an alarm was raised respecting this act of Congress, the enemies of their independence became active in blowing up the flame, by spreading reports unfavourable to the general government, and tending to create public dissensions. Newspapers, in some parts of the country, were filled with inflammatory publications; while false reports, and groundless insinuations were industriously circulated to the prejudice



prejudice of Congress, and the officers of the late army. Among a people feelingly alive to every thing that could affect the rights for which they had been contending, these reports could not fail of having a powerful effect; the clamour soon became general; the officers of the army, it was believed, had attempted to raise their fortunes on the distresses of their fellow-citizens, and Congress become the tyrants of their country.

Connecticut was the seat of this uneasiness; although other States were much agitated on the occasion. But the inhabitants of that State accustomed to order, and a due subordination to the laws, did not proceed to outrages; they took their usual mode of collecting the sense of the State—asssembled in town meetings—appointed committees to meet in convention, and consult what measures should be adopted to procure a redress of their grievances. In this convention, which was held at Middletown, some nugatory resolves were passed, expressing the disapprobation of the half-pay act, and the subsequent commutation of the grant for five years whole pay. The same spirit also discovered itself in the assembly at their October session, 1783. A remonstrance against the acts in favour of the officers was framed in the House of Representatives, and notwithstanding the Upper House refused to concur in the measure, it was sent to Congress.

During this situation of affairs, the public odium against the officers was augmented by another circumstance. The officers, just before the disbanding of the army, as has already been noticed, had formed a society, called by the name of the *Cincinnati*.

Whatever were the real views of the framers of this institution its design was generally understood to be harmless and honourable. The ostensible views of the society could not however screen it from popular jealousy.

Notwithstanding the discontents of the people were general, and ready to burst forth in sedition, yet men of information, viz. the officers of government, the clergy, and persons of liberal education, were mostly opposed to the unconstitutional steps taken by the committees and convention at Middletown. They supported the propriety of the measures of Congress, both by conversation and writing, proved that such grants to the army were necessary to keep the troops together, and that the expence would not be enormous nor oppressive. During the close of the year 1783, every possible exertion was made to enlighten the people, and such was the effect of the arguments used by the minority, that in the beginning of the following year, the opposition subsided, the committees were dismissed, and tranquillity restored



to the State. In May, the legislature were able to carry several measures which had before been extremely unpopular. An act was passed granting the impost of five per cent. to Congress; another giving great encouragement to commerce; and several towns were incorporated with extensive privileges, for the purpose of regulating the exports of the State, and facilitating the collection of debts.

The opposition to the congressional acts in favour of the officers, and to the order of the Cincinnati, did not rise to the same pitch in the other States as in Connecticut; yet it produced much disturbance in Massachusetts, and some others. Jealousy of power had been universally spread among the people of the United States. The destruction of the old forms of governments, and the licentiousness of war, had, in a great measure, broken their habits of obedience; their passions had been inflamed by the cry of despotism; and like sentinels, who have been suddenly surprised by the approach of an enemy, the rustling of a leaf was sufficient to give them an alarm. This spirit of jealousy operated with other causes to relax the energy of federal operations.

During the war, vast sums of paper currency had been emitted by Congress, and large quantities of specie had been introduced, towards the close of the war, by the French army, and the Spanish trade. This plenty of money enabled the States to comply with the first requisitions of Congress; so that during two or three years, the federal treasury was, in some measure, supplied. But when the danger of war had ceased, and the vast importations of foreign goods had lessened the quantity of circulating specie, the States began to be very remiss in furnishing their proportion of monies. The annihilation of the credit of the paper bills had totally stopped their circulation, and the specie was leaving the country in cargoes for remittances to Great Britain; still the luxurious habits of the people, contracted during the war, called for new supplies of goods, and private gratification seconded the narrow policy of state interest in defeating the operations of the general government.

Thus the revenues of Congress were annually diminishing; some of the States wholly neglecting to make provision for paying the interest of the national debt; others making but a partial provision, until the scanty supplies received from a few of the richest States, would hardly satisfy the demands of the civil list.

This weakness of the federal government, in conjunction with the flood of certificates or public securities, which Congress could neither fund nor pay, occasioned them to depreciate to a very inconsiderable value. The officers and soldiers of the late army, and those who fur-

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nished supplies for public exigencies, were obliged to receive for wages these certificates, or promissary notes, which passed at a fifth, an eighth, or a tenth, of their nominal value; being thus deprived at once of the greatest part of the reward due for their services. Some indeed profited by speculations in these evidences of the public debt; but such as were under a necessity of parting with them, were robbed of that support which they had a right to expect and demand from their countrymen.

Pennsylvania indeed made a provision for paying the interest of her debts, both state and federal; assuming her supposed proportion of the continental debt, and giving the creditors of her own State notes in exchange for those of the United States. The resources of that State are immense, but she was not able to make punctual payments, even in a depreciated paper currency.

Massachusetts, in her zeal to comply fully with the requisitions of Congress, and satisfy the demands of her own creditors, laid a heavy tax upon the people. This was the immediate cause of the rebellion in that State, in 1786. But a heavy debt lying on the State, added to burdens of the same nature, upon almost every corporation within it; a decline, or rather an extinction of public credit; a relaxation and corruption of manners, and a free use of foreign luxuries; a decay of trade and manufactures, with a prevailing scarcity of money; and, above all, individuals involved in debt to each other. These were the real, though more remote causes of the insurrection. It was the tax which the people were required to pay, that caused them to feel the evils which we have enumerated—this called forth all their other grievances; and the first act of violence committed was the burning of destroying of the tax-bill. This sedition threw the State into a convulsion which lasted about a year; courts of justice were violently obstructed; the collection of debts was suspended; and a body of armed troops, under the command of General Lincoln, was employed during the winter of 1786, to disperse the insurgents. Yet so numerous were the latter in the counties of Worcester, Hampshire, and Berkshire, and so obstinately combined to oppose the execution of law by force, that the governor and council of the State thought proper not to intrust General Lincoln with military powers, except to act on the defensive, and to repel force with force, in case the insurgents should attack him. The leaders of the rebels, however, were not men of talents; they were desperate, but without fortitude; and even while they were supported with a superior force, they appeared to be impressed with that consciousness of guilt, which awes the most daring wretch, and makes him shrink from his purpose. This appears by the conduct of a large

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party of the rebels before the magazine at Springfield, where General Shepard, with a small guard, was stationed to protect the continental stores. The insurgents appeared upon the plain, with a vast superiority of numbers, but a few shot from the artillery made the multitude retreat in disorder with the loss of four men. This spirited conduct of General Shepard, with the industry, perseverance, and prudent firmness of General Lincoln, dispersed the rebels—drove the leaders from the State, and restored tranquillity. An act of indemnity was passed in the legislature for all the insurgents, except a few of the leaders, on condition they should become peaceable subjects, and take the oath of allegiance. The leaders afterwards petitioned for pardon, which, from motives of policy, was granted by the legislature.\*

But the loss of public credit, popular disturbances, and insurrections, were not the only evils which were generated by the peculiar circumstances of the times. The emissions of bills of credit and tender laws were added to the black catalogue of political disorders.

The expedient of supplying the deficiencies of specie, by emissions of paper bills, was adopted very early in the colonies. The expedient was obvious and produced good effects. In a new country, where population is rapid, and the value of lands increasing, the farmer finds an advantage in paying legal interest for money; for if he can pay the interest by his profits, the increasing value of his lands will in a few years discharge the principal.

In no colony was this advantage more sensibly experienced than in Pennsylvania. The emigrations to that province were numerous—the natural population rapid—and these circumstances combined, advanced the value of real property to an astonishing degree. As the first settlers there, as well as in other provinces, were poor, the purchase of a few foreign articles drained them of specie. Indeed for many years, the balance of trade must have necessarily been greatly against the colonies.

But bills of credit, emitted by the State, and loaned to the industrious inhabitants, supplied the want of specie, and enabled the farmer to purchase stock. These bills were generally a legal tender in all colonial or private contracts, and the sums issued did not generally exceed the quantity requisite for a medium of trade; they retained their full nominal value in the purchase of commodities: but as they were not received by the British merchants, in payment of their goods, there was a great demand for specie and bills, which occasioned the latter at

\* See an elegant and impartial History of this Rebellion, by George Richards Minot, Esq.



various times to appreciate. Thus was introduced a difference between the English sterling money and the currencies of the colonies, which remains to this day.\*

The advantages the colonies had derived from bills of credit, under the British government, suggested to Congress, in 1775, the idea of issuing bills for the purpose of carrying on the war; and this was perhaps their only expedient. Money could not be raised by taxation—it could not be borrowed. The first emissions had no other effect upon the medium of commerce, than to drive the specie from circulation. But when the paper substituted for specie had, by repeated emissions, augmented the sum in circulation, much beyond the usual sum of specie, the bills began to lose their value. The depreciation continued in proportion to the sums emitted, until seventy, and even one hundred and fifty nominal paper dollars, were hardly an equivalent for one Spanish milled dollar. Still, from the year 1775 to 1781, this depreciating paper currency was almost the only medium of trade. It supplied the place of specie, and enabled Congress to support a numerous army; until the sum in circulation amounted to two hundred millions of dollars. But about the year 1780, specie began to be plentiful, being introduced by the French army, a private trade with the Spanish islands, and an illicit intercourse with the British garrison at New York. This circumstance accelerated the depreciation of paper bills, until their value had sunk almost to nothing. In 1781, the merchants and brokers in the southern States, apprehensive of the approaching fate of the currency, pushed immense quantities of it suddenly into New England—made vast purchases of goods in Boston—and instantly the bills vanished from circulation.

The whole history of this continental paper is a history of public and private frauds. Old specie debts were often paid in a depreciated currency—and even new contracts for a few weeks or days were often discharged with a small part of the value received. From this plenty and fluctuating state of the medium sprung hosts of speculators and itinerant traders, who left their honest occupations for the prospect of immense gains, in a fraudulent business, that depended on no fixed principles, and the profits of which could be reduced to no certain calculations.

To increase these evils, a project was formed to fix the prices of

\* A Dollar in sterling money is 4s. 6d. But the price of a Dollar rose in New England currency to 6s. in New York to 8s. in New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Maryland to 7s. 6d. in Virginia to 6s. in North Carolina to 8s. in South Carolina and Georgia to 4s. 8d. This difference, originating between paper and specie, or bills, continued afterwards to exist in the nominal estimation of gold and silver.



articles, and restrain persons from giving or receiving more for any commodity than the price stated by authority. These regulating acts were reprobated by every man acquainted with commerce and finance; as they were intended to prevent an effect without removing the cause. To attempt to fix the value of money, while streams of bills were incessantly flowing from the treasury of the United States, was as ridiculous as an attempt to restrain the rising of water in rivers amidst showers of rain.

Notwithstanding all opposition, some States framed and attempted to enforce these regulating acts. The effect was, a momentary apparent stand in the price of articles; innumerable acts of collusion and evasion among the dishonest; numberless injuries done to the honest; and finally a total disregard of all such regulations, and the consequential contempt of laws and the authority of the magistrate.

During these fluctuations of business, occasioned by the variable value of money, people lost sight, in some measure, of the steady principles which had before governed their intercourse with each other. Speculation followed and relaxed the rigour of commercial obligations.

Industry likewise had suffered by the flood of money which had deluged the States. The prices of produce had risen in proportion to the quantity of money in circulation, and the demand for the commodities of the country. This made the acquisition of money easy, and indolence and luxury, with their train of desolating consequences, spread themselves among all descriptions of people.

But as soon as hostilities between Great Britain and America were suspended, the scene was changed. The bills emitted by Congress had for some time before ceased to circulate; and the specie of the country was soon drained off to pay for foreign goods, the importations of which exceeded all calculation. Within two years from the close of the war, *a scarcity of money* was the general cry. The merchants found it impossible to collect their debts, and make punctual remittances to their creditors in Great Britain; and the consumers were driven to the necessity of retrenching their superfluities in living, and of returning to their ancient habits of industry and economy.

This change was however progressive and slow. In many of the States which suffered by the numerous debts they had contracted, and by the distresses of war, the people called aloud for emissions of paper bills to supply the deficiency of a medium. The depreciation of the continental bills was a recent example of the ill effects of such an expedient, and the impossibility of supporting the credit of paper was urged by the opposers of the measure as a substantial argument against

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adopting it. But nothing would silence the popular clamor; and many men of the first talents and eminence united their voices with that of the populace. Paper money had formerly maintained its credit, and been of singular utility: and past experience, notwithstanding a change of circumstances, was an argument in its favour that bore down all opposition.

Pennsylvania, although one of the richest States in the union, was the first to emit bills of credit, as a substitute for specie. But the revolution had removed the necessity of it, at the same time that it had destroyed the means by which its former credit had been supported. Lands, at the close of the war, were not rising in value—bills on London could not so readily be purchased, as while the province was dependent on Great Britain—the State was split into parties, one of which attempted to defeat the measures most popular with the other—and the depreciation of continental bills, with the injuries which it had done to individuals, inspired a general distrust of all public promises.

Notwithstanding a part of the money was loaned on good landed security, and the faith of that wealthy State pledged for the redemption of the whole at its nominal value, yet the advantages of specie as a medium of commerce, especially as an article of remittance to London, soon made a difference of ten per cent. between the bills of credit and specie. This difference may be considered rather as an appreciation of gold and silver, than a depreciation of paper; but its effects, in a commercial state, must be highly prejudicial. It opens the door to frauds of all kinds, and frauds are usually practised on the honest and unsuspecting, especially upon all classes of labourers.

North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia, had recourse to the same wretched expedient to supply themselves with money; not reflecting that industry, frugality, and good commercial laws are the only means of turning the balance of trade in favour of a country, and that this balance is the only permanent source of solid wealth and ready money. But the bills they emitted shared a worse fate than those of Pennsylvania; they expelled almost all the circulating cash from the States; they lost a great part of their nominal value, they impoverished the merchants, and embarrassed the planters.

The State of Virginia tolerated a base practice among the inhabitants of cutting dollars and smaller pieces of silver, in order to prevent it from leaving the State. This pernicious practice prevailed also in Georgia\*.

\* A Dollar was usually cut in five pieces, and each passed by toll for a quarter; so that the man who cut it gained a quarter, or rather a fifth.

Maryland escaped the calamity of a paper currency. The house of delegates brought forward a bill for the emission of bills of credit to a large amount; but the senate firmly and successfully resisted the pernicious scheme. The opposition between the two houses was violent and tumultuous; it threatened the State with anarchy; but the question was carried to the people, and the good sense of the Senate finally prevailed.

New Jersey is situated between two of the largest commercial towns in America, and consequently drained of specie. This state also emitted a large sum in bills of credit, which served to pay the interest of the public debt; but the currency depreciated, as in other States.

Rhode Island exhibited a melancholy proof of that licentiousness and anarchy which always follows a relaxation of the moral principles. In a rage for supplying the State with money, and filling every man's pocket without obliging him to earn it by his diligence, the legislature passed an act for making one hundred thousand pounds in bills; a sum much more than sufficient for a medium of trade in that State, even without any specie. The merchants in Newport and Providence opposed the act with firmness; and their opposition added fresh vigor to the resolution of the assembly, and induced them to enforce the scheme by a legal tender of a most extraordinary nature. They passed an act, ordaining that if any creditor should refuse to take their bills, for any debt whatever, the debtor might lodge the sum due, with a justice of the peace, who should give notice of it in the public papers; and if the creditor did not appear and receive the money within six months from the first notice, his debt should be forfeited. This act astonished all honest men; and even the promoters of paper money-making in other States, and other principles, reprobated this act of Rhode Island, as wicked and oppressive. But the State was governed by faction. During the cry for paper money, a number of boisterous, ignorant men were elected into the legislature, from the smaller towns in the State. Finding themselves united with a majority in opinion, they formed and executed any plan their inclination suggested; they opposed every measure that was agreeable to the mercantile interest; they not only made bad laws to suit their own wicked purposes, but appointed their own corrupt creatures to fill the judicial and executive departments. Their money depreciated sufficiently to answer all their vile purposes in the discharge of debts—business almost totally ceased, all confidence was lost, the State was thrown into confusion at home, and was execrated abroad.

Massachusetts Bay had the good fortune, amidst her political calamities,



ties, to prevent an emission of bills of credit. New Hampshire made no paper; but in the distresses which followed her loss of business after the war, the legislature made horses, lumber, and most articles of produce, a legal tender in the fulfilment of contracts. It is doubtless unjust to oblige a creditor to receive any thing for his debt, which he had not in contemplation at the time of the contract. But as the commodities which were to be a tender by law, in New Hampshire, were of an intrinsic value, bearing some proportion to the amount of the debt, the injustice of the law was less flagrant than that which enforced the tender of paper in Rhode Island. Indeed a similar law prevailed for some time in Massachusetts; and in Connecticut it is optional with the creditor, either to imprison the debtor or take land on execution at a price to be fixed by three indifferent freeholders; provided no other means of payment shall appear to satisfy the demand. It must not, however, be omitted, that while the most flourishing commercial States introduced a paper medium, to the great injury of honest men, a bill for an emission of paper in Connecticut, where there is very little specie, could never command more than one eighth of the votes of the legislature. The movers of the bill have hardly escaped ridicule; so generally is the measure reprobated as a source of frauds and public mischief.

The legislature of New York, a State that had the least necessity and apology for making paper money, as her commercial advantages always furnish her with specie sufficient for a medium, issued a large sum in bills of credit, which supported their value better than the currency of any other State. Still the paper raised the value of specie, which is always in demand for exportation, and this difference of exchange between paper and specie ever exposes commerce to most of the inconveniences resulting from a depreciated medium.

Such is the history of paper money thus far; a miserable substitute for real coin, in a country where the reins of government are too weak to compel the fulfilment of public engagements, and where all confidence in public faith is totally destroyed.

While the States were thus endeavouring to repair the loss of specie by empty promises, and to support their business by shadows, rather than by reality, the British ministry formed some commercial regulations that deprived them of the profits of their trade to the West Indies and Great Britain. Heavy duties were laid upon such articles as were remitted to the London merchants for their goods, and such were the duties upon American bottoms, that the States were almost wholly deprived of the carrying trade. A prohibition was laid upon the produce



duce of the United States, shipped to the English West India Islands in American built vessels, and in those manned by American seamen. These restrictions fell heavy upon the eastern States, which depended much upon ship-building for the support of their trade; and they materially injured the business of the other States.

Without a union that was able to form and execute a general system of commercial regulations, some of the States attempted to impose restraints upon the British trade that should indemnify the merchant for the losses he had suffered, or induce the British ministry to enter into a commercial treaty, and relax the rigour of their navigation laws. These measures however produced nothing but mischief. The States did not act in concert, and the restraints laid on the trade of one State operated to throw the business into the hands of its neighbour. Massachusetts, in her zeal to counteract the effect of the English navigation laws, laid enormous duties upon British goods imported into that State; but the other States did not adopt a similar measure; and the loss of business soon obliged that State to repeal or suspend the law. Thus when Pennsylvania laid heavy duties on British goods, Delaware and New Jersey made a number of free ports to encourage the landing of goods within the limits of those States; and the duties in Pennsylvania served no purpose but to create smuggling.

Thus divided, the States began to feel their weakness: most of the legislatures had neglected to comply with the requisitions of Congress for furnishing the federal treasury; the resolves of Congress were disregarded; the proposition for a general impost to be laid and collected by Congress was negatived, first by Rhode Island, and afterwards by New York. The British troops continued, under pretence of a breach of treaty on the part of America, to hold possession of the forts on the frontiers of the States. Many of the States individually were infested with popular commotions or iniquitous tender laws, while they were oppressed with public debts; the certificates or public notes had lost most of their value, and circulated merely as the objects of speculation; Congress lost their respectability, and the United States their credit and importance.

The untoward events which followed the re-establishment of peace, though evils of themselves, were over-ruled for great national good. From the failure of their expectations of an immediate increase of political happiness, the lovers of liberty and independence began to be less sanguine in their hopes from the American revolution, and to fear that they had built a visionary fabric of government on the fallacious ideas of public virtue; but that elasticity of the human mind, which is

nurtured

nurtured by free constitutions, kept them from desponding. By an exertion of those inherent principles of self-preservation, which republics possess, a recurrence was had to the good sense of the people for the rectification of fundamental disorders. While the country, free from foreign force and domestic violence, enjoyed tranquillity, a proposition was made by Virginia to all the other States to meet in convention, for the purpose of digesting a form of government, equal to the exigencies of the union. The first motion for this purpose was made by Mr. Maddison, and he had the pleasure of seeing it acceded to by twelve of the States, and finally to issue in the establishment of a New Constitution, which bids fair to repay the citizens of the United States for the toils, dangers, and wastes of the revolution. The fundamental distinction between the articles of confederation and the new constitution lies in this; the former acted only on States, the latter on individuals; the former could neither raise men nor money by its own authority, but lay at the discretion of thirteen different legislatures, and without their unanimous concurrence was unable to provide for the public safety, or for the payment of the national debt. The experience of several years had proved the impossibility of a government answering the end of its institution, which was dependent on others for the means necessary for attaining these ends. By the new constitution, one legislative, executive, and judicial power pervades the whole union. This ensures an uniform observance of treaties, and gives a stability to the general government, which never could be attained while the acts and requisitions of Congress were subject to the revision of thirteen legislatures, and while thirteen distinct and unconnected judiciaries had a constitutional right to decide on the same subject. The people of the United States gave no new powers to their rulers, but made a more judicious arrangement of what they had formerly ceded. They enlarged the powers of the general government, not by taking from the people, but from the State legislatures. They took from the latter a power of levying duties on the importation of merchandise from foreign countries, and transferred it to Congress for the common benefit of the union. They also invested the general government with a power to regulate trade, levy taxes and internal duties on the inhabitants. That these enlarged powers might be used only with caution and deliberation, Congress, which formerly consisted of only one body, was made to consist of two; one of which was to be chosen by the people in proportion to their numbers, the other by the State legislatures. The execution of the acts of this compounded le-

gislature was committed to a Supreme Magistrate, with the title of President. The constitution, of which these were the principal features, was submitted to the people for ratification. Animated debates took place on the propriety of establishing or rejecting it. Some States, who from their local situation were benefited by receiving impost duties into their treasuries, were averse from the giving of them up to the union. Others, who were consuming but not importing States, had an interested inducement of an opposite kind, to support the proposed new constitution. The prospects of increased employment for shipping, and the enlargement of commerce, weighed with those States which abounded in sailors and ships, and also with seaport towns, to advocate the adoption of the new system; but those States, or parts of States, which depended chiefly on agriculture, were afraid that zeal for encouraging an American marine, by narrowing the grounds of competition among foreigners for purchasing and carrying their produce, would lessen their profits. Some of this description therefore conceived that they had a local interest in refusing the new system.

Individuals who had great influence in State legislatures, or who held profitable places under them, were unwilling to adopt a government which, by diminishing the power of the States, would eventually diminish their own importance: others, who looked forward to seats in the general government, or for offices under its authority, had the same interested reason for supporting its adoption. Some from jealousy of liberty were afraid of giving too much power to their rulers; others, from an honest ambition to aggrandize their country, were for paving the way to national greatness by melting down the separate States into a national mass. The former feared the new constitution; the latter gloried in it. Almost every passion which could agitate the human breast, interested States and individuals for and against the adoption of the proposed plan of government: some whole classes of people were in its favour. The mass of public creditors expected payment of their debts from the establishment of an efficient government, and were therefore decidedly for its adoption. Such as lived on salaries, and those who, being clear of debt, wished for a fixed medium of circulation and the free course of law, were friends of a constitution which prohibits the issuing of paper money and all interference between debtor and creditor. In addition to these, the great body of independent men, who saw the necessity of an energetic general government, and who, from the jarring interests of the different

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rent State, could not foresee any probability of getting a better one than was proposed, gave their support to what the federal convention had projected, and their influence effected its establishment. After a full consideration, and thorough discussion of its principles, it was ratified by the conventions of eleven of the original Thirteen States, and the accession of the other two was soon expected.\* The ratification of it was celebrated in most of the capitals of the States with elegant processions, which far exceeded any thing of the kind ever before exhibited in America. Time and experience only can fully discover the effects of this new distribution of the powers of government; but in theory it seems well calculated to unite liberty with safety, and to lay the foundation of national greatness, while it abridges none of the rights of the States, or of the people.

The new constitution having been ratified by eleven of the States, and senators and representatives having been chosen agreeably to the articles thereof, they met at New York, and commenced proceedings under it. The old Congress and confederation, like the continental money, expired without a sigh or groan, in April 1789. A new Congress, with more ample powers, and a new constitution, partly national, and partly federal, succeeded in their place, to the great joy of all who wished for the happiness of the United States.

Though great diversity of opinions had prevailed about the new constitution, there was but one opinion about the person who should be appointed its supreme executive officer. The people, as well anti-

\* The following exhibits at one view the order, time, &c. in which the several States ratified the Federal Constitution:

					Majority.
Delaware,	December	3,	1787,	unanimously	
Pennsylvania,	December	13,		46 to 23	23
New Jersey,	December	19,		unanimously	
Georgia,	January	2,	1788,	unanimously	
Connecticut,	January	9,		128 to 40	88
Massachusetts,	February	6,		187 to 168	19
Maryland,	April	28		63 to 12	51
South Carolina,	May	23		149 to 73	76
New Hampshire,	June	21		57 to 46	11
Virginia,	June	25		89 to 79	19
New York,	July	26		30 to 25	5
North Carolina	November	27	1789,	193 to 75	118
Rhode Island,	May	29	1790,		2
Vermont,	January	10	1791,	by a great majority.	
Kentucky,					



federalists as federalists, (for by these names the parties for and against the new constitution were called) unanimously turned their eyes on the late commander of their armies, as the most proper person to be their first President. Perhaps there was not a well-informed individual in the United States, (Mr. Washington himself only excepted) who was not anxious that he should be called to the executive administration of the proposed new plan of government. Unambitious of farther honours he had retired to his farm in Virginia, and hoped to be excused from all farther public service; but his country called him by an unanimous vote to fill the highest station in its gift. That honest zeal for the public good, which had uniformly influenced him to devote both his time and talents to the service of his country, got the better of his love of retirement, and induced him once more to engage in the great business of making a nation happy. The intelligence of his election being communicated to him, while on his farm in Virginia, he set out soon after for New-York. On his way thither, the road was crowded with numbers anxious to see the Man of the people. Escorts of militia, and of gentlemen of the first character and station, attended him from State to State, and he was every where received with the highest honours which a grateful and admiring people could confer. Addresses of congratulation were presented to him by the inhabitants of almost every place of consequence through which he passed, to all of which he returned such modest, unassuming answers as were in every respect suitable to his situation. So great were the honours with which he was loaded, that they could scarcely have failed to produce haughtiness in the mind of any ordinary man; but nothing of the kind was ever discovered in this extraordinary personage. On all occasions he behaved to all men with the affability of one citizen to another. He was truly great in deserving the plaudits of his country, but much greater in not being elated with them.

Gray's-Bridge over the Schuylkill, which Mr. Washington had to pass, was highly decorated with laurels and evergreens. At each end of it were erected magnificent arches composed of laurels, emblematical of the ancient Roman triumphal arches; and on each side of the bridge was a laurel shrubbery. As Mr. Washington passed the bridge, a youth ornamented with sprigs of laurel, assisted by machinery, let drop above his head, though unperceived by him, a civic crown of laurel. Upwards of twenty thousand citizens lined the fences, fields, and avenues, between the Schuylkill and Philadelphia. Through these he was conducted to the city, by a numerous and respectable body of

the citizens, where he partook of an elegant entertainment provided for him. The pleasures of the day were succeeded by a handsome display of fireworks in the evening.

When Mr. Washington crossed the Delaware, and landed on the Jersey shore, he was saluted with three cheers by the inhabitants of the vicinity. When he came to the brow of the hill, on his way to Trenton, a triumphal arch was erected on the bridge, by the direction of the ladies of the place. The crown of the arch was highly ornamented with imperial laurels and flowers, and on it was displayed in large figures, *December 26th 1776*. On the sweep of the arch, beneath was this inscription, *The defender of the Mothers will also protect their Daughters*. On the north side were ranged a number of young girls dressed in white, with garlands of flowers on their heads, and baskets of flowers on their arms; in the second row stood the young ladies, and behind them the married ladies of the town. The instant he passed the arch, the young girls began to sing the following ode :

- " Welcome, mighty chief, once more,
- " Welcome to this grateful shore :
- " Now no mercenary foe
- " Aims again the fatal blow,
- " Aims at thee the fatal blow.
- " Virgins fair, and matrons grave,
- " These thy conquering arm did save,
- " Build for thee triumphal bowers ;
- " Strew, ye fair, his way with flowers,
- " Strew your Hero's way with flowers."

As they sung the last lines, they strewed their flowers on the road before their beloved deliverer. His situation on this occasion, contrasted with what he had in Dec. 1776 felt on the same spot, when the affairs of America were at the lowest ebb of depression, filled him with sensations that cannot be described. He was rowed across the bay from Elizabeth-Town to New-York in an elegant barge by thirteen pilots. All the vessels in the harbour hoisted their flags. Stairs were erected and decorated for his reception. On his landing, universal joy diffused itself through every order of the people, and he was received and congratulated by the governor of the State, and officers of the corporation. He was conducted from the landing-place to the house which had been fitted up for his reception, and was followed by an elegant procession of militia in their uniforms, and by great numbers

of citizens. In the evening, the houses of the inhabitants were brilliantly illuminated. A day was fixed, soon after his arrival, for his taking the oath of office, which was in the following words: "I do solemnly swear that I will faithfully execute the office of President of the United States, and will, to the best of my ability, preserve, protect, and defend, the constitution of the United States." On this occasion he was wholly clothed in American manufactures. In the morning of the day appointed for this purpose, the clergy of different denominations assembled their congregations in their respective places of worship, and offered up public prayers for the President and people of the United States. About noon a procession followed by a multitude of citizens, moved from the President's house to Federal Hall. When they came within a short distance from the Hall, the troops formed a line on both sides of the way, through which Mr. Washington, accompanied by the Vice-President, Mr. John Adams, passed into the Senate Chamber. Immediately after, accompanied by both houses, he went into the gallery fronting Broad-street, and before them, and an immense concourse of citizens, took the oath prescribed by the constitution, which was administered by R. R. Livingston, the Chancellor of the State of New-York. An awful silence prevailed among the spectators during this part of the ceremony. It was a minute of the most sublime political joy. The Chancellor then proclaimed him President of the United States. This was answered by the discharge of thirteen guns, and by the effusion of shouts, from near ten thousand grateful and affectionate hearts. The President bowed most respectfully to the people, and the air resounded again with their acclamations. He then retired to the Senate Chamber, where he made an animated speech to both houses; in which his language not only expressed his own feelings on this solemn occasion, but likewise discovered his anxiety and concern for the welfare and happiness of the people in whose cause he had before risked his life.

Several circumstances concurred to render the scene of his inauguration unusually solemn—the presence of the beloved Father and Deliverer of his country—the impressions of gratitude for his past services—the vast concourse of spectators—the devout fervency with which he repeated the oath, and the reverential manner in which he bowed to kiss the sacred volume—these circumstances, together with that of his being chosen to the most dignified office in America, and perhaps in the world, by the unanimous voice of more than three millions of enlightened

ened *freemen*, all conspired to place this among the most august and interesting scenes which have ever been exhibited on this globe. \*

Hitherto the deliberations of the legislature of the Union have been marked with wisdom, and the measures they have adopted have been productive of great national prosperity. The wise appointments to office, which, in general, have been made—the establishment of a revenue and judiciary system, and of a national bank—the assumption of debts of the individual States, and the encouragement that has been given to manufactures, commerce, literature, and to useful inventions, open the fairest prospect of the peace, union, and increasing respectability of the American States.

\* “It seemed, from the number of witnesses,” said a spectator of the scene, “to be a solemn appeal to heaven and earth at once. Upon the subject of this great and good man, I may, perhaps, be an enthusiast; but, I confess, I was under an awful and religious persuasion, that the gracious Ruler of the Universe was looking down at that moment with peculiar complacency on an act, which, to a part of his creatures, was so very important. Under this impression, when the Chancellor pronounced, in a very feeling manner, “LONG LIVE GEORGE WASHINGTON,” my sensibility was wound up to such a pitch, that I could do no more than wave my hat with the rest, without the power of joining in the repeated acclamations which rent the air.”

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.



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